Pastoralism in the Horn of Africa

Annotated Bibliography 1980-2005

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Pastoralism in the Horn of Africa
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Aim of the work

The preparation of this bibliography on the pastoralism as a production system, and the pastoralist peoples’ livelihoods in the Horn of Africa aims to:

- Assess existing knowledge and information regarding pastoralism as a production system.
- Identify and overview the main issues of some of the works being done so far for those interested to pursue further research on one hand, and help avoid redundant studies, on the other.
- Lay a platform for the preparation of a research proposal on the pastoralists’ and agro-pastoralists’ perspectives of their state, dynamics and the challenges facing them in the beginning of 21st century.

Sources

Original materials such as books, journals, workshops proceedings, other published and unpublished government documents, and facts currently available on the web.

Structure of the document

The materials are arranged according to alphabetical orders of the authors or editors. Documents by the same authors were put according to chronology, starting with the earlier work (publication). The region Horn of Africa was taken as a scale, and thus no breakdown at country level was made. The definition of the region ‘Horn of Africa’ is by itself the unsettled issue as different people used to involve different countries. In most works, Horn Africa constitutes Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia and Kenya. Others add to the list the Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda. In fact, the bibliography here includes almost all of the above mentioned countries, and thus we are dealing with the greater Horn of Africa. The general overview is given for each work. In some edited

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1 This compilation of the annotated bibliography on the pastoralism in the Horn of Africa has been carried out as a part of NUFU project on "Population Growth and Land use in Central Ethiopia. Axel is the principal investigator and coordinator of the program from the Norwegian side in the Department of Geography, NTNU. The compilers of this document do not claim that the work is exhaustive of all works, but is the part of ongoing undertaking, which will come up with other more comprehensive document than the current one.
books and workshop proceedings rather than having a separate entry for each article, a general summary is given under the main editors name. For the articles published in the journal of ‘Nomadic Peoples’ we considered either the introductions or abstracts in view that they tell about the pertinent issue of an essay. It is important to note that various authors spell names differently, as for instance – Boorana (by Gufu Oba), Boran (by Johan Helland), Borana (by Paul T.W. Baxter).
Ali Said (1992)

*Resource Use Conflicts Between Pastoralism and Irrigation Development in the Middle Awash Valley of Ethiopia.* MA Thesis. Agricultural University of Norway, Ås.

Ali’s thesis examines the inter-sectoral resource use conflicts between the irrigation development and traditional pastoral production system in the Middle Awash Valley of Ethiopia. He argues that the introduction of commercial mechanized cotton farm has had an adverse impact on both physical environment and on the life of the Afar pastoralists. The work documented among the others the disruption of the traditional resource management, loss of grazing lands, localized overgrazing and range degradation as the main environmental problems brought about by large scale irrigation agriculture. It also shows some social crises such as food shortage, intra- and inter-ethnic conflicts, and health threat of human beings and livestock by the intoxications due to pollution of various farm chemicals.

The thesis also reveals a number of economic, environmental and social problems faced by the commercial farm. Soil salinization and alkalinization have put large tracts of land out of crop production. Based on the data from the farms, Ali indicated that the production costs by far exceeded the income suggesting, the non-viability of the venture. The conclusion reached is thus the introduction of commercial farm has disturbed the sustainability of the Afar pastoral production system, and the farm insignificantly contributed to the country’s development. Hence, according to the work, the dream of modernity was not realized by commercializing agriculture at the cost of replacing/displacing traditional production system.


The article discusses resource conflicts resulting from the expropriation of grazing land for large-scale mechanized irrigation schemes in the Middle Awash Valley of Ethiopia. By the way, the article is the revised and the up-to-date version of the thesis produced in Norwegian Agricultural University. Hence, the central argument is how the intervention of the commercial irrigation agriculture had affected the biophysical resources of the Middle Awash Valley and the disruption of the pastoral livelihood system of the Afar society. The article also briefly discusses the resource competition induced between Afar and its neighbours namely Issa Somali to the east, the Karrayu to the south the Ittu Oromo to the South-west and the Argoba to the north. Ali also deals here with the perspective of the Afar pastoralists under the new Ethiopian government since the change of government in 1991. The author finally argues that claiming the return back of the old days of the Afar by giving up the irrigated agriculture undertaking seems to be unrealistic. What is rather important, according to the author, is giving equal opportunities to the Afar and other groups of people when it comes to issues like employment opportunities, and other direct and indirect benefits of development in a fair manner.
The volume is the outcome of papers discussed on the conference organized by the Nordic African Institute under the theme of ‘Poverty and Prosperity in Africa: Local and Global Perspectives’ in 1995. The conference focused on the contested terrain of poverty and wealth from the perspectives of East African Pastoralists – and how these not only change over time, but articulate in complex, often unforeseen ways with more global perspectives on both poverty and pastoralism.

