

FOREWORD

The lack of pastoralist-friendly policies and the existence of deep-rooted pastoral problems in Ethiopia necessitated the emergence of Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia, which was established in 1998. The main objectives of the Forum are policy advocacy on behalf of pastoralist communities, networking among NGOs and other stakeholders working on pastoral development and pastoralist-related issues. The Forum has so far twenty member NGOs, and is hosted and coordinated by Panos Ethiopia. The Forum organized two national conferences in 2000 and 2001, the themes of which were pastoral development in Ethiopia, pastoral development and poverty reduction, respectively. In addition, the Forum prepared pastoral poverty reduction strategy, which it submitted to the government for inclusion as a chapter in the national PRSP. This chapter has been partially considered in the Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program (SDPRP). The Forum organized the fourth and the fifth Ethiopian Pastoralists' Day in 2002 and 2003, in Afar and the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples (SNNP) Regional States, respectively. In these initiatives, pastoral development and policy issues were reviewed, discussed, and suggestions were made with regard to development policy gaps. The Forum realizes the need for further work on pastoral development policy advocacy and networking, as well as participating in the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the SDPRP with respect to pastoral development. Moreover, the Forum has prepared a proposal on pastoral development policy recommendations and submitted to the Ministry of Federal Affairs.

The current famine that has hit Ethiopia is the third in three decades, in addition to the bi-annual crises of food shortage. This chronic problem has made it necessary for the Forum to ask such questions as: what is there that can be done beyond immediate humanitarian relief? Can the country go on with a contentious famine that claims lives and destroys the meager economic base of its people? The Forum believes

Roundtable on Drought and Famine

that the current drought and the impending famine in the country in general, and in the pastoral regions in particular, calls for debates on the fundamental issues of misconceptions and flaws within the prevailing macro-economic policy. The Forum also has noted that the hypothesis that forms the basis of the macro-economic policies and development strategies of African governments as far as pastoralism goes has ended up with fundamental flaws, as a result of not taking into consideration the existence and relevance of traditional knowledge systems. The Forum also believes that it is time to deal with these fundamental issues and provide definite answers to the problems that have been puzzling many with regard to pastoral poverty and under-development.

Consequently, a roundtable was planned in accordance with this need. It was organized and executed by Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia, while funding for the discussion was obtained from Minority Rights Group International. The objectives of the roundtable were:

- to situate the issue of drought and the impending famine in pastoral regions in its proper context;
- to identify and reflect on the causes of the crisis and suggest possible recommendations;
- provide a forum for pastoralists themselves in order for them to be able to speak out for themselves and make known their perception of the whole crisis and propose solutions;
- to create synergy among stakeholders in pastoral development towards a strategy to prevent future crises of such magnitude;
- and, finally, to come up with general policy recommendations both to solve the current crisis and prevent future ones.

The roundtable discussion started with a welcoming speech, followed by six presentations on key pastoral issues, and, then, by the views pastoral communities from Somali, Afar, Oromiya (Kereyu and Borana) South Omo Zone of SNNPRS (Hamer and Geleb). The roundtable was concluded with discussions on each theme and group works on selected topics, followed by general discussions and recommendations.

Foreword

The presentations on drought and famine addressed the issue of pastoral development and the challenges that such development faces. In PART ONE of this roundtable proceedings the first paper presented was on *The Magnitude of Famine: Past and Present*, which was presented by Ato Yonis Berkele, currently a private consultant on natural resources management. Ato Yonis had previously worked for many years in the Ministry of Agriculture. In addition, *Magnitude and Causes for the Famine: The Pastoralists' Perceptions*, by Pastoralist Elders is discussed in this part. In PART TWO there were two presentations; one on *Immediate Causes for the Famine: The Drought Dimension*, which was presented by Dr Tafesse Mesfin from FARM Africa and the other on *Immediate Causes for the Famine: The Conflict Dimension*, which was presented by Ato Alemayehu Azeze's, a researcher from the Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA). The paper presented in PART THREE was titled *The Structural Causes for the Famine in Pastoralist Areas: The Macro Economic Policy Dimension*, and was presented by Dr. Befekadu Degefe from the Ethiopian Economic Association (EEA). Ato Beruk Yemane, the National Emergency Programs Coordinator of OXFAM GB, presented a paper titled *Pastoral Drought Management Recommendations*, which is discussed in PART FOUR, while *The Impact of Traditional and Modern Institutions on the Life of Pastoralists*, by pastoralist Elders; and *EPaRDA's Experience on the Peacemaking Process in South Omo Zone of SNNPR*, by Ato Zerihun Ambaye, Executive Director of Ethiopian Pastoralist Research and Development Association (EPaRDA) are briefly discussed under PART FIVE.

The Forum would like to thank all of its members who made this roundtable discussion possible. The Forum would also like to thank Minority Rights Group International (MRGI), who generously provided the funding for the roundtable discussion and the publication of the results. The Forum's thanks also go to Dr. Yonas Admassu, who edited the entire text of this publication.

Tezera Getahun
Coordinator
Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

By **Melakou Tegegn**
Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia

On behalf of the Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia, please allow me to welcome you to this roundtable discussion, and we appreciate very much that you accepted our invitation to come here and share your views on what probably constitutes one of the most critical issues this country faces at this moment.

I will present you with a brief introduction to the two-day roundtable, particularly about what we are going to do for the duration of the discussion. Before doing that, however, I ask the participants to permit me to start with a few issues, starting with the objective of this roundtable.

The main objective of the roundtable is to discuss the dimension of the current problem caused by drought, which resulted in a large-scale famine encompassing, probably, the entire country and affecting 15 million people. So, one of the purposes of this roundtable is to focus on the dimensions of the problem in pastoral regions. This is mainly because, it seems that there is very little discussion on, and probably little concern about, the problems of pastoral regions and why this disaster is happening. So the specific objectives are:

1. To discuss the issue in general;
2. To reflect on the various perspectives with regard to the causes of the famine.

Accordingly, we have invited quite a few elders from pastoral regions to inform the public here about their own perceptions of the drought and the subsequent famine. Various views and perspectives from the presenters and the participants will complement the views and

Introductory Remarks

perception of the pastoralists, and that will most likely give us the overall picture of the problem.

As to the content of the two-days proceedings, we will generally touch upon the main issues such as, for example: Is drought equivalent to famine? Why do we in Ethiopia face famine whenever there is drought? These two are important questions because, what makes Ethiopia different from other countries that face drought or flood is precisely the particularities of our own rural structure, traditions, macroeconomic policies and so on and so forth. This is what we are going to discuss.

Second, what is the relationship between poverty and famine? How do we relate the overall poverty at the country level and that in the pastoral regions? Since the famine has now become a nationwide phenomenon, what is the relationship between this famine and the prevailing poverty in pastoral regions, which makes pastoral life very precarious? In other words, what is the relationship between the overall poverty in the country and famine in pastoral regions?

The various presentations and the perceptions they entertain in the coming two days focus on the causes of the current famine. We will listen to the official version, i.e. what does the Ethiopian government say about the causes of the famine. We will also listen to experts who will tell us what the causes of the famine are vis-à-vis what the official version tells us. We will listen, in particular, to pastoral elders, who are going to tell us what the cause of the famine is according to how they perceive the problem, most likely on the basis of their experience. After listening to these three perceptions and perspectives, we do hope that the discussions and recommendations based on them will help influence current macroeconomic policies in a manner that will help alleviate rural poverty in general, and do something about the current famine in particular.

As you can see from the schedule, we have invited several experts on the issue who will present papers on the different dimension of the current famine. The papers shall be distributed at the end of the discussion.

Roundtable on Drought and Famine

Having said that, I must single out the Minority Rights Group International for entirely sponsoring this roundtable, which would have been impossible without their support. I would like to welcome Ato Tadesse Tafesse, who is representing The Minority Rights Group International at this roundtable.

Before closing, I would like to invite Ato Habtamu Teka, Commissioner of the Pastoral Development Commission of Oromiya Region to please give us a keynote address.

Thank you very much.



Keynote Address

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

By **Habtamu Teka**

Commissioner of Oromiya Pastoral Development Commission

Forum participants

Invited guests

Ladies and gentlemen,

It is a great pleasure and privilege for me to welcome all of you to this Forum, on behalf of the Oromiya Pastoralist Development Commission.

There are participants from different Line Ministries, Research Organizations, Academic Institutions, Local and International NGOs, Bilateral Organizations, representatives of various International Donors and Pastoralist Communities who came from different angles of the country.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Ethiopia is a country that encompasses large pastoral and agro - pastoral production systems in terms of area coverage, human population, livestock population and resource diversification among Sub-Sahara African countries. Pastoralists, in Ethiopian context, occupy about 61% of the total land area of the country.

As with pastoralists else where, pastoral communities in Ethiopia have become increasingly marginalized vis-à-vis other members of the country's population. They live in situations in which their ability to regulate and organize their lives and to sustainability manage their land, livestock and other natural resources according to their own needs and aspirations has been constantly undermined. Pastoral mode of production in the country is best suited to an arid and unstable environment. Development of livestock production system has the

potential to improve the welfare of many poor rural families as well as contribute significantly to the national economy.

As you all well know, population pressure and the increasing frequency of drought have exceeded the ability of traditional strategies to cope with such crises, resulting in high resource degradation and food insecurity among the pastoral communities of the country. Until very recently, most often pastoral development has been addressed under agricultural sector, which is dominated by sedentary agriculture. Pastoral development is misunderstood and looked as synonymous to livestock production and pasture development. Some efforts could not bring any significant improvement on the well being of the pastoral communities under question. Thus, development in the pastoralist areas has received little attention from policy makers, and pastoral communities remained marginalized economically, socially and politically. Since the last two years, however, the severity of the pastoral communities' problem has brought about a new interest on the part of the Government of Ethiopia (GoE) and its development partners to search for solutions.

The absence of institutional framework for pastoral development and lack of appropriate developmental strategies for pastoral areas are considered to be among the major constraints for sustainable pastoral development and, hence for ineffective poverty and famine reduction strategy. Thus, the Oromiya Regional Government has put in place a responsible body for pastoral development to address the issues and problems of pastoralists, using a participatory, integrated and holistic approach. It is hoped this pastoral institution will improve emergency preparedness against crisis and facilitate rehabilitation programs aimed at restoring the resource base of the pastoral economy and providing social security for individual households in risky environments.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Today there are various factors that render pastoralists vulnerable to drought and famine. Insufficient and erratic rainfall, poor early warning/information systems, conflict over resource utilization,

Keynote Address

inadequate access to financial services, weakened indigenous organization and others, to name but a few.

Finally, this is a high time all those concerned give full legal recognition to a pastoral oriented development and extension concept, which would allow the pastoral community to wield real authority through decentralized planning and effective participatory decision making mechanisms and insure security and civil peace. Land tenure, water resources, ranch land resources, animal health, livestock marketing, research and extension, rural finance, infrastructure, population growth, social services and protection are also the main issues to be addressed by any development actor involved in pastoral areas.

With this brief remark, I now declare this forum officially open.

Thank you for your attention.



PART ONE
MAGNITUDE OF FAMINE IN PASTORAL AREAS OF ETHIOPIA

Magnitude of Famine for the Pastoral Areas: Past and Present

By **Yonis Berkele** (Private Consultant)

Moderator: **Melakou Tegegn**, Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia

I. Background

1.1. Location and Population

Ethiopia is part of the East African Region commonly referred to as the Horn of Africa, situated between 3^o 30' and 15^o North latitude and 33^o and 48^o East longitude.

It had a population estimated at 67.5 million as of July 1, 2002, with approximately equal female and male distribution. The 1994 census projects Ethiopia's population to be 83.5 million by 2010 and 106 million by 2020. These projections imply annual average population growth rates of 2.90%, 2.77% and 2.42%, respectively between two successive years of projection, starting from the actual census year (1994). Population size varies from region to region. Generally the highlands are more densely populated than the lowlands. 85% of the population is rural and 15% urban. The population group, which is active, comprises 49.6 percent of the total population.

1.2. Land Resources

Ethiopia, with a total area of about 1.13 million square kilometers, has an estimated arable land resources potential of 56 million hectares, or approximately 50% of its landmass (UNDP-FAO, 1984). Despite the huge arable land resources potential, only 14.8% of the country's total

landmass is being utilized for crop cultivation. Only 16.6 million hectares of land is under cropping, constituting just 30% of the arable land potential. It means that the remaining 70% of the potential forms part of the other land use categories, particularly grazing land.

The arable land resources potentials encompass both rain-fed and irrigable land suitable for the production of a variety of crops. Ethiopia has about 3.7 million ha net potential irrigable land. More than half of this potential is located in the Abbay (Blue Nile) River Basin. The land currently under irrigation is not more than 5% of the irrigable land potential. In the face of food deficit and development predicaments, the country has no alternatives other than developing its water resources and productive land for irrigation. That is why the government puts big emphasis on small-scale irrigation development, including rehabilitation of non-functional ones in the short-term period (2002-2006) of its current 15-year Water Sector Development Program (WSDP).

1.3 Infrastructure

It is generally recognized that the development of infrastructure facilities is critical to the economic development of the country. With the exception of air transport services, other infrastructure facilities in Ethiopia remain grossly underdeveloped. The road-population ratio of Ethiopia is 500 km per 1 million persons, whereas telephone connection ratio is 3.3 to 1000 persons and with per capita energy consumption estimated at 26 KWH (World Bank 1998/99). The postal service is also not different from telephone connections. In all aspects it is less than what are quoted for Sub-Saharan Africa, excluding South Africa. In order to improve road infrastructure, the country has planned to construct new ones and upgrade about 15,000 km over the coming ten years. It is also taking same measures to improve other infrastructure services. This is to be carried out with the 10-year Road Sector Development Program, which is currently under effective implementation.

1.4 Water Resources

Ethiopia is endowed with one of the largest fresh surface water resources in Sub-Saharan Africa. Review of master plan studies and related river basin surveys shows that the aggregate annual runoff from the nine river basins amounts to 122 billion cubic meters out, of which 75% flow out of the country without proper utilization, contributing about 86% of the water of the Nile River. The spatial and temporal distribution of rainfall in the country is uneven. Between 80-90% of Ethiopia's water resource is found in the western part of the country, in the four river basins, namely: Abbay (Blue Nile); Tekezi; Baro-Akobo; and Omo-Gibe. Except Omo-Gibe, all the named rivers are contributing substantial amount of water to the Nile system. Ground water resources potential is estimated to be 2.6 billion cubic meters.

It is, therefore, very clear that Ethiopia has rich natural resources—land, water, favorable climate and human resources—that can be used to better the socio-economic development of the country and for poverty reduction, eventually leading to the population's prosperity.

1.5 Socio-Economic Situation

Ethiopia is among the least developed countries in the world. According to the Human Resources Development Report, 2001 of UNDP, the country ranks 158th out of 162 countries, with Human Development Index (HDI) of 0.321, compared to HDI of 0.467 for Sub-Saharan Africa. Its Gross National Product (GNP) was USD 6.4 billion, while its per capita income was US\$110 per annum.

Measured mainly in terms of food consumption, set at a minimum nutrition requirement of 2,100 calories per adult per day, with specific allowance for non-food consumption requirements, estimates of 1999/00 showed that 44.2% of the population was below the poverty line, with coverage of 45 and 37 per cent for rural and urban areas respectively. A quarter of the population is estimated to have been sick in two months' time, of which 24.2% were male and 26% female, while the ratio in the same category was 27% and 19.3% for rural and

Magnitude of Famine for the Pastoral Areas: Past and Present

urban areas, respectively (WMS and HHICE surveys, CSA, 1999/00). Infant mortality is rated at 118 per 1000 live births and child malnutrition (1993-2000) was rated at 47%, while life expectancy at birth was 42 years (World Development Report, 2001).

Environmental degradation and natural resource depletion, marginalization of pastoralists and women from participating in the development process of the country, high prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS (ranking 3rd in the world), coupled with high population growth, have strangled the development of the country and have limited access to social services to minimum. School enrolment stood at 45.8% for primary school.

The population with access to safe water at the national level is about 31%, while that of urban and rural areas stands at 74.4% and 23.1%, respectively, according to the Water Sector Development Program report. In respect of sanitation, about 15% of the population has access to some sort of sanitation facilities.

Realizing the further damages that the severe environmental degradation, low agricultural production, recurrent drought, HIV/AIDS and drain of human resources can incur, the Government has been taking measures since 1992 through a series of reforms, with an attempt to reverse the situation, i.e. attaining basic socio-economic development and reducing poverty.

Currently (May 2001), the Government of Ethiopia has set forth concrete poverty reduction targets for 2010. They are: increasing real GDP growth from 5.3% in 2001 to 7.5% in 2010; reducing extreme poverty from 45.5% to 27.2%; increasing gross primary school enrolment from 45.5% to 84%; reducing the gender gap (female-to-male ratio) in primary education from 78% to 37.8%; increasing access to safe water from 30% to 70%; reducing under-five mortality from 167/1000 to 63/1000; reducing maternal mortality ratio from 705/100,000 to 380/100,000; halting and beginning to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS and incidents of malaria and other major diseases. Nevertheless, the implementation of the set targets seems to

be seriously affected by the most severe drought that ever prevailed the country's history.

II. Drought and Famine: Past and Present

Drought can be defined as:

1. Agricultural drought: when rainfall happens to be below the normal to sustain the required soil moisture for crop growth and development of different growth stages of crops, hence causing total loss of crop or yield reduction;
2. Hydrological drought: when a prolonged absence of rainfall causes the lowering of ground water table, reduction or total drying of stream flow, depletion of soil moisture and disruption of water supply system;
3. Meteorological drought: when rainfall happens to be below normal for a specified period over a specific region (Tafesse, 1990, in Melakou et al., 1970).

Famine is a phenomenon created by a serious food shortage, where people generally could not access food and water for basic survival. There are many factors that trigger famine in a given area. The most known one is drought, which usually creates moisture stresses, resulting in failure of crop and other agricultural production, and destroys the availability, accessibility and utilization of food. Major causes of drought have been identified as intensive moisture deficiency, precipitation that is far below evapo-transpiration, coupled with prolonged high temperature and dry wind.

In the Ethiopian context, drought and famine are very much interlinked. Indeed all droughts do not result in famine. It is those critical droughts that shatter the food security of communities, with no alternative for survival without external support from anywhere outside of the affected areas, that usually cause famine.

Magnitude of Famine for the Pastoral Areas: Past and Present

The first drought recorded in Ethiopia occurred in the 9th century, followed by the 12th century-famine that resulted in death of many cattle. After that many droughts associated with severe famine occurred between the 16th and 18th centuries (1520, 1540, 1559, 1635, 1668 1707, 1752, and 1772). The 1888-1892 famine was unprecedented in the mass destruction it caused. Rinderpest, drought and heavy infestation of pests (army worm, caterpillars, etc) created horror among the population, destroying about 90% of the entire cattle and 1/3 of the whole population. After this gruesome disaster, many famines of various magnitudes have occurred. The worst ones, since that of 1888-92, were those of 1973/74 and 1984/85.