The editors of the book here put the pertinent research questions addressed by the authors across the ten articles into two. The first addresses the issue of impoverishment and asks about the long-term processes behind it. To what extent have pastoral communities cared for their less fortunate members, and can we discern any decline in the utility and effect of such internal welfare provisions? In those communities where a general decline in food security is identifiable what are its causes and can the effects be evaluated differentially? Within the domestic sphere, have levels of nutrition altered over time and to what extent can such changes be viewed as indicating improvement or decline in economic well-being? At which most fundamental level, shall we ask whether pastoral households have lost control over their subsistence production and, if so, in what circumstances has this happened? Are the changes provoked by crisis merely temporary, or do they have more permanent consequences? To what
extent does the short term recovery of pastoralist communities disguise a longer-term undermining of the production system?

The second category of questions to be addressed examines the ways in which changing material conditions are experienced and made meaningful by pastoral communities. As destitution has become more widespread, what impact does it have upon internal understandings of poverty and want? The social topography of the poor and prosperous has changed as cattle have given way to cash as the means of valuation and exchange. To what extent has wrought a transformation of the key institutions of redistribution in pastoral societies? How have pastoralists coped with the gradual realization that, contrary to their own self-image, ‘we become the poor’?


Ayalew Gebre (2001)


In his PhD dissertation research, Ayalew Gebre attempted to examine the recent transformations which the pastoral Karrayu in the Upper Awash valley of Ethiopia have undergone in the face of mounting pressures from disempowering development interventions such as large scale commercial agriculture enterprise and conservation schemes. His study was theoretically underpinned on the political economy approach which enables him to uncover the marginalization that the series of Ethiopian government actors have
exercised on the Karrayu people. He has documented how these pastoral societies were able to cope with the marginalization over a period of half a century. He concluded that their current livelihood system is no more viable, an argument with which many other experts of pastoralism disagree.

**Ayalew Gebre (2001)**


The article by Ayelew Gebre tells about the transformation of the inter-ethnic relations in the Middle Awash Region of Ethiopia due to state intervention and subsequent competitions over the scarce land resources: pasture and water. It argues that the introduction of commercial farms in 1950 and the setup of Awash National Park have greatly displaced the pastoral and agro-pastoral societies in the Middle Awash. The main focus has been on the Karrayu pastoralists. Ayalew documented in the article the conflict that the Karrayu pastoral society experienced with many of its neighbours namely Arssi Oromo, Afar, Argoba and the Ittu during the last decades. He also describes how the Karrayu resolve conflicts through *arrarra* institution, a traditional conflict resolution mechanism, used by the group to settle the disputes among themselves and with the rest of its neighbours.
Ayalew Gebre (2004)

When pastoral commons are privatized: Resource deprivation and changes in land tenure systems among the Karrayu in the Upper Awash Valley region of Ethiopia. Paper submitted to the tenth biennial conference of the Association for the study of common property, Oaxaca, Mexico 9-13 August 2004

30 p.

Land use and tenurial changes are happening in the Karrayu territory. The expropriation of rangelands to the benefit of commercial farms, state development schemes and wildlife parks increase the pressure on already disintegrating traditional tenure arrangements and resource management institutions. The Karrayu themselves have begun to enclose tracts of land as private holdings, driven by the uncertainty created by expanding commercial, state farms and game reserves and encroachment by immigrant framing groups of the Ittu. Cultivation, wage labour are taken up as coping mechanisms.


Pastoralists in eastern Ethiopia keep camels, cattle, goats, sheep and/or donkeys for their livelihood (Baars 2000). The livestock rely entirely on natural rangelands for their nutrition. The conservation of this natural resource is hence extremely important, as it forms the basis and limits of pastoralist economy.
Degradation of the rangeland, defined as a reduction in the long-term productive capacity, results in a decrease in livestock production, which in turn affects the livelihood of pastoralists. Hence, proper management and conservation of the rangeland is essential. Rangeland degradation has taken place in eastern Ethiopia (Lulseged 1985; Survey 1992). This implies that rangelands have been exploited, without a corresponding conservation having been carried out.