The 1984/85 famine started in 1980. In the years 1980 to 1984 there were successive belg (short rainy season) and meher (long rainy season) rain failures, characterized by total absence and erratic nature. Hence, in 1983, the number of people affected by drought reached 3,423,000, while those affected by drought and war were estimated to have reached 1,600,000 by January 1983. In April of the same year, UN agencies—UNDRO, WFP, UNICEF and WHO—made a joint appeal for relief aid for 1 million people in 13 regions for 8 months, with a successful distribution of the food thus obtained. In 1984 RRC made an appeal for 912,000 tons of grain to support 5.2 million people. But given the capacity of transportation at the time, the amount of food requested for was cut into half. Besides, the international community did not respond effectively because of two possible reasons (Melakou Ayalew et al., 1997).

- a. Some agencies doubted the reliability of the statistics released by RRC.
- b. There were feelings that the country had done nothing to increase inputs to peasant farmers to improve their efficiency and to provide marketing services.

As a result, the incoming support dropped and the RRC reserve food was completely used up, and the disaster persisted. In 1984 the number of the people affected by the famine continued to grow from 5 million at the beginning to over 7 million at the end of the year, and it remained almost the same throughout 1985.

Roundtable on Drought and Famine

Since then there were many droughts of various scales. But they were not as bad as the current one (2002/03), which is one of the worst droughts in recent years, covering almost all of the drought-prone areas of the country. According to a WFP report, absence of rain in many lowland areas of the country in April and May significantly affected planting and early growth of the long-cycle crops of maize and sorghum, which account for 40 percent of the national cereal production. The delay of the big rains (kiremt) of between 1-1.5 months magnified the effects of the drought earlier in the year.

Pastoral areas are also affected. Especially, the Afar Region and Shinile Zone in Somali Region experienced the lowest rainfall for five years in both rainy seasons. As a result, many traditional hand-dug wells, and temporary rivers and ponds have dried up leading to water shortages for both human and livestock consumption and shortage of pasture. Mid-2002 livestock mortality was, therefore, high and the surviving herds were left in poor physical condition. Water tanking in Afar Region, Shinile Zone and in the lowlands of Western Hararghe is on emergency water supply.

According to the findings of a countrywide assessment by a joint Government of Ethiopia-UN team, 11.3 million people have been identified as needing more than 1.4 million tons of food assistance for 2003 (1.3 million tons of cereals, 124,400 tons of blended food and 4,140 tons of vegetable oil). An additional 3 million people need to be closely monitored. In total, 14.3 million people are affected by the drought, which make up for some 20 per cent of the total population.

In addition to food aid requirements, the appeal includes needs in other principal sectors, including water, health, agriculture and livestock, and it has stressed the importance of transitional asset protection systems and the need for sustainable solutions to continue to be identified, resourced and implemented. Food and related costs for 2003 total approximately USD 500 million; a further USD 76.2 million of assistance will be required to implement water, health, nutrition, agriculture and capacity building activities.

Magnitude of Famine for the Pastoral Areas: Past and Present

The cereal food aid needed for the first four months of 2003 are 590,000 tons (118,000 tons for January for 7.3 million people; 132,000 tons for February, for 8.1 million people; 161,000 tons for March, for 9.9 million people and 179,000 tons for April, for 11 million people). While donors have indicated that further pledges will be made in 2003, as of 12 December, only 80,000 tons of cereals have been identified from current contributions for distribution in January, and about 50,000 tons for distribution later in the year. Most of the December requirements have been covered, but increased needs in several areas may require further allocations.

Shipments of cereals (for NGOs and WFP) expected through Djibouti in December total 90,000 tons, with a further 55,000 tons of WFP wheat expected by the end of January, and 57,000 tons of cereals for NGOs and ICRC by early February. The European commission is expecting 20,572 tons of wheat through Berbera port by early January. These arrivals will be used for repayment to the Emergency food Security Reserve. Current supplies of supplementary blended food in the country are extremely low. Loans to NGOs of blended food by the WFP development program are being arranged from a shipment arriving soon, for total loans of around 2,550 tons. WFP and NGO blended food arrivals in December for emergency operations are around 6,700 tons, in addition to 6,880 tons arriving for development programs. Considering the present limited carryover stocks, immediate pledges and shipment are required to avert destitution and famine in Ethiopia in the coming months.

Year	Affected Areas	Severity
1895-96	Ethiopia	Loss of livestock and human lives
1899-1900	Ethiopia	Drought reduced from levels of lake Rudolf and low Nile floods
1913-14	Northern Ethiopia	Lowest Nile floods since 1695: grain price raised thirty-fold
1920-22	Ethiopia	Moderate drought as in 1985-85
1932-34	Ethiopia	Deduced from low level of water in Lake Rudolf in Kenya

Roundtable on Drought and Famine

Year	Affected Areas	Severity
1953	Tigray and Wollo	Severity unrecorded
1957-58	Tigray and Wollo	Rain failure in 1957, locust and epidemic in 1958
1962-63	Western Ethiopia	Very Severe
1964-66	Tigray and Wollo	Undocumented; said to have been worse than in 1973/74
1969	Eritrea	Estimated 1.7 million suffered food shortage
1971-75	Ethiopia	Sequences of rain failure, estimated 250,000 dead 50% of livestock lost in Tigray and Wollo.
1978-79	Southern Ethiopia	Failure of belg rain
1982	Northern Ethiopia	Late meher rains
1984-85	Ethiopia	Sequential rain failure; 8 million people affected, estimated 1 million dead, many livestock lost
1987-88	Ethiopia	Drought of unrecorded severity in peripheral regions
1990-92	Northern, eastern and south-eastern Ethiopia	Rain failure and regional conflicts. Estimated 4 million people suffered from food shortage.
1995-96	Southern Oromiya and Afar	Cattle death
1999-2000	Afar, Somali, South Oromiya, Tigray and Amhara	Cattle death and severe water shortage
2002/03	Ethiopia	

Source: - Web. P. et al., Famine in Ethiopia: Policy Implications of Crop Failure at National and Household Levels, 1992 (in Melakou A. et al., 1997) and Various DPPC reports

III. Effects of Drought, Depletion of Assets and Famine.

Drought causes risk to household food security by gradually depleting entitlements of livelihood security. In response to the food shortages and famine situations, mostly triggered by drought, people in drought-prone areas employ different coping mechanisms, which include sales of their basic resources, stocks and assets, such as livestock, seeds and tools and then migrating from their living places in attempts to save their lives with minimum supports they may get from others.

Some responses or coping mechanisms to food shortages generally includes the following:

- Non-farm income
- Sales of assets
- Management of stocks and reserves
- Seasonal migration
- Reciprocal obligations (Food sharing, etc)
- Reduced consumptions
- Wild food consumption
- Borrowing
- Mortgaging resources
- Splitting livestock
- Charcoal/fire wood selling
- Food aid
- Crime

Those drought affected people who lost all or most of their assets/stocks during the previous famine usually do not own anything at all, or enough to restart their lives properly by being productive as they ought to be. Recovery from the previous shocks and rebuilding of assets/ stocks mainly takes a number of years, however hard they may try. As observed practically, when the next wave of drought and famine occur before the people have properly recovered from the previous hit, they force the people to use the regained meager assets and throw them back into worse conditions, cutting short any chance for resilience.

The situation is worse with pastoralists, particularly the dry land habitants. Pastoralists depend on livestock and livestock productions for their survival. Unlike sedentary farmers, they have had no income diversification opportunities. Furthermore, they have been marginalized from the national development programs until very recently.

Policy: The recently issued pastoralist development policy is a good start. But it has yet to go a far distance to transform it into a practically applicable program as quick as possible, maybe before the occurrence of the next drought episode.

Development programs: The rangeland development programs, such as SERP, SORDU, etc., so far applied have tried to bring some significant changes in the life of pastoralists by introducing some useful technologies. But the result did not last long. Hence it is difficult to say that they have brought about significant change in the livelihood of pastoralist communities in the country. They focused on livestock development rather than the pastoralists' development. The programs provided veterinary services and appreciated the monetary values of livestock. However, they oversee the non-monitory uses of livestock and how the livestock system fits in with other aspects of the pastoralists' life. Any pastoralist development policy and program has to take the local knowledge and realities of the communities into account to be effective in a sustainable manner. The pastoralist development program should be linked with other development sectors, such as agriculture, trade, etc. in surrounding areas (highland and mid-highland areas) for better results.

Early warning system: An early warning system is used to monitor the drought situation and to get prepared and prevent possible surprise attacks of disasters. This system is mostly limited to meteorological information, pre- and post-harvest crop assessment, physical infestation of pests, market monitoring and others. In fact, the information gathered through the existing system has been used to manage disasters; however, the system is not strong enough to detect or predict the nature of rainfall that follows the end of dry periods, such as Belg rains. The system would have closed this gap and

benefited the concerned communities had it used the farmers' and pastoralists' accrued experiences and local grassroots early warning indicators' knowledge. Pastoralists and farmers can identify overgrazing by examination of forage and exchange of information on changes in vegetation, in order to devise indicators or warning of droughts (Mavunga, 1995). For example, to predict the end of the dry season, the bark of indigenous trees is cut to observe the quantity and appearance of its milky sap. If the sap is quick moving and plentiful, this indicates that rains are coming. In the opposite case, farmers take heed and economize their food and delay planting.

Pastoralists use observation of vegetation, measurement of milk yields, conditions of animals' fur, mating behavior, color and texture of dung of both domestic and wild animals as indicators to decide on land management strategy. Based on risk avoidance or reduction strategy pastoralists permit relatively free livestock movement, dispersal, separation and splitting of herds for rational use of the scarce resources.

It is, therefore, very important to expand the early warning system, such that it includes the local grassroots indicators and knowledge of both pastoralists and farmers for effective prediction of the situation and planning for proper management.

Pastoralists' ecosystem, unlike what some schools of thought suppose, is not naturally in equilibrium; rather it is a fragile drylands ecosystem that requires careful management. The area under consideration occupies about 63% of the country's landmass, and it is very susceptible to droughts and famines. As a result, the pastoralists have been the first frontline victims of almost all droughts and/or famines so far known to history, including the current one. Looking into the studies so far undertaken, it is possible to deduce that future droughts will probably get worse and worse unless due attention is given and serious action taken to halt it and reverse the situation through intensified national development programs in general, and pastoralist development (dry land management) interventions in particular.

IV. Drought Scenario and Future Probability

As many studies have shown, drought used to recur within 3-5 and 6-8 years of the preceding crisis in northern Ethiopia, and within 8-10 years in the country as a whole. But now the occurrence of drought every year in drought-prone areas of the country has become an established fact though it varies from place to place and from time to time in magnitude and coverage. Drought can persist in one area, occur in some places repeatedly and also expand into new areas. Its nation-wide occurrence can assume different scenarios, of which the following four combinations are considered the worst (Melakou Ayalew et al., 1997).

- 'The peak drought of each region will occur simultaneously in the drought-prone areas in the first of two successive but declining drought years.
- 'Two successive drought years in the drought prone areas that will increase to the level of the peak drought years of each region in the second year.
- 'The peak drought of each region will occur simultaneously in the drought-prone areas for two successive years with the same level of intensity.
- 'Any combination of the above scenarios with new areas that will come under drought.'

The 3rd scenario was envisaged as the worst occurrence for any two consecutive years of five- year plan of the country, and year 2000 was considered as occurrence period for the sake of preparedness plan for possible occurrence. The number of people to be affected was estimated to be about 12 million. The number of people to be affected in pastoralist areas has been estimated to increase in the second year of the drought. The study "Worst case scenarios of Drought, Flood, Influx of Refugees and Epidemics and the Present Response System, Vol. II, Annexes by Melakou Ayalew et al., 1997" was one of the real tools to get ready to manage the current catastrophe without any observable surprise:

In view of the damages [so far incurred], loss of assets/stocks and other resources depletion, weakened resilience of the people and severe environmental degradation, the occurrence of any of the scenarios is possible. The worst occurrence of all is sited as the combination of the 3rd and the 4th ones, which was assumed to be a rare chance to happen ... but happened now (2002-03) after five years of prediction (not far away!!!).

Based on experiences and many other studies, the occurrence of a far worse drought and famine will be expected unless intensive rehabilitation and development programs have taken place to rehabilitate the environment and build the resiliency capacity of the people.

V. Getting Beyond Relief

Indeed, the first thing to be done to mitigate the effects of drought and famine is saving lives. In this regard the national and international communities have been assisting and saving many lives over the last many decades following the repeated attacks of devastating droughts and famines.

The occurrence of another drought before recovering from the previous ones has deprived the people of the chance of rebuilding their assets and developing their resiliency capacity. The situations have got worse and worse from time to time, as the occurrence intervals of drought shortened (from 20 years, to 10 years, and now to about 7 to 5 years). Droughts occur and cause famine as a result of a combination of many natural factors (such as climate) that might be beyond the control of a nation or human beings. Hence, it is very important to be alert and get prepared by strengthening the resiliency capacity of the vulnerable population through intensive and sound development program formulation and implementation. It may not be possible for one nation alone, but particularly by under-developed countries, to undertake such intensive development programs. Therefore, as stakeholders in both the damages incurred by drought and famine, as well as in the world's development, both the

international and national communities need to cooperate to meet the challenges and undertake appropriate development program jointly.

As has been observed so far, once the drought or famine crisis is over, the support of international communities recedes, leaving subsequent rehabilitation and development interventions to the affected nation alone. A country that has been frequently and intensively hit by recurrent droughts would not have the capacity to managing post-disaster development programs by itself, because rehabilitation and development are equally, or more, expensive than the relief operation.

Therefore, it is very important for the nation and the intentional communities to pay great attention and undertake intensive rehabilitation and development programs, with a view towards building the resiliency capacity of the people in order for them to cope up with any future drought and /or famine and the shocks they entail. It is crucial to recognize that only natural resource-based development is the best option for mitigating the effects of drought and for rehabilitating and enabling the people to manage or avert any of future, unforeseen shocks.

The international community, as they have so far been part and parcel of the development of the country, should give as much attention to the natural resource-based development programs of the country as (if not more than) that they have to social development sectors.

One of the measures for some international communities to take is giving immediate recognition and support to the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD) and the National Action Plan for Combating Desertification. It is one of the conventions of Agenda 21 to promote and ensure sustainable development of the dry lands of the world, along with other sister UN conventions. Unfortunately, for unknown, specific reasons, unlike other conventions, it has been left without proper funding. The lack of funds and the subsequent under-application of the convention have seriously damaged the development of dry lands that would have benefited pastoral communities more than any others.

Magnitude of Famine for the Pastoral Areas: Past and Present

Climatic changes, such as global warming and the occurrence of El Niño, are some of the other major factors that have disrupted the world's ecosystem, but particularly that of the dry lands, through the continuous depletion of the global environment. Realizing the extent of the damages that could happen in some parts of the world because of some unwanted actions in some other parts of the globe, the world has agreed to manage its welfare and use its natural resources wisely and in a sustainable manner, formulated all-binding conventions, such as UN Convention on Climatic Change, UN Convention on Biodiversity, UN Convention for Combating Desertification and still more others. The world should recognize and implement the convention to prevent further damages of its natural resource-bases in any part of the world, particularly those of the low lands.

In this respect, the country has to:

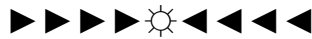
- ☞ Set up implementation strategies and take actions to solicit support for implementing the 15-Year Water Sector Development Program, with more emphasis on community-based water harvesting and small-scale irrigation development.
- ☞ Strengthen the current Pastoralist Development Program by taking relevant traditional knowledge systems, cosmologies and universalities into account.
- ☞ Strengthen the linkage between pastoralist development and other development and economic sectors and marketing, along with mainstreaming the National Action Plan (NAP) and the UNCCD into national development programs to effectively combat desertification and/or implement dry land management.
- ☞ Strengthen the current early warning system by including grassroots indicators and traditional knowledge of local farmers and pastoralists.
- ☞ Intensify partnership with international communities for their due participation, as part of

their international obligations, in intensive natural resource-based rehabilitation and development programs of the country by supporting and financing the NAP and UNCCD.

- ☞ Develop and implement an investment policy that encourages investment through provision of various incentives and appropriate security.
- ☞ Develop and implement enabling policy environment, such as proper land use policy and tenure system, that forces land users not to leave the lands idle but use them to produce the minimum production expected from them and also promote the correct resource-based development interventions.

References:

1. CARE-Ethiopia, Workshop Paper, Household Food Security: Concepts, Indicators and Measurements.
2. Various DPPC reports.
3. ILEIA: Newsletter, Grassroots Indicators: Measuring and Monitoring Environmental Changes at the Local Level, Vol.12, No.3. Dec. 1996, p.14.
4. Melakou Ayalew et al. 1997; Drought, Flood, Influx of Refugees and Epidemics and the Present Response System, Addis Ababa, 1997.
5. Preston King, An African Winter. (Penguin Book), p. 19.
6. Reporter (Amharic) Vol. 8, No. 11, 1995.
7. UNDP Human Resources Development Report, 2001.
8. WFP web site.
9. World Bank Group: Empowerment, Poverty net, <http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/empowerment, 2002> .



Magnitude and Causes for the Famine: The Pastoralists' Perceptions

By Pastoralist Elders

The moderator invited the Pastoralist Elders from the four regions to present what exactly they understand and what they mean by drought and famine. He called upon the Elder from the Somali region to be the first speaker.

Ali Abdi, pastoralist from Somali region, Afder zone took the chance to praise those who arranged the workshop. "Getting back to the issue of drought and famine, Ali said that Allah (God) caused drought and that it changed into famine due to lack of planning. In the pastoralist context, plan with regard to livestock preservation has to do with where to go for grazing and knowing when the grazing period would end.

According to Ali, there are three things existing together, all dependent on one another: environment, livestock and human beings. All the three need caring. When drought occurs, pastoralists try to minimize their consumption to cope up with the consequences of the drought. After losing all their assets, they do not have the means to protect themselves from the drought before it turns into famine. They just wander from place to place in search of pasture and water. Had they been taught on how to take care of their environment and were involved in such educational meeting as the present workshop, they would have known to plan ahead and save their livestock and their own lives. Ali concluded his speech by requesting NGOs and other partners to come up with plans for pastoralist development.

Ato Melakou, the moderator, asked Ali as to what, in his opinion, caused famine? According to Ali, famine is caused by drought. But

an outbreak of animal disease can also cause famine in pastoralist areas.

The second person to speak was also from Somali Region, Degahabour Zone. He started his speech by praising the organizers of the Workshop for making it possible for the pastoralists to learn from the ideas and opinions of other people about drought and the ways to mitigate its effects. "We, pastoralists, do not have plan for movement," the Somali Elder said, "our movement is guided by nature, and we go to where grass and water are available. When we lose our only assets, the animals, the only alternative we have is to come to the towns and look for other means of survival. In recent years," he went on to say, "drought have become more and more frequent in our area, and, therefore, it has not given us time for recovery. We, pastoralists, are frequently losing our resources and we have not seen anything of what we have heard here from other speakers about preparedness and mitigation. These are new concepts to us. Pastoralists do not build storage facilities. We have not seen the government or international donors assisting us at the right time and the right place according to our needs."