Bassi, Marco (1997)


Bassi argues that recent clan and inter-ethnic conflicts are related to both national political processes and international aid agency policies. The study proposes that international aid has exacerbated deep rooted inter-ethnic conflicts over access to pastoral resources in the area, and inter-ethnic competition for the scarce resources is now reformulated and reframed in a new state context. He explains the current conflict between Borana and Garri in the light of this idea. The affiliation of Borana to pro-Ethiopia and the Garri to pro-Somalia factions during the 1960s and the 1970s was largely determined by long-standing disputes over access to pastoral resources. ‘The present confrontation between the two ethnic groups is largely motivated by the same disputes, but placed in the post-Derg context of Ethiopian state reconstruction
based on ethnic lines.’ The author seems to take a position that government and non-government interventions have fuelled the conflict between Borana, Grbbaa and Garri. He recounts historical evidences for peaceful existence for decades: they speak the same language; they have been jointly exploiting pastoral resources at least since the end of the 19th century; intermarriage between Borana and Garri is common. Bassi recommends that inter-ethnic conflicts need to be resolved to bring about sound development in the area.

**Babiker, Mustafa (ed.) (2002)**


The proceeding that presents 12 articles is the outcome of two workshops: one in Khartoum (December 1998) and another in Addis Ababa (March 2000). The articles address a multiple of interrelated issues regarding pastoralism, ranging from theoretical perspectives by the editor to nomad’s education issues. The topics dealt include resource alienation, militarization of local conflicts, local institutions and knowledge and other development issues [We shall present the overview of the articles falling under each sub-topic hereunder].

**Johan Helland** deals with one of the vitally important issues in today’s Ethiopia, i.e., land tenure. By reference to the situation of Borana pastoralists, Helland demonstrates how pastoral land rights are marginalized in public debates on land tenure issues in Ethiopia. The author argues that the Borana are caught between two political processes, which have resulted in severe
shrinkage of the area available to them, and ecological processes which has reduced the overall productivity of the remaining rangelands. Getachew Kassa also addresses the issue of land alienation in the case of Borana. His paper overviews the competing and conflicting land claims of Borana pastoralists vis-a-vis other claimants and users. Getachew concludes the article by suggesting alternative policy interventions that might be considered in any effort that aims at solving the problems of Borana and other disadvantaged pastoral and agropastoral groups in the drylands of East Africa. Abdel Ghaffar M.Ahmed takes the case of Southern Funj in the Sudan to explain the shrinking of pastoral land as a consequence of land alienation to foreign companies and the Sudanese private sector for the development of mechanized agriculture together with extension of civil war into the southern part of the area, a vital dry season grazing ground, has accelerated the ongoing processes of sedentarization in the region.

Peter Otim argues that the situation in Karamoja, northeast Uganda is not only one of the perpetual disaster and conflict over natural resources as presented by most scholars and media. The central argument of this author is that ‘although the Karimojong are ferocious raiders, it is important to look at the mutual alliances that they develop for purposes of maintaining harmony in resource use amidst the scarcity and chaos.’ Frode Stras is another contributor who looked at the issue of militarisation of local conflict in Karamoja and the associated proliferation of the arms trade in Africa. Stras emphasized on the need of a concerted international reaction whereby the weapon trade and all the economic interests connected to it must be seriously addressed. He also underlines that the conflicts on the ground are something people must solve by themselves. Mohamed Hashim Awad’s article examines the issue of
smuggling as an important survival strategy rooted in the history of border communities in the Horn of Africa. The author mainly focuses on the positive effect of the people involved in activities, although the activity has a number of negative impacts on the nation’s economy: ‘it brings considerable wealth to people who have no other means of acquiring it’.

Another paper praising the importance of local knowledge was the one by Abdel Rahman, which documents how local skills, knowledge and patterns of human adaptations to the harsh environmental realities characteristics of the Sahel.

Mustafa Babiker challenges the stigma attached to food-for-work. The paper documents many evidences that question the empirical foundations and the moral grounds that inform much of the strong and loud voices against food-for-work in the literature. The author shows how food aid provided as food-for-work can be strong in food security and rural development, especially in high risk areas. Suaad Ibrahim Eisa’s paper provides a general profile of the mobile school and evaluates its significance in meeting the educational needs of the nomadic societies. The author also reflects on the impact of mobile school education on the nomads socio-economic life. Mohammed El Tayeb Abdalla provides information on the production and marketing of tumbak, a kind of chewing tobacco widely used in the Sudan.

The ‘new’ East African pastoralist: an overview. Markakis, J. (ed.) Conflict and the Decline of Pastoralism in the Horn of
'We have learned, or at least are learning, to respect African traditional medical knowledge and practices and agricultural knowledge and practices. Now it is upto us to respect and utilize the knowledge of African pastoralists, and the productivity of the pastoral management system they have devised to cope with hardships and hazards of wresting a subsistence from the arid zones.' This is the conclusion reached by Baxter after recounting his long term experience of working with pastoralists in the Horn Africa, in particular the Boran of Southern Ethiopia and Northern Kenya. The article largely draws upon the experiences of Boran and Sakuye over a four decades period. Baxter documents how the two groups of pastoralist societies have become victims of both of political misalliance, and droughts; a deadly mix.


Baxter opens his article by citing Fratkin’s (1997) work that he believes would identify three features explaining the situation under which the pastoral societies were finding themselves in the last decade of the 20th century: the heightening of threats upon the livelihood of pastoral societies, the increasing resilience of pastoralism, and the fact that pastoralism is an important food production system and hence should be encouraged. The author then takes up
the case of Kenyan Borana in Northern Kenya. By narrating the historical transformation of the Borana group and the interaction it had with other pastoral societies Baxter identified the end of commons, privatization and alienation of water and grazing, restrictions on their freedom to move in search of water and pasture in desperate times were generally among the main sources of threats to the pastoralism as a way of life in the Horn of Africa.

**Butcher Catherine (1994)**

Nomadic pastoralism and extension: A review of the literature.


It appears that compared with the literature concerning sedentary farming, very little is done on extension with pastoralists. The explanations may be that population densities are low in pastoral areas, that access is difficult and that extension work therefore is made more expensive. It is also that extension services are often town-based and not appropriately organised. More important is that pastoralists are politically marginalised and that remote areas are not attractive, even often considered as a punishment by extension worker. Besides, the sense of cultural superiority possessed by many extension workers coming from other cultures make their contacts with pastoralists quite problematic. Another fact is that extension programs have given, up to recently, most emphasis on technical aspects of livestock development and that few attempts have been made to incorporate indigenous knowledge through participation of the pastoralists themselves in the design of projects. The training and use of paravets, selected in the pastoral communities would improve the efficiency of
programmes, the development of non governmental organisations, in charge of the interface between government and pastoralists will also have a beneficial effect, reducing the government monopoly and associating pastoral leaders, research institutes and donors.


Ethnic minorities and development. A prospective look at the situation of African Pastoralists and hunter-gatherers in:


An article questioning the discourses and definitions of human rights on indigenous people, and whether they describe properly the situation of hunter-gatherers and pastoralists. It further shows the importance of access to land and land rights and that policies have systematically undermined pastoral land rights and livelihoods. The forced processes of sedentarization is described, towards a demise of pastoral societies. The discrimination and neglect of hunter-gatherers leads to their cultural collapse. It is also claimed that the disdain of national elites for hunter-gatherers and pastoralists have contributed greatly to the problems and that donors too have contributed.

Campbell, David J.; Gichohi, Helen; Mwangi, Albert & Chege, Lucy (2000)


The article explores land-use conflicts in South-eastern Kajiado District, Kenya. The conflict reflects ongoing competition over access to scarce land and water resources.
between herding, farming and wildlife, that has been conspicuous for over 30 years and is intensifying. While the complexity of the dynamic interactions and land use conflicts can be described, and significant driving forces identified, future outcomes are uncertain. The existing land use pattern represents the contemporary imprint of these interactions and sets the basis for the future. Understanding the conditions that have created the present should, therefore, assist in devising future development strategies.

Casciarri, Barbara (2002)

Local trends and perceptions of processes of commoditisation in Central Sudan the responses of the Ahâmda pastoral system to state pressures and capitalist dynamics. *Nomadic Peoples*, Vol. 6 No. 2.