As with the first speaker, the second also mentioned lack of planning and preparedness as a cause for continuous crises caused by drought and famine. He appreciated the Forum as a good example for solving the pastoralists' problems, as it includes, particularly, the pastoralists themselves in discussing their problems and suggesting possible solutions. "If people talk and put their heads together," he said, "solutions to the problems could be found much more easily."

According to him shortage of rainfall, water run-off and galleys are among the causes of natural resource degradation in pastoral areas. Therefore, he came looking for solutions focusing on how to collect rainwater and divert it into the ranch lands. "As pastoralists, he said, "What affects us is lack of fodder and water. If we get these two, our life is secured," he concluded.

The next Elder to reflect on the issue at hand was Hassen Mohammed from the Afar Region. After praising the organizers of the Workshop for calling the Afar pastoralist Elders to participate in the Workshop, he related the severity of the drought in their region.

"We were hit by droughts many times, but we have never been affected as we have been at present. The government forgets us. We are living at the mercy of God. We do not have any social services. We follow clouds. If the cloud does not give rain, the Afar people die. The grain aid is not enough unless we get rain to help ourselves. The food aid is only 12.5 Kg per household, which could have 10 or more members.

"There is no market where we can sell our animals, or we are forced to sell at lower prices, since nobody wants to buy our weak and drought-stricken cattle. Not having water resource is a major problem in the Afar Region. The Afar people are living in two ways: those who are settled and those following their cattle. The people in the villages or at the roadside are not affected by the drought. It is those who are off the road that do not have any observer as to whether they are dying or not.

"We were not starved during the 1985 drought. If you ask me why, it is because we had farms in Awassa and Shekit (Aba'ala). The Awash River was full and people were using irrigation to farm. Those who were living in other areas and affected by the drought used to come to the settled farmers until the drought ended. Now, we have not seen farming for the last three years. Even those who were farmers are dying before the pastoralists. We are not clear on who should be responsible for the management of the Awash River—the Federal or the Regional government. We have seen so many meetings but nothing has ever happened in practice. We need water prior to any development. The river on which we depended for our farms is diverted to another area. I am saying 'food distribution is not enough while the people are losing their assets'."

Roundtable on Drought and Famine

The next speaker, again from Afar Region, emphasized the advantages of settlement, citing the example those Afars who settled many years ago and comparing their livelihood with that of those who are still pastoralists. Now the problem is affecting all the people, according to him. "If you feel sick in one part of your body, you cannot tell where in your body you are rational. Today we are in the same situation. Who is better? Those who are settled or those who are still following the rain?"

W/r Menbere Admassie from Afar Mother and Child Organization (AMCO) also elaborated on the causes of the drought. In addition to lack of rain, she mentioned the diversion of the Awash River, so that nobody could use the irrigation system and canals built 40 years ago for the purpose of farming in Dupti. Even in the canals the rainwater could not be retained because they are full of sand and stones brought by flood.

Another participant from the Omo valley put the shutting down of Omo State Farm as a cause for the famine, in addition to the current drought. He proposed veterinary training and a settled lifestyle as a possible for mitigating the effects of drought and famine. According to this pastoralist Elder, tribal conflict between Geleb and Hamer is also a cause for the famine. The conflict arises due to the interest of both parties to control such resources as grazing land and water. An Elder from Hammer seconded his idea and both of them concluded their speech appealing for solutions.

Borbor Bulle, from Borana, had the next chance to reflect on the drought that has been recurring for the last 29 years in his area. He associated the drought with the on-and-off nature of God's rain. "Whenever there is drought," Borbor said, "Boranas try to plan on how to mitigate its effects by applying their traditional early-warning system. Boranas have scheduled grazing pattern for the different types of animals they have. Whenever we feel drought is coming, we divide our herds into two, and most of the dry animals that can walk long distances will be sent out to search for grazing."

According to Borbor, the major problem in the past ten years has been movement restriction due to settlement. Everybody tried to settle in its own encampment, having built a pond, so that people stay around there. The other thing that restricted the movement of pastoralists in search of grazing and water is clan conflict, particularly around Moyale.

"Lack of attention to pastoralists on the part of the government is another problem," Borbor seriously complained. "There were three dry-land grazing areas in Borana, where most of the land is not arable. Those areas are now have been taken over for farming. Therefore, the livestock movement is restricted and we are facing a problem. The land is not suitable for farming and, still, there is a problem of farm encroachment. That brings real problem in terms of availability of pasture and ranch."

A woman from Borana gave emphasis to planning. "It is more of planning;" she said. "Unless we plan for what goes on in bad and good seasons, drought will continue to affect our life. We already have a tradition of planning on the use of our resources. What we need is to strengthen this traditional system to minimize the effects of the drought on both animals and human beings."

A participant from Fentale-Kereyu stressed environmental degradation as a major cause of climatic change and, therefore, drought. As he explained to the Workshop attendants, the natural resource in Fentale and Bossen areas is totally lost. He also proposed teamwork by the Government, NGOs and the people to rehabilitate the natural resources in order to resolve the drought problem of the area.

According to this Fentale Elder, population pressure is another cause of the drought. "Fentale is like a capital for pastoralists in our area," he said. "Every pastoralist group comes to Fentale, and it is crowded. There is very limited grazing land and yet its population is growing beyond its capacity. This also contributes to drought."

Roundtable on Drought and Famine

Workie Bulga, a woman also from Fentale-Kereyu, said lack of education was one of the causes that made them vulnerable to drought and famine. "As pastoralists, we had only our cattle and now we have lost them. We are not farmers and we do not have any other profession. We do not have modern education, so we have nowhere to go. We are forced to wait for the famine."

Dubale Osha from Jinka, South Omo said that conflict with the Mursi was a major cause of the famine in their area. According to him, they cannot focus on their farm because they have to safeguard themselves from the frequent attacks launched by the Mursi. "It [the conflict] started since the time of Emperor Haileselassie. They [the Mursi] forced us from our land. They rob and set fire to our assets. We cannot move anywhere for fear of the killings they perpetrate. That is why we are now into famine. It is the Mursi who are taking our cattle. They are the ones who caused the famine."

Abdi Mohamed, from Dagahabour, was the last Elder to speak in the time allocated for the pastoralists. Abdi said, "Drought is not a new phenomenon in pastoral areas, except that they were neglected. What makes the present one different is it covers the whole country, including farmers. We are not happy about what has happened." Abdi added: "Everybody is in the same boat, but we feel the problem will not be neglected as it used to be when it was attacking only the pastoralists."

Discussion on Magnitude and Causes for the Famine

Following Ato Yonis' presentation and the Elders' opinions, the moderator invited the Workshop participants for discussion. He also proposed to begin with questions focusing on the causes for the famine and drought in order to give the discussion a systematic bent, on the basis of which some of the participants went on to pose questions, but after first congratulating Ato Yonis for his "wonderful presentation." The questions are listed below:

Question 1: Ato Yonis, explain to me about the traditional early warning system of indigenous people, which you mentioned in your presentation?

Question 2: You concluded by saying that donors were also the causes of the famine. I entirely agree with you. Nevertheless, can you link the famine with the development policies and strategies we are following?

Question 3: I am not entirely forwarding my question to the presenter alone. It is directed to all of us. What is the definition of drought? The way we define it affects our perspectives in intervention measures we take. There is a hydrological definition of drought; there is a socio-economic definition associating drought and famine. Can we first define what drought is in the context of pastoralist areas?

Question 4: Is the food shortage in our country a drought problem or a development one?

Question 5: As we know, drought is a natural phenomenon and it is not occurring only in Ethiopia. It occurs throughout the world. This year, it has even occurred in Australia, Central America and the Middle East. But when you come to our country, drought is almost 100% of the time associated with famine, and my focus is on this point. When it comes to famine in our country, is it a must that, whenever drought occurs, famine should automatically follow?

Roundtable on Drought and Famine

What are the internal and external factors causing the suffering of a community due to drought and famine?

After the fifth question, the moderator, Ato Melakou, reminded the participants to place the discussion in its proper context and dwell more on Ato Yonis' presentation, as Dr. Tafesse may raise the issue of the causes of the famine during the third presentation. Then, he gave the chance to Ato Yonis to respond only to the questions related to his presentation.

Ato Yonis said that what he came with was a blanket presentation and that other presenters after him would discuss the details. Regarding traditional early warning systems, he said that farmers and pastoralists had their own local knowledge. They could observe the wind blow, the mating behavior of cattle, the distribution of plants, etc. and predict what lay ahead. In some places, they looked in to the color of the dung of animals, both domestic and wild, and they forecast the weather accordingly. In fact, explaining these things could appear amazing if you were not familiar with the traditional knowledge that had been used by the communities who did not have any meteorological records for many years.

Famine comes, according to Yonis, when development could not generate the required basic needs, including for contingency during bad times. He said, "Our development usually focuses on subsistent farming, which results in creating an artificial over-population. At one time, I asked a friend of mine what population pressure is and what the objective of having a population program was all about. My friend replied: 'the objective is to keep the population growth rate consistent with the economic and social growth rate'. I agree with that, but in the case of Ethiopia, the social and economic development is declining from time to time. Then, to keep population growth rate consistent with that, it had to diminish faster. Yet that is not the case in Ethiopia.

"Population is an asset if you know how to use it. You are talking about population pressure in a country where we have not used

95% of the irrigable arable land and about 70% of agricultural land; where we have not used any other natural resources for the benefit and growth of the people and yet you ask about diminishing of the population size. Why do you not think about the socio-economic development rather than reducing a population pressure that does not exist? It exists artificially because of the general poor livelihood of the people throughout the country. This is the point that I would like to raise for the audience to take up for discussion.

Ato Yonis replied affirmatively to the question of whether the current famine could be linked to our development policy and strategy. Regarding the definition of drought, he admitted there are several kinds of drought, but he mentioned only one that has direct relevance to the Workshop, just to make his presentation brief. He referred the rest of the questions to the succeeding presenters.

However, the participants had more questions on the presentation of Ato Yonis. One participant asked Ato Yonis how he came to the conclusion that international organizations, too, are responsible for the drought. What should the international community and national organizations have done to avoid this drought? And what should be done in the future?

Another participant asked: "How do we differentiate between the persisting poverty situation in this country and the recurring drought?"

The Moderator requested Ato Yonis to restrict himself to responding to the second question only, since the first one is to be addressed by Dr. Tafesse's presentation. In accord with the moderator's request, Ato Yonis said that drought perpetuated poverty because it consumed up the assets meant for development and survival. Drought erodes all natural resource bases in such a way that it totally deprives the people of what little assets they have and drives them to poverty. When people get poor, they go on preying on natural resources for making charcoal, or selling wood, and they do not think twice about rehabilitating the resources, but particularly land. Soils get poorer; as a result of

which future production declines. Therefore, drought perpetuates poverty; poverty perpetuates environmental degradation, and environmental degradation, in turn, perpetuates drought. Then we end up in a vicious circle. This circle should be broken at one point or another, or we face the risk of total devastation.

Following his response one participant Ato Yonis if he, in his research, had come across any measures taken by the communities, the Government and donors to mitigate the effects of the famine. The participant specifically asked: "As you indicated, drought has been with us for many years. Even during the last decade, we have seen two to three droughts. Have you looked into any effort to alleviate the problem? And what can we learn from that?"

Another participant commented, by way of answering this question, on the contribution of the international community: "I heard that the international community has been more or less contributing to this and that. Whenever things go to the extreme, people from all over the world jam in help; on the other hand, however, when there is no sign of drought, we are not doing our best to improve the situation. For example, food aid weakens indigenous coping mechanisms.

"Whenever, disaster is there, I think donors are very happy to help; so they ship wheat and other staff. I do not know what they get by doing so! Generally speaking, as far as I am concerned, food aid weakens people; they develop so much dependency on food aid that they do not seem to want to do what they are supposed to do in their daily lives. Donors should carefully study this food aid business. There is a grain of truth in this idea, and that is what Ato Yonis is probably trying to tell us. It is in this sense that donors are contributing to the drought. This is how I would like to reconcile the arguments."

The moderator suggested that why food aid creates dependency syndrome in Ethiopia be highlighted because, at least for the last three decades after the war, there were so many countries hit by natural disaster, but it seems that it is only Ethiopia that is still

affected by recurrent drought and is still begging for food aid. Others emerged from the crisis a long time ago.

"Bangladesh, which emerged as an independent country only in 1971, is not a food aid recipient now, except maybe when the annual floods hit. Otherwise, in terms of food security, they have done a lot, much better than we have ever done in this country. We have to ask why? Bangladesh is a new country, as mentioned above--a mere 30 years old. We tell ourselves we have been independent for three thousand years. What, then, is the problem? Why the recurrent famine, including the current one, every time there is drought? Why is it happening in Ethiopia but nowhere else? It is very important to pose these and similar other questions when we speak about dependency syndrome. I don't think Ethiopians belong to any kind of special species, or that they have peculiar genes that make them depend on food aid every time there is a crisis. Nobody wants to do that. Ethiopians are a very proud people who do not even want to live on food aid; it is impossible. There must be a factor that created this situation. It is precisely this factor that we have to look at, and I wonder if Ato Yonis could reflect on his."

Ato Yonis said that he appreciated the support that comes by way of food aid. Rather, his argument stresses the issue of how the aid is used. According to him, dependency syndrome is not the result of food aid itself but that of its use and management. If we use the food aid for rehabilitation and development, that is fine, but giving it as a free handout creates dependency. Therefore, the issue is all about the management and purpose of the aid. The food aid that is being provided is very vital and important in saving lives. The problem starts when we fail to take those saved lives, rehabilitate them and make them active participants in the country's sustainable development.

The presenter also commented on the mitigation of the effects of the famine. According to him, the government has taken major steps in providing food reserves, agricultural inputs and restocking. Nevertheless, as one can see from the repeated

occurrence of drought, what has been done given the available capacity is not enough to avert the effects of droughts. Communities have taken several kinds of measures to mitigate the devastating effects of drought and famine, such as reciprocal support and borrowing from one another. They have done a lot re-establish a member of a community whose life has been devastated. In pastoral areas, for example, they use restocking as one way of mitigating the effects of the crisis.

With regard to relevant studies, Ato Yonis mentioned Melakou Ayalew and Ezlar's **The Worst Scenario** (1997). They predicted, he said, that the drought would get worse and that they took year 2000 as a planning stage for preparedness. Taking past experiences and the peak drought cycle proportion into account, they estimated the number of the victims of the famine to rise to 12 million by the year 2000. If this worst scenario case has been studied and solutions proposed, Ato Yonis went on to regret, why action was not taken to get prepared in advance. There are several studies on the shelf, which, had they been used, could have helped avert, or at least minimize the current serious drought and the attending famine.



PART TWO

IMMEDIATE CAUSES FOR THE FAMINE IN PASTORAL AREAS

Immediate Causes for the Famine: The Drought Dimension

By **Dr. Tafesse Mesfin**, FARM Africa

Moderator: **Gebremichael Heramo**, Christian Aid Ethiopia

I. General Definition

Generally speaking, drought is associated with reduced or insufficient precipitation in a season or on an annual basis.

1. Specific Definition

To a meteorologist, drought is an annual precipitation that is below average. To an agriculturalist, it is low soil moisture leading to plant stress caused by inappropriate land use, soil erosion and soil crusting. To a hydrologist, it means shortage of surface and ground water supply intended for such uses as irrigation and hydropower energy. There is also a socio-economic understanding of drought as it affects people's life (Herlocker, 1999).

2. Characteristics

We do not know the beginning and the end of drought. It fades out as gradually as it comes in. In short, it is a 'creeping invader'. So, variability of rainfall in time and space; intensity, distribution, reliability, evapo-transpiration, humidity, wind, climate change, altitude, increased temperature due to the Green House effect have their own contribution to make to drought.

3. Effect

As a result of drought, crop and fodder production gets reduced, livestock mobility increases, human starvation sets in, and then migration begins and, finally famine hits. There is exogenous pressure on pastoral land resource. New land use practices, such as wild life enclosures and cultivation, find themselves in competition with traditional resource management. Due to such changing land management there is conflict and insecurity. Losses of livestock and shrinkage of grazing resources due to drought lead to low human-livestock ratio.

Sanford and Habtu (2000) have shown their 'best guesses' about the decrease in assets in the 1999/2000 droughts in Afar, Oromiya, Somali and Southern regions. During that period livestock mortality in Afar, in both better and worse condition, was estimated to be low, when compared to other regions, as indicated in Table 1.

Table 1. Best guesses by the PAT of drought-induced herd-size decreases between May 1999 and May 2000 (Figures in % of opening/starting herd size)

Region	Zone or type of area	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Equines	Camels
AFAR	Better	15	5	5	?	0
	Worse	45	15	15	?	25
OROMIYA	Borana/ better	30	20	20	10	10
	Borana/ worse	80	50	30	20	20
	Bale lowlands	50	35	20	20	15
SOMALI	Better	40	40	40	?	15
	Worse	80	60	40	?	35
SNNPR	South Omo	50	20	20	?	15

Source: Sanford, S. and Habtu, Y. 2000.

Immediate Causes for the Famine: The Drought Dimension

That year, Oromiya (Borana) and Somali regions suffered a high mortality rate, probably raising 'best guesses' to 80%, the worst case. This year, we know that Afar cattle have suffered high mortality rate due to below-average rain for two consecutive seasons. (Desta, S. 1999) collected household data in Borana between 1980-1997, and Figure 1 below reflects the cattle dynamics in drought and normal years. This repeated cattle 'boom and bust' in the last 17 years has affected household cattle inventory. There was a 37% drop from an average of 92 head/household in 1980-1 to 58 head/household in 1996.

Sanford and Habtu (2000) also assumed a model where human population, livestock population and their feed interact. In Figure 2 below the human population growth is indicated at a rate of 3% annually. The availability of feed determines the livestock population. High livestock population leads to reduction in feed supply, resulting in high livestock mortality. This again reduces the human-livestock ratio. With such situation and recurrent drought, pastoral livelihood is increasingly becoming vulnerable to impoverishment and famine.