The Ahâmda are a Muslim and Arabic-speaking people of Central Sudan. They are part of the larger category of Arab peoples, a term that in broad Sudanese terminological classification - largely analogous to that in most Middle-Eastern countries - defines nomadic pastoralists and distinguishes them from rural and urban settled communities (Casciarri 1999; Grandin 1980). They conceive of themselves as a group of agnatic kin (known as gabîla in Sudanese Arabic, I gloss this as 'tribe') descended from an eponymous ancestor, Hammed, and claim further origins from 'Abbâs (the Prophet Mohammad's father's brother), as do many of the Arabic-speaking peoples of Northern and Central Sudan (MacMichael 1922; Trimingham 1949). Their socio-political organisation is
similar to that of the Bedouin (Bonte et al. 1991). They live in a semi-desert environment on the central-western fringes of the Butâna plains, east of the Main Nile, north of Khartoum, and obtain most of their subsistence from extensive herding (mostly of sheep and goats, with a few camels) complemented by the rain-fed cultivation of sorghum. Practising a bipolar cycle, they approach the Nile during the dry season and go deep into the Butâna pastures during the wet season. In the last two decades this community has experienced a general crisis, with processes familiar among other nomadic populations of arid zones (Galaty et al. 1983, 1994; Rigby 1985) - namely increasing sedentarisation, a shift from nomadism to transhumance, the forced switching to new sources of income, a general proletarisation and continuous marginalisation. This paper focuses on the dynamics of socioeconomic change that have accelerated since the 1970s. Generalised sedentarisation and major transformations of the Ahâmda pastoral system have become more significant only during the last fifteen to twenty years, but the extreme rapidity of this recent change has had a strong disruptive impact on the entire society and threatens to reshape not only the economic processes, but the entire community’s social relationships, thus putting at risk its production and social reproduction. These processes of transformation will be seen within the wider context of national and international trends of economic and political strategies. The analysis focuses specifically on those aspects of commoditisation that typify the shift from use-value to exchange-value and are of broader interest for anthropological theory.

Access to natural resources and conflicts between farmers and agro-pastoralists in Borkena wetland, north-eastern Ethiopia.


This case study on the Borkena wetlands in north-eastern Ethiopia tells, through the voices of the inhabitants, the story of the occupation and management of an area where agro-pastoralists (Urrane) and farmers have progressively settled. It shows how different policy changes and natural disasters have transformed the type of peoples’ livelihoods and land use patterns in the wetland. It tells the history of relationships between smallholder peasants, irrigation farmers, commercial farms and the Urrane, where conflicts as well as collaboration developed and shows how different stakeholders behave and consider their own situation. The study also reveals that development intervention by World Vision Ethiopia (WVE) had mixed impact on the people making livelihood in the wetland: sedentary peasants have benefited while the Urrane were adversely affected. The main issue is marginalization of pastoralists, with the denial of their traditional land use rights by three successive regimes and administrations. Any solution to the cohabitation of the different groups and livelihoods will have to address the issue of land rights for the pastoralists and to promote the fair participation of all stakeholders in the future management of the wetlands. Good governance and the competence of the state actors at local levels are the crucial issues for the realization of the suggested solutions.
Desalegn Chemed Edossa, Mukand Singh Babel, Ashim Das Gupta and Seleshi Bekele Awulachew (2005)

Indigenous systems of conflict resolution in Oromia, Ethiopia.


http://www.nri.org/waterlaw/AWLworkshop/DESALEGN-CE.pdf

This paper describes the role of the Gadaa system, a uniquely democratic political and social institution of the Oromo people in Ethiopia, in the utilization of important resources such as water, as well as its contribution in conflict resolution among individuals and communities. It discusses ways to overcome the difference between customary and statutory approaches in conflict resolution. A synthesis of customary and statutory system of conflict resolution may facilitate a better understanding that will lead to improved management of resources, which are predominant variables for the socio-economic development of the country. By explaining the inadequacy of official policies by the lack of knowledge representants of the state may have, the analysis fails to understand the true nature of the state and its relations with traditional power structures.

Dietz, Ton (1993)

The state, the market and the decline of pastoralism: Challenging some myths, with evidences from Western Pokot in Kenya/Uganda. Markakis, J. (ed.) Conflict and the Decline of
The article addresses the livelihood of Pokot pastoralists with a population of 220,000, out of the 2.4 million of the ‘Kalenjin’ as a whole. The Pokot inhabit mostly in Kenya and part of them live in Uganda. Dietz raises a number of questions related to the claim by many authors of the decline of pastoralism’ in the Horn of Africa. He asks: ‘Is it the decline of the absolute number of people who can be regarded as pastoralists? Is it the decline of the relative importance of pastoralism for the pastoral community? Or, is it the absolute and structural decline in the number of animals in the pastoral area?’ The signal is thus one needs to have tangible evidence on different aspects of pastoralism to give a balanced judgement whether the system is on decline, remain stagnant or growing/expanding.

**Doornbos, Martin (1993)**


The author attempts to trace back the roots of the transformations to the colonial era, and to the development of new state structures and interventions. Doornbos focuses on the question: ‘if the Somalia pastoralists represent a majority in the population and have been politically dominant historically, why did they lost their ultimate control and were not able to gain it with the departure of the colonial powers? He identifies three factors responsible for
this: the hasty and highly standardized practices put in place by the colonial powers; lack of unity among various Somali pastoral clans and sub-clans, mechanisms of social and economic differentiation (due to dynamics of social inequality).


Camels (Camelus Dromedarius) under pastoral systems in North Kordofan, Sudan seasonal and parity effects on milk yield and composition. *Nomadic Peoples*, Vol. 6 No. 2.

The camel population of Sudan is estimated at 2.903 million head (MOAAR 1998), ranking the country worldwide second only to Somalia (FAO 1986). Most camels are raised within pastoral systems in the western (Kordofan and Darfur) and eastern regions of the country, Kordofan alone having some 1.05 million head - in other words, about 36 percent of the total camel population in the country (Sakr 1998). The Kababish, Hawaweer, Kawahla and Shanabla tribes of north Kordofan are the main communities whose members herd camels. They spend the rainy season in their home territories, moving from November to January to the gizo grazing area in the northeast corner of the region. From there they move south, through their home territories, into south and west Kordofan, where they stay until the onset of the rains in June, when they move back to their home territories (El Tahir et al. 1999). Camel's milk constitutes an important part of the diet in pastoral societies in arid and semi-arid regions (Holter 1981a,b; Yagil 1986). Nawito et al. (1967) reported that in north Kenya under desert conditions, camel's milk contained 3.8 percent fat, 3.5 percent...
protein and 3.9 percent lactose. During subsequent lactations, the levels of protein and fat were elevated and those of lactose and PH witnessed a decline (Sheriha 1986). However, limited information is available on camel milk production and its chemical composition under pastoral systems in north Kordofan, Sudan. This study attempts to elucidate seasonal and parity effects on camel's milk yield and composition.

Fratkin, Elliot (1991)


The book tells the story of how the Ariaal, livestock pastoralists of Northern Kenya, have adapted to and survived both natural- and human induced disasters. The author argues that neither physical drought nor land crowding directly threatens the ability of Ariaal pastoralists to survive off their herds, but rather that the activities of development planners and church missions are undermining the pastoralists ability to feed themselves. Ariaal continue to survive by adapting to modern conditions of environmental stress and social dislocations. One of the main conclusions Fratkin reached is that: ‘Ariaal have not ‘fallen apart’ to borrow Chinua Achebe’s phrase, but have continued their pastoral system, pursuing their generalist strategy as they adapt to the new conditions of towns, increased marketing, and new employment opportunities’. The author pointed out the problems of population growth, AIDS, and global warming as the main threat for the future of Ariaal as well as other groups in rural Kenya.

Fratkin, Elliott (1997)

A general review of the literature about pastoralism. It describes the shift in research trends from an cultural ecology approach during the 70ies, -80ies often based on the interpretation given in tragedy of the commons (Hardin) toward a political ecology approach focusing on the constraints facing the development of pastoralist societies, on socio-political aspects and governance. It includes a criticism of policies followed up to recently with privatization of rangelands, sedentarization, commoditization of livestock economy. It calls for giving or giving back to pastoral communities their land and water rights and for the recognition that pastoralism is a productive and rational way of utilizing scarce resources, requiring mobility. Wildlife policy and conservation should be coordinated with pastoral needs and pastoral rights. Pastoralists need far better access to credit facilities, veterinary services and education
Examples are taken from East Africa (Maasai of Kenya and Tanzania, Barabaig in Tanzania) but also from Mongolia, China and India. Important bibliography