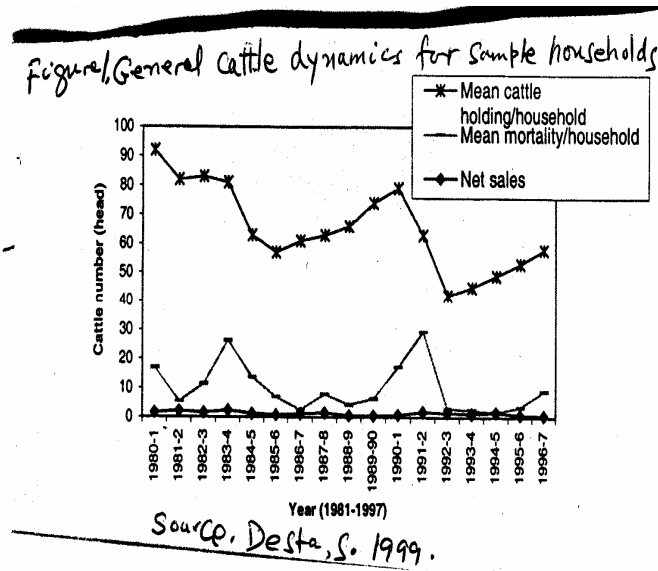
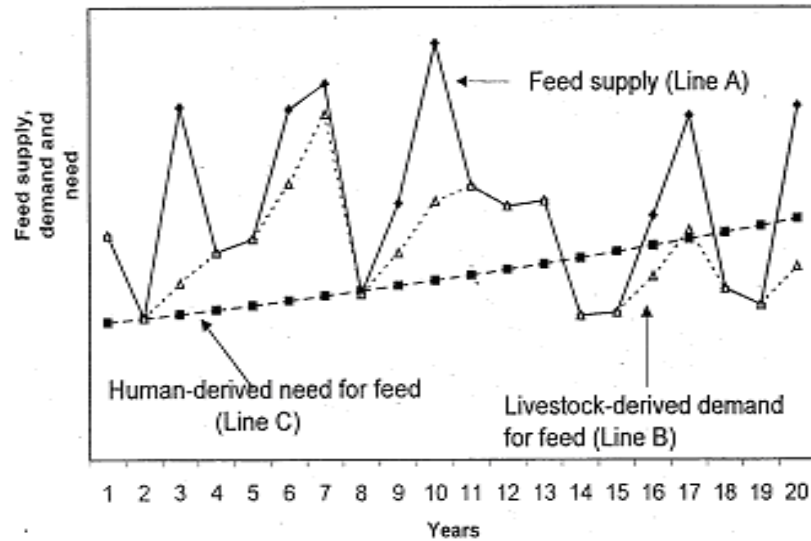


Figure 2. Opportunistic management of demand for livestock feed with a growing human population



Source: Desta, S. 1999

II. Traditional Coping Mechanisms

When there is drought, mobility occurs beyond normal transhuman movement. This year we have seen Afars from Zone 5 in Zone 3 and Cheffa valley. In 1999/2000 Somali pastoralists from east Gashamo and Warder traveled hundreds of kilometers towards Gode looking for pasture and water. Pastoralists also have reciprocity arrangements for use of pasture and water. Sale of livestock, herd splitting, changing herd composition, food sharing, wild food gathering, diversifying income sources are all traditional coping mechanisms. If all this does not work, then famine sets in. But what is famine?

III. Famine

Famine is when a community or groups of people lose their access to food and, as a result, mass starvation starts (Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues /ICHI, 1985). In Ethiopia, even if there is no drought, there are, in most cases, problems of having sufficient food. The existence of long-term poverty is a major cause of famine. That also means unavailability of food. Even when food is available, because poor people cannot purchase it, they effectively have no access to it.

IV. Drought Management

There are four stages of drought developed as a model by Acacia Consultants in Kenya. The model is based on many years of experience in Turkana and other parts of northern Kenya. The four stages of drought are:

- Drought preparedness (normal)
- Mitigation activities (alert/alarm)
- Relief activities (emergency)
- Reconstruction activities (recovery)

The model discusses detailed measures that need to be taken under each of the four stages. The lists of activities that are mentioned in the drought cycle management model are examples that are practiced frequently. The model, however, can be applicable to different areas to address specific measures that communities or governments wish to do.

V. Drought Management: FARM Africa and EPARDA's Experience in Pastoral Areas

In 1998 FARM Africa launched what is known as the Afar Pastoralist Development Project (APDP). The project followed a mobile outreach camp approach, which is considered to be 'the hub of the FARM Africa Pastoralist Development Project's extension service' (FARM- Africa, 2002). The mobile outreach approach

involves the establishment of a project team in a mobile camp, which is located near, and travels with, the nomadic pastoralists. The project's purpose was to enhance the capacity of pastoral communities to plan and manage their own development and to disseminate the results of this experience to a broader audience. Initially, the project trained Community Animal Health Workers, followed by training of government staff with support to women goat marketing group, women dairy marketing, livestock marketing group, and irrigation group. FARM's approach is a lesson that can be considered as a drought-preparedness intervention. This approach was further promoted to South Omo Zone. FARM Africa, in partnership with a local NGO, EPaRDA, launched its second pastoral project, South Ethiopia Pastoralist Project (SEPP). Both APDP and SEPP have contributed to the recent Government and World Bank-initiated Pastoral Community Development Project (PCDP).

During the current drought in Afar region, FARM Africa has taken strong initiative to respond by conducting intensified animal health emergency intervention together with Oxfam-GB. Additional emergency response project was submitted to ECHO and has been accepted. The Afar Pastoralist Emergency Project (APEP) will be launched in January 2003. The project addresses four major components. These include intensified animal health service, fodder support, irrigation support and emergency livestock purchasing and human feeding. The APDP staff will support the implementation of the emergency project within their own normal operation area. This approach can be seen as one method of responding to different situations in arid and semi-arid areas, where situations are uncertain due to recurrent drought. Flexibility, in taking such and other diverse options during periods of crises will complement the early warning signals.

Whenever drought occurs there will be much effort to bring grain from elsewhere. Simultaneously, there is little or no attention given to pastoralists' major asset, which is their livestock. There is food aid for humans but not for animals. Feeding some targeted breeding animals with hay from nearby areas and concentrate will

contribute to quick herd recovery in post-drought periods. Purchasing of emaciated and non-breeding, old animals for slaughtering and meat distribution to the community should be seen as a positive response. This will strengthen their ability to cope with drought in a much better way. Hide can be saved, sold and the money so obtained used as community fund. As drought is observed frequently, communities should have access to emergency fund kept for such purposes without wasting much time looking for funding after the drought has already started. In the current drought period most interventions are late. This could be due to several factors.

VI. Recommendations

New directions in pastoralist areas should focus on policy debates to promote drought resiliency capacity. Such policy debates among others should include:

- Land tenure security.
- Pastoral institution building for conflict management, negotiating regimes for dry season and drought time grazing.
- Community management of water.
- Delivering services, i.e. animal and human health and education.
- Supporting pastoral marketing at the Woreda/Kebele level.
- Contingency planning, together with contingency fund. The contingency fund must be a package along with the contingency planning.

What we have to do in post-drought periods:

- ↔ Promote reproductive health/family planning, since population growth is one of the problems in Ethiopia.
- ↔ Policy debate.
- ↔ Civic education: Pastoralists have to know their rights.
- ↔ Monitoring and evaluation.

↔ Innovative and dynamic intervention. We have to change according to the circumstances. We will not have a prescribed solution.

For Donors

More development-oriented support is needed. A holistic approach that will respond to all issues both at macro and micro level needs to be encouraged.

Finally, I will close with a saying: **“Give a man a fish and you feed him for a day; give him a fishing net and you feed him for life.”**

References:

- Desta, S. 1999. "Diversification of Livestock Assets for Risk Management in the Borana System of Southern Ethiopia." PhD dissertation, Utah State University, Utah.
- FARM-Africa. 2002. The Mobile Outreach Approach: Best Practices from FARM-Africa's Pastoralist Development Project in Kenya. Nairobi, Kenya.
- Herlocker, D. 1999. Rangeland Resources in Eastern Africa: Their Ecology and Development. GTZ, Nairobi.
- ICIHI. 1985. Famine. A Man-Made Disaster? A report for the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues. London: Pan Books, Ltd.
- Sandford, S. and Habtu, Y. 2000. Emergency Response Interventions in Pastoral Areas of Ethiopia. DFID.



Immediate Causes for the Famine: The Conflict Dimension

By **Alemayehu Azeze**

Organization for Social Science Research Eastern and Southern
Africa (OSSREA)

1. Overview of Drought and Conflict in the Pastoral Areas

Drought has now become a frequent phenomenon in the country, and all farming systems, including the pastoral sector, are affected. Pastoral societies are more vulnerable to drought impacts, and every drought event easily turns to famine, resulting in livelihood crises. The following are some of the factors that make pastoral societies more vulnerable to the impacts of drought:

1. The major asset of pastoralist societies is livestock, which is very difficult to hoard, given the prevailing conditions, and to use to mitigate the impacts in bad years;
2. Alternative sources of income are generally limited in rural areas of Ethiopia. This constraint is more serious in pastoralist areas due to the fact that these groups are less integrated with the economy of the hinterland and it is not common for them to migrate into these areas and engage in income-earning employment; and
3. During drought, other pastoralist groups, particularly those from the neighbouring countries of Somalia and Kenya, migrate to pastoralist areas of Ethiopia with their animals. This aggravates the impacts of drought by creating pressure on the limited pastoral resources in the area.

The objective of this brief note is to raise some points relevant to the immediate causes of famine in pastoralist areas, emphasizing the conflict dimension.

Several pastoral studies in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa region indicate that pastoralists are faced with multidimensional conflict (Hogg, 1997¹; Mkutu, 2001)². According to these studies, as a result of competition over resources, pastoralist groups are in conflict among themselves along clan and ethnic lines, with highland cultivators, and with the Government. Available studies also show that these conflicts are now more frequent than earlier periods. Although violent conflict is a major problem to the country, pastoralist areas seem to be affected more owing to the following conditions:

1. Ethiopia was in conflict with Somalia for some time in the past. These conflicts were fought in the pastoralist areas. Therefore, apart from the direct material and human costs that the country incurred to fight the war, pastoralist societies were forced to bear the adverse consequences of displacement and loss of livestock.
2. Localized cross-border conflicts that are common in the area are far beyond the reach of national security forces.
3. There are more conflict-causing/aggravating factors that involve pastoral societies more than other groups of people. These include (i) policy- and program-related (inappropriate resource use), (ii) cultural (cattle rustling), (iii) geographical (proliferation of small arms because of porous borders), and (iv) structural problems (cultural aspects influencing production and marketing of livestock, pressure on resources and poverty).

¹ Hogg, R. 1997. (ed) *Pastoralists, Ethnicity and the State in Ethiopia*. London: Haan Publishing.

² Mkutu, K. 2001. *Pastoralist and Conflict in the Horn of Africa*, Africa Peace Forum/Safer world/University of Bradford.

2. Violent Conflicts Exacerbate the Impact of Drought

2.1. The Pastoral Household

In order to illustrate the relationship between violent conflict and the impacts of drought, let us first establish a simple model of a pastoral household economy.

A pastoral economy in Ethiopia is dependent on livestock and livestock products. However, the trend in the area is that other sources of income, including cultivation, petty trade and charcoal and fuel wood selling are gaining significance. Therefore, the total value of nominal income of a pastoral household is dependent on livestock quantity and quality, livestock prices and the availability of other sources of income.

Total Nominal Income = $PI \cdot QI$ + other income,

Where:

- I. PI = Price of major output (livestock and livestock products)
- II. QI = Quantity of major output (livestock and livestock products)
- III. Other income

In the above simple model, we need to introduce a price deflator in order to arrive at the real income of the household. The challenge, however, is arriving at the appropriate price index. In the context of Ethiopian pastoralist households, the price of grain (maize, sorghum, wheat and rice) is taken because it can be assumed that as a poor household, food items constitute the major purchase of these groups.

2.2. Introducing Drought into the System

Drought results in decline of real income:

- Reduction in output: milk, meat, because production is traditional (animals grazing on natural pasture);
- Reduction in grain production in the area;
- Lower livestock prices as a result of reduction in marketable livestock quality;
- Rise in grain prices as a result of increased demand to compensate calories due to milk and farm output reduction.

2.3. Introducing Violent Conflict into the System

Violent conflict therefore exacerbates the impact of drought through:

a. Disrupting marketing of both livestock and grain in the area

Both domestic and external (cross-border markets) are important in the area. Domestic markets are important sources of grain. Pastoral areas are supplied by grain from the hinterland. Livestock originated in pastoral areas is also sold to consumers in urban areas and to highland cultivators in the hinterland. Inter-clan/ethnic conflicts could disrupt this route. The situation is more important during drought because, during this period, there is urge to sell as many livestock as possible before the quality of these animals deteriorates. The instability also discourages grain suppliers originating from the highlands and aggravates the impacts of drought (Futterknecht, 1997).³

³ Futterknecht, C. 1997. "Diary of Drought: the Borana of Southern Ethiopia, 1990-1993." In: *Pastoralists, Ethnicity and the State in Ethiopia*, edited by Richard Hogg. London: Haan Publishing.

External markets for pastoralists are important. According to a study by Tegegne et al. (1999)⁴ on cross-border trade and food security in southern and southeastern rangelands indicate that most of the pastoralist areas move their animals to the neighboring countries. This cross-border route is important to access markets in neighboring countries and, through these countries, the Middle East. The cross-border trade, although often considered illegal, is an important source of employment to young people in the area (Little, 2001). Therefore, a border closure as a result of inter-clan/inter-ethnic and inter-state conflicts hinders the movement of livestock and people in the area.

b. Disrupting pastoral coping strategies and relief interventions

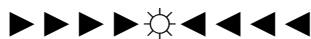
A recent review on pastoral household recovery strategies in the Horn of Africa by Ahmed et al. (2002)⁵ summarizes responses by pastoralists and external agents. According to the review, some of the pastoralist coping strategies are: (i) moving livestock to other areas (if the drought is localized); (ii) migration for wage labor; and (iii) increased involvement in other activities (petty-trade and charcoal and fuel wood selling). The review also mentions that the common response to drought by external agents, including government and NGOs, is relief assistance. All these internal and external responses involve movement, which in turn requires stability in the area.

⁴ Tegegne Teka, Alemayehu Azeze and Ayele Gebremariam. 1999. *Cross-Border Livestock Trade and Food Security in Southern and Southeastern Borderlands of Ethiopia*. Development Research Report Series no.1. Addis Ababa: Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa.

⁵ Ahmed Abdel Ghaffar, M. Alemayehu Azeze, Mustafa Babiker and Diress Tsegaye. 2002. *Post-Drought Recovery Strategies Among the Pastoral households in the Horn of Africa: A review*, Development Research Report Series no. 3. Addis Ababa: Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA).

3. Remarks

Violent conflicts aggravate the impacts of drought either by reducing the real income of pastoralists (reducing the price of their sales and/or raising the price of their purchases) or constraining responses to drought, including pastoralist coping strategies and external relief assistance. However, the role of conflict in the area is more than the relationship we tried to establish here. Thus the root causes of conflict need to be addressed not only to contain their aggravating effects of drought but also to reduce the material and human costs implied to the pastoralists. However, the various forms of conflicts that pastoralists are faced with attracted only little research. These attempts need to be synthesized to identify implications for policy and program intended to manage and resolve conflicts in the area.



General Discussion on the Causes and Magnitude of the Famine

Moderator: - **Ato Fikadu Abate**, Oromiya Pastoral Development
Commission

The second day of the workshop began with a wrap up and discussion of the previous day's presentations. Ato Sora Adi did the wrap up and Ato Melakou Tegegn (PFE) followed with what he thought was an important issue but was not well discussed on the previous day. Below are Ato Melakou's remarks:

"We are talking in global context or an international system and about how it is related to the creation of famine. When we talk about poverty alleviation and emergency measures to take us out of famine, then globalization is an important component, particularly at the level of policy.

I would like to raise just three points. The first is modernization, which today has become equivalent to or synonymous with Westernization, and what impact it has made on pastoralist livelihood. In this context, what one can mention generally are the so-called modern state or government and its impact on the life of pastoralists.

The second is how manufacturing or industrialization has affected pastoralist livelihood. We have heard our Elders from Kereyu mentioning that factories in their regions have not yet benefited pastoralists. On the contrary, they could have played negative role as far as the pastoralist livelihood system is concerned.

I am saying this because we have accepted the dominant discourse and definition of development. It is not only Ethiopia but also entire countries in the Third World that have accepted this definition and internalized it. It was first

defined by the late President of the United States, Harry Truman, who categorized all poor countries as underdeveloped and the industrial societies as developed.

Unfortunately, we in the South have internalized and accepted this definition without question and called ourselves undeveloped. We are not developed, while the people in the North are developed. Therefore, these are the very questions we have to ask now because at the end of the day 45 or 50 years after Harry Truman's statement, what the world faces now is a grave situation. Global warming has created a terrible situation, particularly to the poor in the South, including Ethiopia. Environmental degradation followed by climatic changes has caused a great deal of problem, exacerbating poverty in every country.

If this is the situation, then what is development? If human beings are destroying the very environment that they survive on and still want to continue with that same act, then where are we headed? Where would human civilization get 50 years from now? These are the questions that are being asked everywhere. This is the very question we have to ask now in Ethiopia because we are confronted with a paradox. The paradox is either we could not manage to attain industrialization, which the so called modern states of this country have been trying to bring about for the last 50 years; three regimes, and we have completely failed. We have not industrialized this country.

On the other side of the paradox is we did not let traditional systems flourish and strengthen, and at the end of the day, because the traditional systems have been weakened, traditional forms of governance do not exist. Therefore, it is the same traditional society that is being hit and suffers from environmental degradation and climatic changes, among which global warming is the number one culprit.

General Discussion on the Causes and Magnitude of the Famine

When we talk about drought and famine, we have to bear in mind that they are connected with the climatic change; the global warming that is currently taking place. Although one of the basic factors that caused the current famine is internal, at the same time, the climatic change, due to global warming, also has a huge role in causing the drought.

The third point is that, when we go deep into digging for the causes of the famine, although, technically speaking, drought has definitely sparked the famine, the actual, underlying cause is the socio-economic formation or the livelihood system that rural Ethiopia has been subjected to for the last 50 years. In the last 30 years, for example, we have had three major famines: in 1974, at the time of the Emperor, when the land tenure system was different. The reason for the famine was the exploitative nature of the land tenure system. Then, the Derg came, the so-called land distribution took place, and at least peasants had their use right on land; but in 1984/85, we had a big famine. What happened? The explanation now is no longer lack of land. What is the explanation, then? Now we have a third regime, a different kind of political system, and we still have famine. What is the explanation? Are we still going to say that drought is the only cause of the famine now, or is it something else?

Technically speaking, we may say that drought sparked the famine. But if we probe further into the problem, we can see that drought is not the actual problem, because Ethiopia is not the only country that is suffering from global warming and drought. There are so many countries that have been affected by drought; for example, Kenya suffered from a severe drought two years ago but there was no famine. Other countries had faced drought but there was no famine there either. What is happening in Ethiopia? I think, what is happening in Ethiopia is that both traditional systems, the peasant world and the pastoral life system, have suffered a great deal from the land tenure system. Whatever political

system was in place, it has contributed a great deal to the cause of the famine and the fundamental reason is the system could not permit traditional societies to develop their own diversified means of livelihood. In the last 30 years, rural Ethiopia could not diversify its means of livelihood either. It has become increasingly dependent on outsiders. The peasants are entirely dependent on what they are growing on the land, nothing else. The pastoralists depend entirely on their livestock, nothing else. For thirty years now we have been having recurrent famine and nothing has changed on the ground as far as the system is concerned.