**Fratkin, Elliot & Mears, Robin (2003)**
Pastoralist populations are facing more pressures onto their way of life than ever before. Population growth; loss of pasturelands to private farms, ranches, game parks and urban areas; increased commoditization and rising inequality within the livestock economy; out-migration of poor pastoralists; and periodic dislocations brought about by drought, famine, and civil war are collectively threatening a way of life that has proved in the past to be a highly adaptive food production system in arid lands. Although the driving forces vary widely from region to region, virtually all of these trends result in declining mobility of livestock, which places in jeopardy the sustainability of both rangeland resources and pastoral livelihoods. The paper compares two pastoralists population - East African Maasai and pastoralist of Mongolia - to discuss recent changes in the pastoral way of life and to describe what sustainability has meant in the past and what sustainability needs to mean in the future for pastoralist populations.
Throughout the world's arid regions, and particularly in northern and eastern Africa, formerly nomadic pastoralists are undergoing a transition to settled life. Pastoral sedentarization represents a response to multiple factors, including loss of livestock due to drought and famine, increased competition for range land due to growing populations, land privatization or appropriation for commercial farms, ranches, and tourist game parks, and to fear of increasing violence, ethnic conflict, and civil war. Although pastoral settlement is often encouraged by international development agencies and national governments as solutions to food insecurity, poor health care and problems of governance, the social, economic and health concomitants of sedentarism are not inevitably beneficial. Biosocial studies presented in this volume, for example, point to greater nutritional and health benefits among nomadic livestock keepers, but increased opportunities in education, employment, and food security in towns. This book examines from an interdisciplinary perspective pastoral sedentarization in one region of Africa - Marsabit District in northern Kenya - an isolated and arid region bordering Ethiopia and which contains multiple pastoral groups including Rendille, Samburu, Ariaal, Borana and Gabra peoples. Within this locale, we present recent studies conducted by cultural and biological anthropologists, veterinary biologists, economists, geographers and medical and community health personnel, linked by the common goal of
delineating the consequences, both positive and negative, of settlement for formerly nomadic pastoral populations. For many of these former pastoralists, settled life does not necessarily constitute a break with their pastoral kin and neighbors, but represents one more opportunity with which to survive in a difficult physical and social environment.

This edited work is a collection of international contributors from North America, Africa and Europe and focuses on a dilemma that affects many parts of the indigenous world. This book will be essential reading for professionals and students of social change in the developing world particularly in applied anthropology, development economics, rural sociology, environment and ecology, and medicine and public health.

_Galaty, John G. & Bonte, Pierre (eds.) (1991) _

African pastoralists have been devastated by drought, famine, and dislocation from the Sahel to the Horn of Africa, from Ethiopia southward to Namibia. Yet herding remains the most viable support system for the inhabitants of the vast arid and semi-arid zones. The book describes the tenacity and the vulnerability of pastoral societies faced with environmental instability, political strife, and social collapse and sets forward a new model for understanding how herding-based societies respond to local conditions and act as autonomous agents in political and economic systems.
The book presents a ‘pastoralist perspective’ that focuses on the interstices, on
the rangeland, communities, trade routes and social networks which have so
influenced the states and markets which lie between them. It covers a range of
topics including emergence and evolution of pastoralism in Africa, the interplay
of ecology and political history, the expansion of pastoral societies and their
influence on the formation of African trade, markets and states, the diversity in
pastoral social and political institutions, the colonial experience, and current
pastoralist conditions, responses and prospects.

Gamaledin, Maknun (1993)
The decline of Afar pastoralism. Markakis, J. (ed.) Conflict and the
Decline of Pastoralism in the Horn of Africa, 45-62. Houndmills &

Gamaledin recounts the history of the relationship between the state of Ethiopia
and the Afar people during the second half of the 20th century. The article
specifically deals with a range of issues: Ethiopian governments’ policies in the
Afar region, local Afar reactions to the government interventions, and the
resulting consequences for the Afar pastoralism. He concluded that:
‘continuous state intervention, on one hand, and lack of access to political and
economic power in the centre, on the other, were mainly responsible for the
decline of Afar pastoralism. This generated political conflicts between the state
and pastoralists and within pastoral society itself.’

Getachew Kassa (2001)

The book by Getachew Kassa focuses on Afar pastoralists in north-eastern Ethiopia. The central purpose of the book was to uncover land use and stock management system, and to understand the socio-cultural change and continuity over several decades. Getachew documented well how the pastoralism among the Afar has transformed during the last four decades because of the appropriation of their flood-fed prime grazing lands for commercial farms, a game park and urban settlements. Among the prime noticed observations of the changes in production and culture of Afar that the book documented include: 1) displacement of many pastoralist households into marginal areas and towns; ii) gradual sedentarization of the pastoralists, and engagement in non-pastoral pursuits, land enclosure and opportunistic farming; and iii) deterioration of the ecology and resource scarcity, resulting from reduced mobility, population increase and recurrent droughts. The author concludes that despite the changes the majority of the Afar maintained their pastoral base, residing with in the remaining clan lands, managing their mixed livestock in customary ways, exercising most of their traditional resource sharing, political, social and cultural practices.