So the systems could not allow diversified means of livelihood. That is why people perish when drought comes because they have no other means of survival. The whole question is not whether or not peasants and pastoralists have the right to sell land. (Actually, the land tenure system in pastoral societies is different because of the presence of collective land ownership in the pastoral systems). Still, as far as I am concerned, the fundamental problem is that both peasants and pastoralists have no alternate ways of survival, particularly in times of crises; and because of this, the life of pastoralists and peasants has been precarious for decades. Precarious to the extent that any time a natural disaster occurs, then people perish. This is the fundamental problem, and I think it is very important to look at that, and when we talk about development or poverty reduction it is precisely this aspect that we have to look into.

As far as pastoralists are concerned, one of the major ways that to diversify the means of livelihood of pastoral communities is to set up a livestock marketing mechanism effective enough to benefit pastoral communities even at the household level. This is one major area that the Government and the development community have to do.

At the level of policy, again, the problem should not be restricted to what is happening in this country. As I said earlier, globalization has a huge impact on global warming, mainly due to the productive activities, i.e. industrialization, manufacturing, etc., that contribute directly to the phenomenon.

On the other hand, we in the South have been subjected to policy prescriptions by the world regimes, such as World Bank, IMF, and now the WTO. We have been constantly told that, at one point, it is Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) we have to adopt, or else there is no loan. Since last year, it has been PRSP, and next year? I don't know what is coming, but because of our own poverty and low level of development, we have been subjected to policy prescriptions from these World Bank, IMF and WTO, which makes us heavily dependent on the loans that we are getting from these global institutions. This is one problem that we have to encounter, and we have to join other countries and other global forces that are there to change this global imbalance. It is very important.

One of the major activities to undertake in this respect is to reform the United Nations system. This is connected with the poverty and the famine we are facing now. Number two at the level of policy, again, it is very important for countries such as Ethiopia to show the world that we have fifteen million people starving because of drought, and drought is a symptom of global warming, and global warming is caused by environmental degradation. Therefore, it is highly important for countries like us, for the survival of our own people, that the major industrial countries immediately ratify the Kyoto Protocol. It is countries such as the United States that release up to 30% of the world's carbon dioxide and other Green House gases that affect the ozone layer. And at the end of day, it is poor countries like Ethiopia who suffer from this global warming.

Therefore, we cannot shut ourselves off from the rest of the world but think around the clock about what is happening. In actual fact, one of the main causes for what we are suffering is coming from outside this country. Therefore, when we talk about pastoral poverty, the famine, etc. these are things that we have to take into consideration. Thank you very much."

Following Melakou's remarks, W/r. Menbere took the opportunity to explain why the drought became worse in Afar region. The first point she made was that the Afars, being pastoralists surviving on livestock and livestock products, did not have farms and storage. The second is that there has not been efficient land management, in addition to the drought. W/r. Menbere was also concerned about irrigation. She said that there should be a legal enforcement mechanism to make the people develop and utilize irrigation. Otherwise, she said, the rivers flowed unchecked outside the country, while we were watching the clouds for any sign of rain.

The next speaker, who was from Kereyu, emphasized the displacement of the people from around the Awash River. He said that though the Kereyu people were considered to be pastoralists, their grazing lands, theirs by right and by necessity, have now been sequestered for farming activities.

"If the government takes land from peasants", said the speaker, "it gives them another land in compensation. This, however, does not apply to pastoralists because they are not farmers. The Kereyu people were displaced from their land and from the banks of the Awash without compensation when the sugarcane plantation began." According to the speaker, their problem is not lack of water, since they are in between the Awash and Bulga rivers. What denies them access to these rivers is their conflict with the Afars. He bitterly complained about the National Park and the Sugar Factory in Kereyu, from which the people have so far not benefited. He therefore asked the workshop attendants if and how the problem of Kereyu could be solved.

Another participant suggested settlement as one way to solve the problem of drought, and invited the floor to deliberate on the issue. After a short intervention by the moderator to inform the participants about the ongoing effort by the Federal and Regional governments to solve the problem of the Kereyu, Ato Sora took the opportunity to reflect on the issue of settlement.

According to Ato Sora, it would have been a simple matter to settle the pastoralists had they themselves been the ones to complain about their current lifestyle. He said the question of pastoralist settlement would probably appeal more to the educated sector of society. Otherwise, he said, there are inherent reasons for the pastoralists to move from place to place. There are times to perform various social and economic activities that keep the pastoralists moving by just looking at to the moon and the clouds. He also argued about the difficulty of 'settling their beliefs: "*It is possible to settle the people but not their beliefs. If we settle the people physically, they will miss their beliefs.*"

However, Ato Sora still supported the idea of settlement if only the psychology and beliefs of the people could be settled. He said, that that was what the Government's missed on. Then he suggested to the Government not to simply impose policies but consult with the people to change their beliefs and attitudes

Dr. Tafesse's comment on the issue of settlement was appealing to the commitment of the Government. Though the Government follows settlement as a strategy, he said, nothing has been done practically. He criticized the debate on the use of settlement, while the Government has not been able to follow up on successful settlements. Many irrigation sites have been abandoned, he said.

He also argued for the advantages of pastoral lifestyle. He said that, if the pastoralists were not moving to exploit the grazing and vegetation resources in accessible areas, there would have been more land degradation.

Ato Melakou Tegegn took up the issue where Dr. Tafesse left off to consider the question from a different angle. He put an assumption on the table considering a reversal in Ethiopian history after Mohammed Grange. He suggested that the participants assume for a moment that Mohammed had won the war he made four hundred years ago and the pastoralists were in power presently. They would have been the ones to be surprised by the lifestyle of settled farmers. He said that it was because the highlanders were currently in a position of power that they keep wondering about the lifestyle of the pastoralists.

Ato Melakou mentioned the diversity that exists among Ethiopian knowledge systems, cultures, cosmologies, and told the participants the advantage of knowing that diversity. He said that settlement was not a basic question but, rather, a matter of attitude. Had development not been defined by Harry Truman forty years ago and accepted by the Third World, he said, it would have been defined in our own context. He therefore suggested taking the transhumance way of life of the pastoralists into account before imposing the idea of settlement on them.

His second argument against settlement emanates from the size of the pastoral population. He said that, if the pastoral population, estimated to be 15 million, were to be forced to change their lifestyle for the sake of the Government's development strategy, it would be beyond the Government's capacity to finance their settlement.

Ato Melakou's third point questioned the very policy that considers settlement as a solution. If the pastoralists were willing and the Government supported them, he asked, where could 15 million people be settled and how could they be sedentary farmers all of a sudden. He therefore suggested implementing the policy gradually and when the people themselves want settlement to be their lifestyle.

General Discussion on the Causes and Magnitude of the Famine

Then Ato Melakou invited the pastoral Elders to share their views on the issue. A participant from Somali said that pastoral communities should be left alone to decide whether to settle or not. Briefly stated, he proposed a development effort that goes along with their lifestyle. With this, the discussion on general issues ended.



PART THREE

Structural Causes of Famine in Pastoral Areas: The Macroeconomic Dimension

By **Dr. Befekadu Degefe**
Ethiopian Economic Association

Moderator: **Gebremichael Heramo**, Christian Aid Ethiopia

Let me express my gratitude to the organizers of this conference for inviting me to share my thoughts on the structural causes of famine. To this end we precede the discussion with the definition of the two terms that are central to the subject at hand: 'famine' and 'structural causes'. I believe that this is critical if we are to think in terms of developing effective policy instrument as well as the policy environment. I don't think I need to define 'famine' to this group, since they are not only very well acquainted with the concept but they struggle with it daily. Briefly but crudely, let me say famine is a situation where a community or an individual does not have enough to survive. In this instance, we should make reference to the fact that we think not only in terms of quantity but also in terms of quality, on the combination of the basket of food that the individual or the community consumes. The second item has to do with the need to define structural factors. When we talk about structural factors, we are referring to those things that would take a very long time to change, in order to bring about transformation.

The key question is why? Why does the individual or the community not have sufficient amount to eat? Here, we are talking not only about the supply of food, but also about its availability. In the Ethiopian context, supply derives from two sources: what the country produces and/or what it imports. Consumption in most cases depends on some combination of these two sources.

Both pastoralists and the other peasants produce a certain proportion of their own food. But I believe that they both depend on food produced by themselves as well as food not produced by themselves, i.e. food procured from sources external to their communities. But in the case of the pastoralists, the major part of their consumption comes from other sources, except for the livestock and derivative products--meat and dairy--that are supplied from own sources.

Under such circumstances, the pastoralists should not only be the source of their own food but they also must have a sufficient amount of resources--what we would, in general, call exchange power--to be able to purchase or acquire what food they do not produce. In other words, they should get the food they do not produce in exchange for something they have produced.

In this case, then, if an individual or a community does not produce enough food, there would be shortage. But the fact that sufficient amount of food is not produced does not have to and need not lead to famine or any crisis of the type, of related problem, including malnutrition. We could either purchase what is needed from outside--here, I am talking about what could be done at a national level--or we could acquire it through some kind of generous donations to fill the gap between what is locally produced and what is required.

If the individual does not have enough, the result will be food poverty. The person simply does not have the necessary income, is not producing sufficient amount of food, does not have sufficient amount of resources such that he could provide himself with the necessary quantity as well as quality of food. Lack of sufficient quantity of food, as already indicated, is food poverty. If, however, an individual has satisfied his needs, i.e. has sufficient quantity of food and yet there is some degree of malnutrition, then we are talking about deprivation.

Whether it is food poverty or deprivation, it gives us an entry point. Given the current situation, this is what obtains in the

pastoralist community as well as the non-pastoralist population. We are not producing sufficient quantity; neither do we have the resources to make up for any deficit that may obtain from supplies from outside sources, either through selling or other forms of transaction. Therefore, we have to look for food aid or some such sources in between.

If we are talking about policies, then the first thing to do is have a direction and an objective. If this is the point of departure, we should then think to change the situation. What is the goal? Where do we want to go? What are the objectives for us? If we do not have a goal, we cannot think of policies and instruments. If we cannot think of directions and visions at which we aim, we cannot talk about policies, instruments and how effectively we should pursue and realize them. So the objective, then, to ensure that there would be no national who goes hungry simply because he/she cannot get sufficient amount of food. This should be the objective towards which we should be moving. That is the direction in which we need to move. From here we can think in terms of the time span during which we should attain this objective and mobilize resources for the purpose.

Obviously, this is how we can increase the amount of food and mobilize it to help the people who do not have enough to eat. This is one challenge we should be facing with immediate result. The final objective is to ensure that there will be nobody, national, and no member of the society going hungry. Therefore, we should start with the short run measures and move on to attain the long run objective of ensuring that nobody goes hungry to begin with.

In the short run, we could be thinking about the contingency financing that you have been discussing earlier. We should also think in terms of mobilizing assistance from abroad. This is so because the short run is a period when we cannot increase supply through own production. Shifting to the medium run we should think in terms of what we need to do to increase own production. When it comes to long run measures, we need to think about

changing the technological base of our economy and about diversification of output.

If we have these goals, we should start by identifying the causes of insufficient production. What are the causes for the situation in which we happen to find ourselves at present? It is at this point that we are talking about structural causes. We are not talking about transitory causes, which could, for example be conflict, which is of short-term nature and could be terminated through external intervention or internal arbitration, reconciliation or discussion, or other strategies. We could have drought. Again this should be taken, as far as I am concerned, as a transitory phenomenon, because not all droughts should necessarily lead to famine and not all droughts should be leading to fatal outcomes.

In terms of structural causes, we should be thinking, for example, about economic constraints. Obviously, the point of departure here, as we have said earlier, is that we are not producing enough; or we are not generating sufficient amount of resources for us to be able to exchange the non-food resources that we have for the food resources that we need in order to survive. So we should look into the patterns of production. What are the types of goods we produce? What are the prices of outputs that we are producing? What are the conditions under which we are producing those outputs? In the case of the pastoralists, we know the type of product they produce and rely on. I do not know whether we should call these 'outputs' in the economic sense, because cattle and cattle rearing for the pastoralist is not simply an economic activity or element but something that transcends such categorization.

What are the baskets of consumption for the pastoralists? What do they produce and which items do they need from outside their community? What are the exchange processes? What are the cultural factors that inhibit or encourage production for the market? What needs to be done to increase efficiency, for example, in terms of resource management, in terms even of changing the consumption basket?

Under certain circumstances, people are bound to go hungry for the simple reason, for instance, that their religion or custom does not allow them to eat certain types of food. If you take the Hindus, for example, they have large herds of cattle, but because their religion prohibits them from consuming meat, they are bound to go hungry unless they produce enough of other food products. I do not know about the pastoralists in Ethiopia, but there are bound to be some cultural factors that do affect their basket of foods that enter into their consumption. Perhaps we need to change such cultures.

In terms of exchanges, one of the things that we know about the pastoralists is that they are very happy to have a large number of cattle, regardless of their quality or the impact they are likely to have on the environment. This could have dangerous implications, both in the short run and the long run. We need to do something here, such as changing the cultural aspect. What do we need to do in order to change the mindset of the pastoralists to make them feel much richer through possession of a better quality livestock than a large quantity but low quality cattle?

What about the sustainability of the lifestyle the pastoralists are leading? I have heard a good number of people, and most importantly Ato Melakou, who happens to be the most vocal spokesperson for the pastoralist community, that, perhaps, the pastoralists do not want to change their way of life. I have heard Ato Melakou talking on behalf of the pastoralists, intimating that they would want to sustain their current culture. The question is: is this possible? It may be possible for these people to pursue this kind of life over a medium range of period. How long would this be? Nobody knows. Twenty years? 50? 100 years? No matter how long, my personal belief is that it would most probably be sooner than later; this is a lifestyle, a culture that would eventually come to an end. One agent of change that will transform their way of life is the sending of their children to school. An educated son--perhaps we should not be talking about a son but rather a grandson--of an Afar, who has gone to school, definitely may

prefer not to be pastoralist but may want to be sedentary farmer instead.

We should think in this direction, that is, along the line of the inevitability of change. Particularly those of you who are working with pastoralist communities should make them aware and ready so to accede to the inevitable, however gradual the process might be. They should be prepared for a soft landing through some kind of mental or behavioral adjustment so that is not going to come to them as a shock.

If the eventual objective, the point of departure, is one of balancing the deficit in the elements that would be needed to lead to productive life, whether this is seen in terms of food, or health, it is generally defined in terms of building the capacity of the communities in question.

There is, therefore, an urgent need to look into the quality of food consumed. The future of the society is in danger, given the massive level of malnutrition. So we need to think in terms of the capability or the capacity of the communities to satisfy this fundamental and basic need if the capability of the current as well as the generations of the future are to enjoy life.

In this regard, and more so from the broader perspective, we should be thinking as to how we could reconfigure the economic, cultural, political and administrative factors, as Dr. Getachew Kassa pointed out.

To the extent that we need to focus on structural factors, we should not be talking about the macro policies. Within the realm of macro policies, we think in terms of very limited number of instruments, such as the fiscal policy of the government. Of course, it is going to impinge on the food self-sufficiency of the people, particularly those who need to purchase their food. It would affect the direction and the extent to which the pastoralists are moving, the extent to which their needs are satisfied--their needs in terms of what they are supposed to be getting from the government. Monetary policy,

in order to ensure stable purchasing value of money, is important as well. So is the exchange rate policy, which definitely is going to have an impact.

But here, we have to go beyond the macro instrument and think in terms of developmental policies rather than stabilization policies, because the challenges we face are going to be development issues, not issues of macro stability; nor should we think in terms of limited number of resources to be utilized at a given juncture within the dynamics of the society. We should therefore be thinking in terms of what the developmental issues are. One of the things that we need to do and immediately need to focus upon will be environmental management. This is an extremely sensitive area. We should focus on the environment for two reasons. First because the pastoralist area is drought prone or, at least, it is the area that does not get sufficient amount of rain for cultivating the land and producing food. It may be necessary for us to think in terms of developing the pastoralist areas. In the short and immediate run, we need to do everything possible to assist and support the pastoralists. But the long run objective, we should not think in terms of policy that exclusively focuses on the pastoralists. We should be thinking in terms of the totality of the national development.

Secondly, we should be thinking about environmental rehabilitation because of the danger of desertification. This, I think, is very critical. Already, the extent and degree of desertification in Ethiopia is very frightening. Unless something is to be done immediately, unless we reduce, better yet reverse, the rate of desertification, the whole country would turn into desert.

One structural factor to refocus on is the agrarian policy of the government. I do not think we have policy that has very long mileage in terms of its developmental capacity. I think we are pursuing a very dangerous policy. We should not only be thinking in terms of the situation where we are in now. In about ten or fifteen years the population of this country is going to increase to something like 87 or 90 million. Already more than 50 percent of

the population is cultivating less than half a hectare, and unless we create alternative sources of income for this growing population, what is going to happen to these people? How are we going to accommodate them?

We used to have a seasonally mobile population in the past. People used to migrate far from the highlands all the way to the lowlands. You come to the Afar area from Tigray, Wollo, Northern Shewa, and other places, in order to get work on a temporary basis, collecting cotton, for example, and take back certain amount of the income so earned to supplement the income they get from their regular occupation. Now they cannot do that. People used to migrate to coffee producing regions during the coffee season. Now they cannot do that. We have to rethink all this. We cannot survive by locking ourselves in our small farms, which are likely to shrink to accommodate the ever-increasing population.

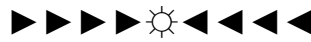
It is a matter of time before the whole thing is to explode on our face. We have to start thinking big. We have to think in terms of development policies, policies that are nation wide. It is only through development that we can tackle the really big issues. Solving the bigger picture means solving the smaller picture, because the bigger picture is nothing but the sum of the smaller parts; perhaps it is going to be larger. We should be thinking in terms of governance, a national-vision leadership. We should have individual freedom, but that freedom must be enjoyed in such a way that it has values beyond the individual and contributes to the national and communal development, and for that purpose, the development factors that Dr. Getachew has been able to demonstrate need to be taken onboard.

Ours is a country where we have had misrule and misgovernment throughout our history. This is the country where you have people who want to work, people who want to get out of poverty, emancipate themselves from poverty, and people who want to be rich. But we happen to have, at least during the last two regimes, a government that prevents you from fulfilling these wishes. We should have a system of governance that is more in tune with and

Roundtable on Drought and Famine

encourages the development of the country. We should be thinking of development policies in terms of structural transformation. The Afar cannot live the way they have been for a very long time. There is going to be transformation. But to make this transformation orderly, developmental, and beneficial, we need to start to manage and direct its pace as well as its direction.

How are we going to change this style of life? How can we generally and gradually bring about a transition towards something that is sustainable? I think these are the kinds of policies we should be thinking and talking about. This is a big challenge and homework.



PART FOUR

Pastoral Drought Management: Recommendations

By **Beruk Yemane**, Oxfam Great Britain

Moderator **Ato Fikadu Abate**,
Oromiya Pastoral Development Commission

In Ethiopia, where drought has become more frequent and cyclical, the number of its victims grows from time to time. According to the National Food Security Strategy document (2002), about 158 districts have been identified as food-insecure areas in the country. There are about 4-5 million chronic drought-affected people that require food assistance on a yearly basis. Drought has become one of the major problems of the pastoral production system. At present, more than 50% of the chronic drought-affected population in the country is from the pastoral areas. The frequency of drought recurrence is greater than before, manifesting itself once every two to three years and, at times, once every year. The number of drought victims has reached about 15 million, indicating the intensity of the drought and its impact on livelihoods. This calls for more focus on drought preparedness and less on response. The situation in the pastoral regions of the country is precarious in that man-made crises, coupled with natural risks, have aggravated the food insecurity situation to the extent of threatening the pastoralists' livelihood and making them more vulnerable to risks and dependency.

Major challenges that endanger the livelihood of the pastoral communities in the country go beyond the issue of drought. However, taking drought as an urgent issue, the following practical recommendations are forwarded to minimize the impact/effect of drought on the pastoral communities and their resources:

1. Prepare and execute **drought probability map**: Since drought is recurrent in the pastoral areas, it can manifest itself on a large scale (zone or region) or small scale (one or more districts). In addition, the duration can be short (3-6 months) or extended (more than one year) and is currently observed in short cycles (less than 2-3 years). This being the reality, the drought preparedness mechanism should be geared towards the understanding of the gravity of the problem and we should come up with preparedness plan. Identifying drought prone/sensitive areas, preferably at the district level, and mapping them help in this regard. Drought probability map can be prepared by using information on population pressure, natural resource situation and availability, migration patterns, meteorological, hydrological and agricultural data and socio-economic indicators. Once the drought probability map of a region at the district level has been prepared, drought prone/sensitive districts can be identified and preparatory measures can be worked out. The findings on the map should indicate which districts are more vulnerable and what types of preparatory work and intervention, as well as resources would be required to avert crises.
2. Use of **early warning systems** (indigenous and modern): So far, due attention has been given to the modern early warning system. This is based, primarily, on meteorological, hydrological and agricultural data collection and analysis. In addition, nutritional surveillance and livestock and feed early warning systems have been incorporated to serve the pastoral areas. These useful indicators, as useful as they are, can be understood and applied by those who have the technical know how and better resources. Indigenous early warning systems that are based on indigenous knowledge and resource management systems can be easily incorporated into the modern systems for effective implementation at the community level. Among the various indicators, the major ones include, the condition of the "Belg" rains (March and April) in the

adjacent highland areas, similar to that of the “Gu” rains in the pastoral areas, and the level of water at the different water points, including annual and perennial rivers. In addition, the natural resource in terms of vegetation and livestock condition, human and livestock health, as well as diseases and pests, migration and conflict-prone situations could be equally considered as good early warning indicators of the indigenous pastoral communities. The indicators, which are at the capacity level of the community, could be equally beneficial and can be integrated with the modern systems to yield good results.

3. **Create awareness and understanding** of the drought situation at **all levels:** Realistically speaking, the drought situation is not felt equally at all levels. Whenever drought strikes a specific area, the community, acting as if it were a thermometer, feels the heat and the risks involved in advance. However, the situation is not equally felt at the district and, in particular, at the regional level. This can be attested to by the poor action or response to the drought from concerned authorities both at the district and regional levels. This calls for designing better options/alternatives for awareness creation, sharing of responsibility and accountability to enable district and regional authorities to understand the realities of drought and act in time to avert crises in times of drought.
4. **Flexibility on resource allocation and decision-making:** The pastoral regions have experienced a series of droughts. In light of this fact, however, no timely preparedness has been undertaken so far at regional and district levels. The rainfall pattern in the highland parts of the country in most cases could be taken as an indication for rainfall and availability of water in the pastoral areas. Taking these indications, the regions should make sufficient preparation in terms of human and financial resources. The period between the budget-closing month of June and September, which is the budget release month, is critical for the pastoral

regions. These months correspond with the shortage of rain and onset of drought in the pastoral areas. This strongly calls for flexibility in resource allocation and decision-making processes both at Federal and Regional levels. In light of the budget-tightening situation both at Federal and Regional levels, allocation of reserve funds for drought prone/sensitive areas, based on the findings of the drought probability map, is of paramount importance. The reserve fund should consider requirements in terms of food and feed with storage facilities, health care for both for humans and livestock, water for human and livestock as well as logistics and capacity building. To cite a specific example, based on the chronically affected pastoral populations of Afar and Somali regions, the following reserve fund allocation for different emergency interventions is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Food & Non-food Requirements for the Chronically Drought-Affected Population of Afar & Somali Regions

Region	Total Population	Chronically Affected	Food (MT)	Water USD	Health & Nutrition (USD)	Agriculture (USD) Veterinary	Agriculture (USD) Feed	Capacity building (USD)
Afar (A)	1,215,255	204,115 (18%)	24,404	452,543	180,120	73,243	1,182,965	1,123,786
Somali (S)	3,600,000	360,000 (10%)	39,078	219,579	396,141	23,381	327,926	561,893

Source: Second Five-Year Development, Peace and Democracy Program for Chronically Drought-Affected Populations of Afar and Somali Regional States, 2000/2001.

Food and non-food requirements are extracted and extrapolated from Emergency Assistance Requirements & Implementation Options for 2003. A Joint Government-UN Appeal.

According to the information obtained and the data analysis, an estimated total of USD 3,012,657 (equivalent of Birr 26,059,483) for Afar and a total of USD 1,528,920 (equivalent of Birr 13,225,158) for Somali regions, respectively, that can be used in the form of reserve fund to address the needs of chronically affected pastoralist populations of the two regions, have been allocated. Similar attempts can be done for other chronically affected pastoralist populations of the country.

Since there are encouraging signs of reserve funds in the form of road, fuel and the like at the Federal level, it is highly important to initiate a 'Drought Emergency Reserve Fund'.

A drought reserve grain, which is a priority, can be shared from the Federal food reserve, or can be bought and stored at strategic sites when the price of grain is cheaper in the crop potential areas of the country.

5. **Avoid all possible sources of conflicts:** At present, where resource shrinkage and degradation is at an alarming stage, drought and conflict have become inseparable. This is almost a reality in the current pastoral context. The common sources of conflict at times of drought are related to grazing and water. Dry season grazing areas, wild life parks and sanctuaries, buffer zones between two adjacent clans, escarpment areas near the highlands, major perennial water points, including traditional wells, could be potential sources of conflict. The ultimate solution towards conflict resolution would be to resort to long lasting conflict management (peace building) mechanism options. However, from the drought management, but more particularly from the preparedness perspective, community conflict management awareness, capacity building and addressing water and feed supplementation for livestock are expected to minimize conflicts. On the other hand, any intervention that aggravates conflict in conflict

sensitive/prone areas should be avoided, including temporary interventions in feed and water in buffer zones.

6. **Capacity enhancement** at the community, the district and regional levels: Institutions taking the lead in assessing drought situations and responding to them from humanitarian perspectives are NGOs and international agencies. On the other hand, community, district and regional authorities have little role to play. More importantly, the communities who are victims feel hopeless, since they lack the drive, resources and the power to decide on the situation. Integration of efforts of the NGOs and international agencies with that of capacity enhancement of stakeholders at different levels would be the right choice to combat drought, the focus being primarily in the area of participatory drought preparedness and management at community and district levels, using indigenous knowledge and resource management systems. This includes, timely assessment of the situation, identifying vulnerable groups, type of intervention and resource requirement in priority setting. Besides, implementation of measures and monitoring of drought situations and impact of the interventions are important components of the capacity building process and long lasting partnership approach.
7. **Drought emergency interventions:** Once the early warning system confirms the imminence of drought and the areas and populations to be affected, provision of relief inputs should be made readily available. These include food, including supplementary food for children, with storage facility, provision of water and rehabilitation of water points (mobile and stationary) both for human and livestock use, and medical supplies (drugs and equipment) for both human and livestock. Beside feed for selected breeding animals and trained human resource, finance and logistics need to be mobilized and be kept at the district level prior to the onset of the drought to minimize

unnecessary catastrophes. Drought emergency interventions for chronically drought-affected population of Afar and Somali are presented in table 2.

TABLE 2. Emergency Food & Non-food Requirement by Region, 2003

Region	Total Affected Population	Food MT	Water USD	Health & Nutrition USD	Agriculture USD		Capacity Building USD
					VET	Feed	
Afar (29)	1,093,400	130,726	2,424,178	964,864	392,347	6,336,892	
Somali (50)	1,147,100	124,515	699,646	1,260,909	74,500	1,044,874	
Oromiya (15)	689,540	68,050	764,942	492,006	84,465	673,709	
Gambella (3)	26,292	3,030	102,741	52,929	-	-	
SNNPR (3)	24,172	1,779	18,235	19,232	3,682	-	
Dire Dawa	49,250	6,110	64,039	60,013	18,681	-	
Total (100)	3,029,754	334,210	4,073,781	2,849,953	573,675	8,055,475	2,809,466
% Out of Country	21.2						

Source: Extracted & extrapolated from Emergency Assistance requirements & implementation options for 2003. Joint Government-UN Appeal, December 2002.

As presented in Table 2, the total number of drought-affected population in the 100 districts (out of 123) of pastoral regions/areas is about 3 million (21.2% of the total drought affected population in the country). The total amount of fund required to undertake the required emergency interventions is estimated at a total of USD 18,362,350 (Birr 158,834,328).

The food requirements include: cereals, blended food, and oil. The water intervention includes, water trucking, rehabilitation of water points and development of new ones, as well as sanitation and hygiene education. The health and nutrition components include, emergency health kits, distribution and monitoring of drugs, campaigns for measles and vitamin c, training of HWs in health and nutrition, supplementary and therapeutic food, malaria prevention/control, monitoring and technical support. The livestock component includes, health service and drugs as well as supplementary feed for livestock.

8. **Conservation/allocation of drought/dry season grazing retreat/areas:** Since recurrence of drought and conflict are pronounced by resource shrinkage, degradation and restricted mobility, one way of coping with drought will be to resort to the indigenous practice of resource management. This could be made practical by initiating and strengthening the dry season grazing reserves/retreats around permanent water points and potential range areas. In addition, establishment of fodder banks that could be used only during dry or drought periods and introduction of adaptable, multipurpose improved fodder, such as fruit and shade trees, elephant grass, salt bush (*Atriplex*) and spineless cactus, could be cited. Both saltbush and spineless cactus can be found in Yavello (former SORDU) and Jijiga (former SERP) areas.
9. **Focus on integrated livestock emergency interventions:** The common intervention for livestock during drought is provision of veterinary services in the form of vaccination and drugs for external and internal parasites. Observations and studies have indicated that provision of veterinary service on its own cannot protect and minimize the load of internal and external parasites and cannot ensure survival of livestock. Integrated interventions focusing on veterinary service, coupled with provision of water and supplementary feed for breeding stock/females at village or

homestead level, is expected to yield better survival rate and improve productivity at a later stage.

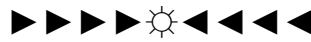
10. **Water harvesting and management:** Since water shortage and management is very critical in the pastoral areas of the country, regions should adopt a policy that incorporates water-harvesting designs (i.e. roof and surface water catchments with storages) to be an integral component in any of the villages and towns where socio-economic infrastructures (health, education, offices and residential areas) have to be developed. Communities, local authorities, technical offices as well as NGOs should provide the necessary assistance for the realization/implementation of the above.
11. **Destocking of livestock:** Prior to the drought, and even as drought is progressing and little/limited options are left to ensure the survival of livestock, reducing their number is of paramount importance. Livestock in the order of mature males, old and unproductive females, and male calves can be destocked. This can be arranged through slaughterhouses or open markets close to the pastoral areas, using community and government initiatives. At times of severe drought possibilities to salvage the meat, skin and hides by initiating dried meat projects in selected areas for community benefit or to be used in school feeding programs should be assessed and put in practice on a pilot basis.
12. **Develop strong linkage and coordination:** At present, the only time where there is partnership approach is when there are crises such as drought. Coordination and networking on a permanent basis could be useful for exchange of information, sharing experience and deciding on actions to be taken. Therefore, for effective drought preparedness and management intervention, a strong linkage and partnership among community, district, regions with NGOs and international agencies is a pre

requisite. The NGOs and international agencies are expected to play a great role and share their experience with the communities and partner government institutions in drought preparedness and humanitarian emergency interventions.

- 13. Easing of fund releasing procedures from donors and the government (regional and federal):** The current practice and experience of donors and government has shown that release of funds usually takes a minimum of 2-3 months, even at times of acute humanitarian crises. When considering the procedures, such as assessment, preparation of project proposals, submission of proposals to mother agencies and further to donors, with the necessary ups and downs, are all time consuming in light of the magnitude of the crises. The bureaucratic procedure/channel for the approval and release of funds, in particular for emergency interventions, should be less and, in fact, consider basic facts and realities. One way of addressing such issues would be to allocate catastrophe/emergency funds that can be mobilized in short periods of time.
- 14. The need for pastoral-friendly policy:** Underdevelopment in the pastoral areas highly aggravates the effect of drought. This calls for a policy support by the Government and international institutions in order to alleviate socio-economic related constraints and to develop the pastoral areas. Policy support can be made practical through Government-initiated PRSP, Food Security and Rural Development strategies.

References

- Emergency Assistance Requirements & Implementation Options for 2003. Joint Government-UN Appeal, December 2002.
- Ethiopia: Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction: Executive Summary (2002). Strategy Paper for Promoting Development and Poverty Reduction. Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE). Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (MOFED). June 2002.
- The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (2002). Food security Strategy. March 2002.
- Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia (2002). "Inclusion of a Chapter on Pastoralism in the National PRSP of the Federal Democratic of Ethiopia. March 2002.
- Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia (2002). "Development of Pastoral Advocacy Strategy and Lobby. (Strategic Plan, 2003-2005)". Proposal Submitted to Oxfam Canada. August 2002.



PART FIVE

**The Impact of Traditional and Modern Institutions on the
Life of Pastoralists**

By **Pastoralist Elders**

Moderator, **Ato Fikadu Abate,**
Oromiya Pastoral Development Commission

Discussion on Ato Beruk's paper was directed to the working group discussion because it goes along with the conclusion. Then the moderator gave the floor to the pastoralists to express their views of the impact of modern and traditional institutions on their development.

Kereyu: Traditionally, we have a Geda system by which we are administered. Nowadays, however, it is weakening. We believe in Kalu and Boku and they are the ones to whom we pray for the rains and peace. Despite the fact that there is population mix due to migration to Fentale town, which had its impact on our tradition, the Geda system is still operational. As long as the Geda operates, we do not think the tradition of the Oromo will be diluted.

If our traditional system could be incorporated into the Government structure, we believe that everything would improve. So far, we have not seen the Government being practical outside of designing plans. We heard that professionals would be assigned at all levels of the administrative structure, from the region all the way down to the Kebele. We are expecting veterinarians, physicians and environmental protection experts; but it is not yet happening. It would have improved the life of pastoralists if the plans were made practical.

Somali: We had a strong working culture. We used to plan and protect ourselves from drought collectively, but now we are not. Geographically, our district, Gashamo, is a very remote area for the government to follow up how we are living. That is why our problems are getting worse. It is only the NGO's who had been coming to our aid by making ponds when we were suffering from drought two years ago. We did not see enough support from the Government. Even if some development workers are assigned there, they do not speak the local language, or the people do not know theirs.

Somalis used to have a sort of insurance when drought occurs. For example, if a member of a family loses all his animals, others contribute and give him milking animals. Therefore, he could have more animals than the rich pastoralists. When the animals stop milking, the system was to return the mother animals, while retaining the young ones. Now the system is totally broken.

The other thing is about fighting. There are people who are untouchable in the culture of Somalis. If one shoots indiscriminately, one is a criminal because women, children, elders and sultans are untouchable. Elders used to stop fighting, judge and punish criminals and bring the relationship back to normal so as to avoid revenge. Now the revenge starts because there is no justice in the pastoralist areas. The elders who know the culture and who used to bring peace are ignored. It is young people from towns who want to give judgment without knowing the culture. They are creating more offences.

In times of drought, there was tolerance among the different clans when it came to grazing one in another's land. Those people who come into your territory in search of water and fodder were untouchable. They are your guests until they pass through your territory. If something happens to them, the other clan members charge you. These are the cultures now fading away by the impact of modern administrative structures.

Afar: The Afars lay claim to the three-thousand-year Ethiopian history. The Afars have their own culture. In ancient times, they had honorary ceremony to welcome the River Awash during the rainy season. They, too, have their own traditional administration structure. Elders, clan representatives and Sultans lead them. Otherwise, they do not know modern administrative and legal structures. Their lifestyle does not allow it.

The Afars are excellent hosts and there were no thief in their region. During the hot seasons, they used to sleep outside, leaving their dwellings open and they remained safe. They say, 'Thieves came following the bus transport to the region.' Local elders give any decision on criminals or administrative problems. Those elders and clan representatives allocate grazing lands.

Geleb: We have our own traditional administration. We do not know laws since we abide by the decisions of elders known as 'Afar'. We believe in our culture as if it were God. However, the elders push us to create inter-ethnic conflict with the Hamar, the Borana and other groups. The Government does not know about this. These elders live in an island no one reaches. We want to make peace with Hamar and the other ethnic groups.

Borana: Our culture is weakening. In times of drought, people with different religions come to our area to meet their advantage. Local elders lead pastoralists in Borana. NGOs are helping us to strengthen our culture while the government is not. We used to have reserved grazing areas. Now the Woredas and Kebeles give them to rich pastoralists. Therefore, we are in dispute. Our major problem is lack of government support to strengthen our culture, something we get from the NGOs.



Experience of EPaRDA's Peace Making Process in South Omo

By **Zerihun Ambaye**

Ethiopian Pastoralist Research and Development Association
(EPaRDA)

1. Back ground

The Hamar ethnic group inhabits the mountainous region south of the Benna in South Omo Zone of SNNPR. (Fukui, 1994:36-39). They belong to the Omotic language family, and subsist on a mixed economy of rain-fed agriculture and pastoralism (Ibid. cited from Strecker, 1992:42). The Hamar Woreda (district) is one of the six south Omo Woredas and covers an area of over 5386 square kilometers. The Hamar coexist with the Arbore and Karo ethnic groups in Hamar Woreda. The Borana, on the other hand, are the eastern neighbors of the Arbore and they live in southern Ethiopia and northern Kenya. The life of the Borana is based on a pastoral economy and they derive the bulk of their food supply from the products of their animals (Ayalew, 1993:24, cited from Helland, 1980).

1.1 Inter- Ethnic Relations Among the Hamar, Borana and Arbore Ethnic Communities

The Arbore-Borana and the Arbore-Hamar relations normally extend beyond resource sharing. Other important social ties, such as marriage, trade and bond partnership characterize these relationships. If we take the case of the Arbore and the Borana, apart from sharing resources in each locality in different seasons, their long-standing relationship is based on a spirit of brotherhood and close cooperation, expressed through common origin and ties of intermarriage (Ayalew, 1993:24).

In times of power succession and calamities, ritual leaders, Kawot in Arbore and Qallu in Borana, have significant places in the existing cultural affinity between the two groups. There also are networks of bond friendship between the Arbore and the Borana. In this special relationship, known as Jala in both areas, for instance, a Borana person (Jala) can get whatever he is in need of from his Arbore bond friend and vice-versa. Most Arbore also speak the Borana language (Oromiffa).

The relationship that the Arbore have with their western neighbors, the Hamar, is also a strong one. In addition to using common pasture and water resources, they trade honey, and tobacco, among other items, with the Hamar. According to Ayalew (Ibid, 37), the relationship between the Arbore and the Hamar can also be explained in terms of attitude and bond friendship (Jala). Similar to the Arbore-Borana bond friends, bond friends from Arbore and Hamar exercise their rights of seeking any form of gift or support from one another. Ayalew (Ibid, 129) has noted that the relationship of the Arbore with their neighbors, except the Borana and Hamar, with whom they had alternate periods of war and peace, are marked by peaceful coexistence and mutual cooperation.

Inter-ethnic conflicts among the Hamar, the Borana and the Arbore ethnic groups also underlie their relations and contacts. According to Ayalew (1993:40), the beginning of conflict between the Hamar and the Arbore goes back to the time before the Italian occupation. Ayalew also maintains that Arbore elders trace the origin of the strained relationship between them and the Borana to approximately 200 years. They say that a time of relative plenty in Arbore had attracted the Borana and the Hamar to the Arbore plains and the viewed each other as enemies.

1.2 The recent Peace Initiative between Arbore, Hamar and Borana

The Arbore community requested EParDA to intervene to resolve the conflict between them and the other ethnic groups. The time was when the Arbore community settled between the other two

communities, and they strongly felt the pressure from both the Hamar and the Borana. EPaRDA considered the request, and after a lengthy bureaucratic process and discussions on several occasions with the representatives of the three communities, it took the initiative of facilitating the peace process among them. EPaRDA's roll was limited to facilitating the process and it prohibited any third party to get involved. It made the three communities themselves responsible for mitigating the problem. This strategy of EPaRDA has proved fruitful.

Peaceful coexistence among the Hamar, the Borana and the Arbore ethnic groups is needed not necessarily as an end in itself, but because it is relevant to the kinds of contributions that the area the communities inhabit offers in terms of pastoral products and tourism. It is within such context that conflict resolution has become one of EPaRDA's major objectives.

EPaRDA's intervention in conflict resolution is mainly logistical, i.e. paying per diem, providing transport vehicles and, more importantly, involving its personnel. EPaRDA's personnel, as soon as they gained the confidence of the three communities, have contributed a lot to the preparation of the ground for the peace process to unfold. They initially served as the medium for exchanging ideas as to how the conflict resolution process can be conducted. Accordingly, they proposed to the three communities to choose a total of ninety representatives from the three ethnic groups. It was also proposed to bring ten Elders, ten women and ten youngsters from each ethnic group. The rationale for this is that the women and the youth have a great share both in the instigation of and the decision to launch conflict. It was agreed that the meeting should be conducted at neutral places in Karat-Konso.

Before proceeding to recount the process of the negotiations, EPaRDA would like to take this opportunity to thank the three communities for the confidence they bestowed on it and for their unanimous acceptance of the Konso special district as the first neutral meeting place. Its gratitude is also extended to the government officials of Borana Zone, South Omo Zone and to the

officials of Konso special district. Its utmost appreciation goes to Konso FARM Africa Project, as it took the responsibility of arranging hotel accommodations, a meeting place and other logistical support it provided and for the keen interest it showed in the conflict resolution process.

The Konso-Karat peace conference has established the basis for the successive peace negotiations that took place afterwards (The Teltele- Elkuni [Borana] Peace Ceremony, The Assile [Hamar] and Genderoba [Arbore] Peace Occasions) and laid down the foundation for the flourishing of peace in the region, which played more the role of disseminating information about the overall peace making process.

The resolution in the first Karat conference is taken as the foundation for the entire peace situation in the future. It was agreed that the resolutions should be binding to all parties involved.

Committees that meet every month to monitor the peace process were formed. Besides, seven militiamen were also elected from each ethnic group to patrol suspected areas and hand over those individuals who might act against the resolution. The communities also contributed 120 cattle for use as a ration by the militia and for establishing a kind of asset to be used for the purpose in the future, too. We have found that the committees are meeting regularly every month since the peace conference, which is the fundamental base for the sustainability of the process.

2. The Peacemaking process

2.1 The Konso-Karat Peace Conferences: April 18-19, 2002

Day 1: April 18, 2002

The Konso-Karat peace conference, organized by EPaRDA, was convened from April 18-19,2002, in order to solve the age-old conflict among the Borana, the Arbore and the Hamar Ethnic groups of Oromiya and SNNP Regional States.

Dr. Tegene Alemayehu, Project Coordinator of EPaRDA, officially opened the conference. He began by informing the conferees that EPaRDA was a non-governmental organization, which is currently undertaking various development projects in Hamar, Bena and Tsemay Woredas of South Omo Zone, with an initial capital of 3 million Ethiopian Birr.

He also said that one of EPaRDA's major objectives was to facilitate a more conducive environment for a peaceful settlement of disputes arising among different ethnic groups. Inter-ethnic conflict, he said, had caused severe damages to the lives of the people, especially children, women and the elderly, and had taken a heavy toll on the cattle population. In addition, he noted that it was his firm belief that the conference would make concrete decisions so as to get to the bottom of the problem once and for all.

After Dr. Tegegne's opening remark, Ato Zerihun Ambaye, Executive Director of EPaRDA, delivered his message to the participants. In his speech, Ato Zerihun extended his appreciation to the local Elders, local government officials and to the rest of the participants for attending the conference. He then went on to point out the main thrust of the conference. He noted that inter-ethnic rivalry had a repercussion on the effective utilization of various development resources, such as water and pasture, in these areas, and that the peaceful settlement of conflicts is an essential ingredient in enhancing the various development pursuits of the region.

Roundtable on Drought and Famine

Ato Zerihun further noted that it was EPaRDA's and his own personal conviction that the conference would bring a solution to the problem at hand and promised that his organization would always be by the side of the communities to achieve that end. Furthermore, he informed the audience that it took EPaRDA nearly six months to organize the conference, mainly due to the unavailability of concerned government officials, since they were absorbed in various urgent issues. He said that it was after so much effort that all those involved in the process finally managed to prepare the conference, which, for the first time in the communities' history, incorporated women and the youth, who are often considered as the main instigators and escalators of conflict in the three localities.

Ato Zerihun further stressed the fact that each party should abide itself by the decisions of the conference, leaving all past grievances behind. He closed his remarks by reminding the Kebele, Woreda and Zone government officials of the meaningful role they should play for the successful implementation of the conference's decisions.

Following Ato Zerihun's remark, Dr. Tegene asked the local Elders to officially open the conference with their traditional blessings. Three Elders from the three ethnic groups—Ato Una Arshal of Arbore, Ato Begacha Tunale of Borana and Ato Sheigo Shadi of Hamar—gave their blessings in their respective languages. After these opening formalities, the floor was given to representatives of the three ethnic groups to freely discuss the issues. The first thing the representatives did was to express their gratitude to EPaRDA for preparing such a venue for settling their disputes in a peaceful way. Then the conference moved on to discuss other issues, which initially revolved around accusing one another of reneging on past peace deals, expressions of suspicions about relevant representations on each other's part and exchanges about their strong social ties and their keen desire for peace and development.

The participants commonly mentioned that they had been able to solve similar kinds of problems in the past, which had been beyond

the capacity of the Government, through open dialogue. As cases in point they mentioned conflicts among the Hamar, the Male, the Tsemay, and the Arbore. The present conflict, they stated, would not be difficult to deal with if they stood in unison and strove to achieve their mutual objective.

As the conference preceded, the Arbore Elder, Ato Gino Chahe, and the Hamar Elder, Ato Alka Rendele, asked their Borana counterparts whether the pertinent representatives from the neighboring districts of the Kebele under conflict were present on their side. The Borana representative responded that representatives from the neighboring Kebeles of Mermero, Elkuni, Kulcha, Debegeya and Hobok-keldema, which are directly involved in the conflict, were present indeed.

The other issue, which took the rest of the morning session, was the accusation of one ethnic group by the other for the continuous violation of past peace agreements. It started when the Borana Elder, Begacha Tunale criticized the Arbore for missing two successive meetings that were called at Genderoba to resolve the conflict that arose between the Wata Wondo and the Borana and resulted in the killings of six Boranas in Teltele, in disregard of their previous deals.

In reply to the above accusation, Ato Gino Chahe, the Arbore Elder, said that they were always willing to see justice served but that, in the above case, the right procedures were not followed. He said that the Borana came to discuss the matter with the Arbore only after they held the alleged Wata Wondo criminal in prison. Moreover, Ato Gino accused the Borana for disrupting the 1992 Genderoba peace initiative when they raided his own cattle and started a dispute, which resulted in unnecessary bloodshed. Nonetheless, they all agreed to leave the past behind them and merely focus on the future.

The afternoon session began with the invitation of Ato Zerihun Ambaye by Dr. Tegene Alemayehu to give his opinion on the overall progress of the conference. In his remark Ato Zerihun

expressed his appreciation to the participants for the transparency they have shown in the morning session and said that it was his expectation that they would easily arrive at some common understanding if they followed the same pattern in the afternoon session as that they followed in the morning session, after which he left the floor for the participants to continue their discussion.

During the afternoon session different comments were made by the participants, aimed at strengthening the understanding reached earlier and clearing up some issues that were put forward during the morning session. What was particularly notable in this session was that, in total departure from past practices, the voices of women and the youth were also heard with regard to their assumptions of the essence, consequences and methods of resolving conflict in their respective areas.

Ato Begacha Tunale, the Borans Elder, took the first initiative and voiced his agreement with the earlier comments made by the other parties. He said that he brought up the issue he raised in the morning only with the intention of urging the others to take collective measures against criminals, not to blame one another. Then, Ato Duba Gude, another Borana Elder, intervened to clear up some issues raised earlier during the course of the discussion. Disparaging the indigenous conception of taking murders committed outside one's neighborhood as justifiable and those committed on the inside unjustifiable, he affirmed that murders committed in both contexts should be treated equally.

Ato Duba then refuted an earlier denouncement made by the Arbore Elder, Ato Gino Chahe, who suggested that the representation of the Borana Elder, Ato Gulcha Kereyu, was unacceptable for the sole reason of his engagement with the government. Ato Gulcha Kereyu, he noted, was a traditionally elected local Elder and there should be no doubt on the part of the others about his legitimate representation. Ato Duba, then, responded to the effect that, in order to bring the anticipated peace to the region, everyone should be able to give up his or her

personal interests, and said it was his wish if women and youngsters were given chances to convey their views next.

With the full consent of the house the conference resumed and entertained the ideas and suggestions of women and the youth from the three ethnic groups. The ideas forwarded by the women had to do with how easily the unnecessary intensification of retaliatory conflicts could be prevented. "We say men are thieves and murderers. Nevertheless, isn't it at home that they are prepared for such actions?" was the crucial question they posed.

"It has been two years since we last went alone far from our vicinity to fetch water and collect wood from the forest. Men used to escort us to these places all because of the absence of peace. We don't carry any arms even when go short distances to collect some feed for our smaller stock at home. We women are always vulnerable to these attacks. Hence, we do not want to send our daughters to these places and that really increased our burden. The Hamar kill women, especially those who are pregnant, for they are the sources of more offspring that are considered as a threat to their future well-being. There are women who have become mentally ill and inflicted with urinary problems after having seen a horrible scene of a corpse riddled with a shower of bullets and made completely unidentifiable. Let us stop such terrible practices that we have been talking about here when get back home."

As the conference preceded Ato Arseba Armore, an Arbore Elder, and Ato Algo Shote, a Hamar Elder, intervened and raised some topics that were discussed so far in the meeting. Ato Arseba spoke first and shared the experiences of the Hamar, the Arbore and the Wata regarding how they managed to settle their disputes by themselves (e.g. strengthening their ties through marriage). Then he criticized the rules for handling criminals, holding them prisoners for a while and, then, releasing them. He said that such practices couldn't satisfy the society's sense of justice, for they increased the rate of crimes committed.

Ato Algo, the Hamar Elder, spoke next and said that youngsters who were directly involved in the conflict were present there with the representatives of the three ethnic groups. To cite his own words: "... we brought typical gun wielders from our side, but your youth . . . they are all simply wearing watches ..."

After a short tea break, the conference continued with some useful interventions from the youth and the Elders. It started with the opinions of two Borana elders on the overall peace making process, which focused on admonishing the communities for any kinds of discord among themselves and emphasizing how invaluable peace is to their communities' welfare. The following in brief are some of the comments:

Ato Abashare Jilo Wario, Borana Elder:

We are all Ethiopians. We are one and of the same blood. What we did is really uncivilized. From now on we have to focus on tackling poverty and bringing development to our community. The Government and EPaRDA are just doing that for our own sake. So let us not inculcate unhealthy ideas in the minds of our children. That only brings disaster and impoverishment to the land.

Ato Gunaya Dabaso, Borana Elder:

We depend on our cattle for our livelihood. But one who does not own any cattle will come and trigger war amongst us. And because of this war we cannot even freely get the services of the clinics the Government has built for the community. If we really want this peace to be sustainable and effective, we also need to discuss the issue with the people in our respective Kebeles.

The last part of the first day's meeting was given to comments from the youth from all three ethnic groups regarding the peace process:

Rebo Kerle, from Hamar:

I am very delighted with what is happening here today. From now on our mothers can bring us our meal to wherever we are. They can go out and collect fuel wood as far into the forest as they want. Sometimes, it has even been difficult to bring fire from neighbors due to the insecurity that prevailed. We boys from Mino Gulti are grown up amidst murders and lots of crimes since our childhood. We were always in the bushes day and night. No we are in peaceful terms with the Arbore. It is my own brother who gave his daughter to an Arbore man in marriage. You young ones, let's tell what we heard here to our friends at home and run a peaceful life sharing what we have together.

Golcha Gelma, from Borana:

It's no use if a child is grown up and given to war. Lots of people have died during the conflict, but we have gained nothing out of it. As my brother Rebo said, let's share what we own and strengthen our ties through marriage. Let us exert every effort not to disrupt our peace agreement this time.

Beja Hele, from Arbore:

Conflicts have caused a number of problems in our lives. We have lost our people and our livestock, and we have deprived ourselves of important grazing areas and water points. When we hear that conflict has started and someone has died, we all keep running to save our skins. And at night that will bring complete exhaustion to our bodies, coupled with the rest of our daily works. You Boranas know me well while I was looking after my flock at Chelbi, constantly watching trespassers. Now I came leaving my cattle behind, only because I heard that a peace conference would be convened here. But this time there are also others in the woods, keeping an eye on each other with fear.

Prior to the closing of the first day's sessions, Ato Zerihun Ambaye appreciated the latest progress of the conference, and pointed out some four items for the participants to discuss among themselves till the next day's meeting. He did that with the belief that they would assist the participants to easily reach at some understandings in the effort they are making towards achieving their common end. The items are:

1. What should we do to attain sustainable peace in the area?
2. What should be done to individuals who failed to obey the decisions of this conference? And how can they be penalized?
3. What should we do to turn the decisions of the conference into legitimate codes of law in each of the three nationalities? And when and where will it be suitable to realize this goal according to tradition?
4. We should transmit the decisions of this conference to our communities with resolve and full force.

Day 2: April 19, 2002

On the second day, the conference resumed its discussion. Ato Zerihun Ambaye opened the morning session with a question on how to sustain the existing peace, how to penalize individuals who violate the law, and what will be the contribution of the Government and themselves in that regard. Representative participants from the three localities imparted their opinions on these issues. Lets first take a look at the comments made on how to make sure the peace agreement remains sustainable:

- The role of Abagedas (higher level tribal leader of Oromo people) is significant in settling disputes that arise among neighboring ethnic groups. The experiences of Boran Vs Konso and Boran Vs Guji are good examples in this respect. In previous years, the submission of these societies to the decisions of the traditional Abageda authorities has indeed brought sustainable peace in the two cases.

Experience of EPaRDA's Peace Making Process in South Omo

- There are some Kebeles that instigate conflicts. The Hamar and the Borana should not take the blame for crimes committed by these Kebeles. They should be cautiously examined and taken care of.
- From now on individuals who fail to observe the decisions of this conference must be heavily penalized.
- Women should enhance their participation in the peace making process.
- We all must be convinced of the necessity of peace and must make every effort to ensure its sustainability, to the extent of solving problems by ourselves without expecting intervention from the Government or any other third party.

After a short tea break, the conference continued and received some additional comments on similar issues.

- There is a proverb in Konso, which says, "During labor time a woman declares that she will never see a man again." In the same vein, this time, we shouldn't make our peace occasional like the old days.
- We should fight the traditional Hamar culture, which exalts murders committed on women. In the Hamar culture one who kills a woman will be allowed to enter through the front door while the one who kills a man will use that of the manger.
- Each Zone should imprison individuals who defy the law in its own territory.
- Individuals who are caught in livestock rustling should pay double of what they have taken.
- My brother Gino said his people and the Borana could resolve their conflict in a traditional ceremony to be held at the residence of Kara Qallu (Lord's house, Abageda or Qallecha) of Arbore. But according to our custom, we should first give some interval to see how things are going. For only those who are peaceful are liable to take part in the ceremony.

- Hiding criminals by the community or relatives must be stopped.
- First, we have to elect representative elders from each ethnic group. Then they will have a three-round discussion in each of their localities on the remaining procedural issues, i.e. on how to implement the decisions of the Konso-Karat peace conference.

Dr. Tegene Alemayehu, opened the afternoon session with a remark. In his remark he underscored the fact that, so far, the participants had satisfactorily discussed the overall peace making process and that all present had heard various useful comments on how to make the ensuing peace endure. Then he asked members of the three ethnic groups to present their decisions through their representatives. Meanwhile, however, the Arbore Elder Qallecha, Ato Una Arshal (the oldest in the assembly) intervened and blessed the participants and in a fatherly manner warned them to take the case more seriously.

The Boranas were the first to present their decision through their representative, Ato Golcha Kereyu, with the following six points highlighted:

1. To make the peace agreement more reliable and sustainable, if we catch any individual committing crime in our territory, we will immediately bring him/her to justice irrespective of his/her origin.
2. In a similar manner, if we also catch any individual raiding or rustling someone's cattle, we will instantly bring his case to court. But if, unfortunately, the person is killed in the process, we will report that to the relevant government authorities.
3. We suggest to finally resolve the conflict in a traditional ceremony to be held at Elkuni Kebele, Teltele Woreda, Borana Zone on April 28,2002.
4. Until the proposed time we have decided to look into the security situation in our locality.

Experience of EPaRDA's Peace Making Process in South Omo

5. We also ask the zonal police to closely follow the situation till the suggested period.
6. We want a meeting, which comprises representative elders from the three ethnic groups to be called at least once a month to discuss peace and security issues.

Then it was the turn of Ato Hora Gelcha from Arbore to announce the decision of his people to the participants. Four points were highlighted:

1. Any person who commits a crime must be convicted in the territory where the crime has been committed.
2. If any individual commits a crime in other territories and his footprints are found in ours, we will automatically take that individual to court.
3. Anyone who is convicted of cattle rustling must pay double of what he has taken, and will take his punishment in the territory where the crime has been committed.
4. Because the Boranas have not hosted these kinds of occasions before, we have agreed that they take this opportunity to stage the coming ceremony in Elkuni, Teltele.

The last party to present their decision to the house through their representative, Ato Tsegaye Alfa were the Hamar. The decisions are:

1. Anyone who commits murder in the territory of others must be convicted in that same territory.
2. Any individual who is convicted of cattle rustling must pay double of what he has stolen and will be taken to court in the territory where the crime has been committed.
3. Hereafter, we will teach and persuade our people about the benefits of peace.
4. We agree with the earlier suggestions with regard to the date and place of the coming peace ceremony.

Ato Zerihun Ambaye and three Government officials from the surrounding localities took the opportunity to reflect their views on the overall progress of the peace conference.

In his closing remark, Ato Zerihun expressed his satisfaction with the decisions that were announced by the representatives of the three ethnic groups. He was particularly amazed by the similarity of the decisions, which were arrived at independently by each group. He noted that the above scenario signified the identical nature of their problems and he urged the participants to make note of the necessity of working in collaboration so as to bring proper and justifiable solutions to these problems. He added that it was based on this understanding that EPaRDA didn't interfere in the deliberations of the conference, limiting itself to the role of facilitator. Finally, Ato Zerihun thanked the participants for the great respect and enthusiasm they had shown throughout the conference and reminded them that they should work together on a continuous basis to ensure the sustainability of peace in the region. Then he left the floor to the three Government officials to give their impression of the peace making process.

Following Ato Zerihun's final remark, Ato Osman Hassen, Head of the Legal and Administrative Department of Borana Zone, took the floor. Ato Osman started his remarks with praises for EPaRDA for arranging such a venue for the three ethnic groups to calmly thrash out their problems, which they had not been able to realize in the past, despite tenacious efforts. He, then, underscored the fact that the conflict had exacerbated the impoverishment of the society, coupled with other factors, such as drought and illiteracy, and he expressed his belief that the ensuing peace would play a major role in tackling and eradicating poverty from the region. He concluded his remark by saying that the decisions that were made by the three parties were genuine, and he promised that his bureau would use its full capacity to ensure the implementation of the decisions at the zonal, woreda, and kebele levels with the cooperation of the relevant administrative organs.

Next to speak was Ato Tamrat Sholome, Deputy Chairman of the Woreda. He began his remarks by congratulating the members of the three ethnic groups for the historical achievement they have scored. He said that he was very delighted with the decisions, and he promised that his zone, as a service giving body, was well prepared to ensure the sustainability of peace in all areas under its jurisdiction. Finally, Ato Tamrat thanked EPaRDA and the Elders of the three ethnic groups for all the contributions they made and alerted them to take the next steps more cautiously for the worthwhile fulfilment of the decisions made by all of them.

Last on the list of speakers was the Konso representative. In his statement he noted that the Konso reside in the territories of the three ethnic groups, (Borana, Arbore and Hamar) and, consequently, had developed fraternal relationship with all of them. The blooming peace, he said, meant a lot to them because they would be affected directly or indirectly if rivalry continued among the peoples of the three ethnic groups. Finally, the Konso representative said that the Konso treasure what EPaRDA did for the three ethnic groups and pledged that his people were ready to give whatever is expected of them for the realization and sustainability of peace in the region.

2.2 The Teltele-Elkuni Peace Ceremony, April 28, 2002

According to the agreement reached during the Konso-Karat peace conference, a second phase peace ceremony was held in Teltele-Elkuni, on April 28, 2002. The conference carried out different activities that were essential to the peace making process, which was facilitated by EPaRDA, in order to solve the age-old conflict among the Hamar, Borana and Arbore ethnic groups of Oromia and Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional States.

The peace making process began when EPaRDA staff and other invited guests from federal and local organizations arrived at Teltele on the eve of the peace ceremony. The Woreda Chairman, with other Government officials gave the group a warm welcome

and had a brief meeting with them at the Teltele Woreda Council conference hall.

After brief introductions were exchanged, various, timely issues were raised by the Teltele Woreda Council and EPaRDA staff. EPaRDA made the first inquiry with regard to the preparation of the place for the occasion. The Chairman of the Woreda, Ato Chanyalew Faji, responded that the people were well prepared for the occasion, with the support of local government offices. He said that food and drinks, as well as shelter, had been made ready, despite some problems encountered due to the rain that made the ground unsuitable for putting up shelters for the occasion.

He added that the security of the area was reliably under control, with soldiers specially assigned for the occasion by the Zonal and Woreda Councils. He said the people were also alertly watching out trespassers among themselves. Concerning the latest rumour that there had been some conflict at the Ethio-Kenyan border, the Chairman related that his men had properly investigated the matter and found out that it was the Kenyan Omgad cross-border fighters who triggered the conflict. He affirmed that the situation was under control and posed no threat to the peace ceremony. The Chairman added that impediments, which hindered previous peace making attempts, namely lack of capable and persistent personnel and transportation facilities, had been sorted out due to EPaRDA's involvement in the case.

Concluding his remarks, the Chairman said that the Government and the representatives themselves were convinced and supportive of EPaRDA's peace making approach, which had deliberately refrained from interfering in the deliberations and decisions of the parties to the conflict.

Then, EPaRDA officials, led by Ato Zerihun Ambaye, the Executive Director, forwarded their views on the occasion. Ato Zerihun said that his organization was playing the role of facilitator alone in the peace making process. He further said that EPaRDA was engaged in helping the three parties reach some common understanding

and arrive at important decisions, further making sure that the decisions were properly implemented by all groups. In response to the offer made by the Woreda Chairman that EPaRDA staff could spend the night in town, Ato Zerihun responded that his team would prefer to pass the night with the people from the three ethnic groups at Elkuni. He said that doing so would enable them to mix the people and make their facilitating job easier.

After this brief meeting, the Woreda Council invited the EPaRDA staff and some representative guests to a delightful lunch at the residence of one Borana Elder. Then the group headed for Elkuni to spend the night there with the people from the three ethnic groups. It was really a night to remember for the fraternal atmosphere created among the three ethnic groups. Though it had been previously proposed that, on the coming days the Hamar, Arbore and Borans ethnic groups would finally launch the peace process in a completely traditional fashion, there still were some preparations that needed to be completed, namely:

1. Some common traditional (ritualistic) links were not maintained between the Borana and the Hamar ethnic groups to conduct the ceremony as planned.
2. The Hamar and the Arbore, for some reason, didn't bring with them those animals that were specially ordained for such occasions. Animals that were brought from nearby places would be rejected because only those sacred animals coming from the universally recognized peace loving families were accepted.

On the morning of April 28, 2002, representatives of the three groups held a brief meeting to deliberate on the above and other crucial issues prior to the formal beginning of the peace process. After a thorough but fruitful discussion they were agreed on how to conduct the ceremony, choosing Arbore as a vantage ground for all parties. They collectively decided that the ceremony would be conducted in Hamar and Arbore from June 9-10, 2002. According to the agreement, both the Borana and the Arbore will be met at the

Arbore kallu/lord's house to traditionally carry out the ceremony. Living between the Borana and the Hamar, the Arbore were known for their longstanding bilateral relations with both groups. During the same period, the Hamar and the Arbore also invited their Borana counterparts to a similar feast to be held in their home areas. It was believed that organizing such occasions in the Hamar and Arbore areas would enhance the awareness of the remaining inhabitants of these localities about the new peace prospects.

The occasion officially started with a brief meeting, which was opened by the welcoming speech of Dr. Tegene Alemayehu, Project Coordinator of EPaRDA. Then two representatives from each ethnic group (inclusive of both genders) were given a chance to speak on the peace situation in their respective localities following the Konso-Karat peace conference. And to the satisfaction of all the participants, all of them confirmed the maintenance of peace in their areas after the Konso-Karat peace deal.

The above-mentioned representatives of the three ethnic groups gave the following comments.

- In the days after the Konso-Karat peace conference, we were able to inform and convince those who didn't take part in the conference about the indispensability of peace and managed to get their approval. Some of them are here on this occasion. Now in some places we are using grazing resources in common with the Hamar and the Arbore.
- Since the Konso-Karat peace deal we have been able to fetch water alone, with no need for male escorts.
- Since the Konso-Karat peace accord, our cattle have been able to get back home safe from the fields. We are now even able to send our young children to the field with the cattle.
- After the Konso-Karat peace agreement, we have thrown away our guns and given our children the responsibility of looking after the cattle. Our cattle also have become eligible for vaccination after a long

period of time. As a sign for our wish for peace, we have even brought our cattle to a vicinity very close to here.

Apart from ensuring the submission of the three parties to the decisions of the Konso-Karat peace conference, the meeting also consulted on some other issues, which were of vital importance to the sustainability of peace in the region. The issues included:

- Having common market, mixing cattle and organizing similar occasions to strengthen the solidarity of the people in all aspects.
- Converting weapons into other useful development instruments.

Ato Chanyalew Faji, the Woreda Chairman, also added the following points while he was asked to speak on the same issue during an interview held later on the occasion.

- Because conflicts in these areas are most of the time the result of social compulsion, behavioral change is pivotal in bringing about the desired peace to the communities. Using events like marriage and memorials to propagate messages, which signify various valuable sentiments to the society, might help reduce the impact of the social causes of conflict.
- The construction of roads, especially those that connect these areas to Jinka, might play a big role in hastening the social and economic cohesion of these peoples. It will encourage collective settlement along the way, which in turn will help commercial activities to flourish, gradually binding these people in mutual benefits.

Furthermore, the Teltele-Elkuni peace occasion has succeeded nurturing rapprochement and fraternal relations among the three ethnic groups. The old conception, which has been engraved in the minds of generations for centuries, and which depicts others as

some kind of wild beasts, was also broken, as many of them had the opportunity to see each other for the first time.

One Hamar woman was heard saying, "That's really amazing, the Boranas are people like us." The occasion has certainly engendered favorable atmosphere for future similar gatherings by building trust among these peoples.

In contrast to the Konso-Karat peace conference, the Teltele-Elkuni peace occasion has moved one step ahead to attain the involvement of the people themselves in the preparation of the occasion. EPaRDA chose this strategy with the belief that if the people were empowered to take responsibility and handle occasions like this by themselves, they would gradually develop some sense of ownership of and accountability for the case at hand. Significant figures, such as the Arbore youth leader (Shada), who didn't participate in the Konso conference, were also there to attend the occasion.

Generally speaking, the big feast organized by the Boranas has indeed been a real sign and manifestation of their good will and earnest desire for peace and development.

2.3 The Assile and Genderoba Peace Occasions, June 2002

The third and final phase of the EPaRDA-led peace making process took place in June 2002 in Assile, with an impressive feast prepared by the Hamar for their Borana and Arbore counterparts, and in Gederoba of the Arbore area. They were prepared for the occasion according to their agreement in Teltele-Elkuni, with the view to wrapping up their reconciliation in the traditional ceremony to be held in the land of the Arbore. The feast prepared by the Hamar in Assile lasted for two days. According to the traditional peace making process, the Boranas took a 'peace sheep' to the Arbore Qallecha` house and entered the house passing through his pen to get his consent and blessing. Before wrapping up the ceremony at

Assile, serious discussions were held among the three groups in which all the traditional hierarchies and different community groups participated and eventually passed the following decisions.

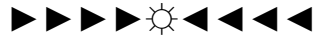
- To form one militia group from the three communities, which will patrol potential areas of conflict.
- To form a committee of Elders, youth and women to discuss peace every month
- The Hamar women warned the men in their society that they will not enter into a marriage relationship unless the war time situation, which sends their children to war, has stopped.
- The youth from the three communities also expressed their decision as follows: 'It is we who are living together and keep our herds. It is we who die as a result of conflicts. If we cooperate, we can use the pasture in the no man's land, and our herds will graze and water and they will be healthy. Let us live in peace.'

The Borana representatives were in great doubt initially to go to Assile, but later, after they saw the feast prepared by the Hamar, they were their hospitality and they began to freely enjoy the occasion. Then they agreed to abide by the decisions, and the senior Borana Elder also took a goat with him in order to declare the peace agreement to other Borana Elders and his community. The Hamar women also showed their determination for peace by symbolically smearing butter on the heads of the Borana women. During the ceremony they said that the Borana women were human beings, just like themselves, and expressed their wish to pay them a visit. Moreover, local and regional level administrative officials promised to respect the decisions of the three ethnic communities and closely work with them for the bringing an end to conflicts in the region.

The peace process was covered and reported in due time by the media. Higher Government officials at the Federal level, representatives from parliament, South Omo Zone and Borana

Roundtable on Drought and Famine

Woreda officials, Farm Africa Country Director, Dr. Seme Debela, Farm Africa Program Coordinator, Dr Tafesse Mesfin, and other NGO representatives were also there to attend the conference and the ceremony.



ANNEX I

List of Forum member NGOs

1. ACORD-Ethiopia
2. Action For Development (AFD)
3. Afar Mothers and Child Care Organization (AMCO)
4. Afar Pastoralist Development Association (APDA)
5. Borena Lowlands and Pastoral Development Program/GTZ (BLPDP/GTZ)
6. CISP
7. Ethiopian Pastoralist Research and Development Association (EPaRDA)
8. FARM -Africa
9. Gudina Tumsa Foundation (GTF)
10. Hope for the Horn (HFH)
11. Intermon
12. Ogden Welfare Society (OWS)
13. Oxfam Canada
14. Oxfam GB
15. Panos Ethiopia
16. Pastoralist Concern Association (PCAE)
17. Pastoralist and Environment Network for Horn of Africa (PENHA)
18. Save the Children/USA
19. SOS Sahel
20. UN Emergency Unit Ethiopia (UNEUE)



List of Participants

Name	Organization
1. Abdi Abdullahi Hussien	Pastoralist Concern Association Ethiopia (PCAE)
2. Abdi Muhumed	Somali Region (Jijiga) Pastoralist
3. Abdulkeriem Ahmed	Hope for the Horn
4. Addis Zelalem	Ethiopian News Agency
5. Alemayehu Azeze	Organisation for Social Science Research Eastern Africa (OSSREA)
6. Alemmaya Mulugeta	Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia/Panos Ethiopia
7. Ali Abdi	Somali Region (Afdher) Pastoralist
8. Ali Ibrahim	Afar Region Pastoralist
9. Ali Ma'alin Abdi	Somali Region (Liben) Pastoralist
10. Amina File	Somali Region (Filtu) Pastoralist
11. Anteneh Abraham	Ze-Press Newspaper
12. Archenih Loch	South Omo (Geleb) Pastoralist
13. Assaye Legesse	World Bank
14. Awel Hassen	South Omo (Geleb) Pastoralist
15. Balcho Haile	Ethiopia Radio (Oromiffa)
16. Beruk Feleke	Birehan Tibebe
17. Beruk Shewareged	The Reporter Newspaper (English edition)
18. Beruk Yemane	Oxfam Great Britain (Oxfam GB)
19. Borbore Bule	Oromiya Region (Yabello) Pastoralist
20. Bulga Golie	Oromiya Region (Fentalle) Pastoralist
21. Dagenachew T.	The Daily Monitor Newspaper
22. Dagim Bushera	Oromiya Region (Fentalle) Pastoralist
23. Dr. Befekadu Degefe	Ethiopian Economic Association
24. Dr. Belay Derza	(Southern Region) Food Security Pastoral Development Co-ordination

List of Participants

25. Dr. Edemealem Shitaye Office (FSaPDCO)
Ministry of Agriculture/MoA
(Pastoralist Extension Team)
26. Dr. Getachew Kassa IES/AAU
27. Dr. Mohammed Mussa Pastoralism and Environmental
Network for the Horn of Africa
(PENHA)
28. Dr. Tadesse H/Mariam Livestock Marketing Authority
29. Dr. Tafesse Mesfin FARM Africa
30. Dr. Theddros Kitay Private Consultant
31. Dr. Zinash Sileshi Ethiopian Agricultural Research
Organisation
32. Dubale Oyisha South Omo (Ari) Pastoralist
33. Etalem Mengistu Panos Ethiopia
34. Fekadu Abate Oromiya Pastoralist Development
Commission
35. Gebremichael Heramo Christian AID Ethiopia
36. Gelti Zubo South Omo (Hammer) Pastoralist
37. Habtamu Teka Oromiya Region Pastoral
Development Commission (OPDC)
38. Hassen Mohammod Afar Region Pastoralist
39. Hawa Mohammod Afar Region Pastoralist
40. Hersi Farah Somali Region (Jijiga) Pastoralist
41. Indra B. Panos Ethiopia
42. Ismael Ali Gedro Afar Pastoralists Development Ass.
(APDA)
43. Issa Omer Ethiopia Radio (Afar)
44. Lingo Hoita South Omo (Hammer) Pastoralist
45. Luelseged Assefa Christian Relief and Development
Association (CRDA)
46. Melakou Tegegn Panos Ethiopia
47. Melaku Demisse Reporter Newspaper (Amharic
edition)
48. Melkamenesh Alemu DFID
49. Membere Admasse Afar Mothers and Childcare
Organisation
50. Mesfin Asefa Panos Ethiopia
51. Rigbe Yohannes Ethiopia Radio

Roundtable on Drought and Famine

52. Samual Molla	Oxfam Canada
53. Seblewongel Deneke	Panos Ethiopia
54. Shimelis Lemma	Ze-Press Newspaper
55. Sisay Abebe	Ethiopian News Agency
56. Sisay Zerihun	Ethiopia Radio
57. Sora Adi	Borena Lowland and Pastoral Development Program (BLPDP/ GTZ)
58. Tadesse Tafesse	Minority Rights Groups International (MRGI)
59. Tewodros Tadesse	Forum for Environment
60. Tezera Getahun	Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia/Panos Ethiopia
61. Timket Asmamaw	Panos Ethiopia
62. Tuni Kerersa	Oromiya Region (Yabello) Pastoralist
63. Worki Bulga	Oromiya Region (Fentalle) Pastoralist
64. Yalmazerfe Shimelis	Addis Ababa Council
65. Yeshimebet Gameda	Private Consultant
66. Yetimwork Hassen	Ethiopian News Agency
67. Yonis Barkele	Private Consultant
68. Yosef Negassa	Action For Development (AFD)
69. Zenebe Wolla	Ethiopian Press Agency (EPA)
70. Zerihun Ambaye	Ethiopian Pastoralist Research and Development Association