Getachew Kassa (2001)

Getachew focuses on the intra-ethnic relations of the transformation of the livelihoods of the Afar people in the Northeast Ethiopia. The main purpose of the article was to appraise the changes that took place in resource-use regimes and relations among the Afar pastoralists, in Zone 3 in particular, as the outcome of changes in land and resource use, and has resulted in competition over land tenure, use and management. Getachew argues that the alienation of large areas of flood-fed and dry season prime grazing lands for the establishment of large scale commercial farms and game parks led to a resource scarcity that endangered the survival of the pastoralists and small farmers. The local responses to the marginalization include sedentarisation, the engagement of pastoralist households in non-pastoral pursuit and the weakening of the traditional authority, as a result of loss of control of the land and resources of the group. The resource scarcity in the area has fuelled conflict among different clans of Afar. The author recommends that the government should come up with land policy that recognizes and strengthen the pastoralists’ land-rights, land use and management. He also suggests policies that recognize the local leadership structures of the Afar as accountable to their groups.

Gufu Oba (1996)

The article documents the processes of traditional peace making among the Boorana Oromo in Southern Ethiopia and Northern Kenya. Gufu argues that the way these pastoral societies attempt to maintain ‘peace’ and live in harmony with their neighbours and among themselves represents the cultural identity of the group. The aada seera Boorana (the customs and laws) regulate the use of water sources, pasture lands, cattle, horses, mules, donkeys, small stock, wild animals, people and all goods used in homes. According to Gufu, these laws and customs provided the requisite social and political order, which enabled them to move in, and to live with each other in peace.

Gufu Oba (1997)


The report by Gufu regarding pastoralists’ traditional drought coping strategies is based on the study conducted in the districts of Moyale, Marsabit, Isiolo, Samburu and Turkana. The study region suffers recurrent droughts. Drought severities on the pastoral system are increasing. The effect of drought on the pastoral economy and people is a concern to the government and donors.
Despite enormous capital investment in food aid, drought rehabilitation and development interventions, destitution among the population is still increasing. Each cycle of drought causes more social and economic casualties than the previous. It is suggested that finding a sustainable response to the problems of drought would involve understanding peoples’ own coping strategies and factors that undermine them. It is also argued that understanding peoples’ own coping mechanisms and using those that are amicable to drought management interventions may improve drought preparedness and assure proper use of the scarce financial resources. Gufu argues that pastoralists coping strategies are made of actions taken before, during and after droughts to reduce stress.

**Gufu Oba (1999)**


In this article, Gufu looks at some of the consequences of the conflicting resource use and political friction on resource exploitation within the Turkana District during the 20th century. The work is a historical recount of environmental and socioeconomic transformations. The author argues that the indigenous livestock economy has weakened, which in turn contributed to environmental degradation and food insecurity. It is also indicated that a series of droughts in the 20th century has impoverished the inhabitants of the Turkana District. Gufu concluded that relief food, although used as a principal means of ameliorating hunger, has perpetuated dependence and further weakened the indigenous strategies of self-reliance.
Gufu Oba (2001)

The importance of pastoralists' indigenous coping strategies for planning drought management in the Arid Zone of Kenya.

*Nomadic Peoples*, Vol. 5 No. 1 pp. 89-119.

Drought survival among pastoralists in Africa is increasingly becoming arduous. Each drought results in dislocation of poor, despite massive hand-outs of famine relief by governments and donors. Indeed, drought survival involves survival of the fabrics of the social security systems that must depend on survival of livestock, the ability to grow crops, marketing of the produce and sharing the resources (Sobania 1979). Development programs might alleviate problems of food insecurity on a sustained basis if the people are helped to revive indigenous means of coping. This has not happened because improved knowledge of indigenous coping strategies, which is essential for developing food security policy, is still lacking.


Use of indigenous ecological knowledge of the Maasai pastoralists for assessing rangeland biodiversity in Tanzania.


This paper incorporates the indigenous ecological knowledge (IEK) of the Maasai pastoralists and ecological methods to assess effects of grazing and cropping on rangeland biodiversity at macro- and micro-landscape scales in
northern Tanzania. The joint surveys with pastoralists identified indicator plant species and their associations with micro-landscapes and livestock grazing suitability (i.e. for cattle and small ruminant grazing), while traditional calf-pasture reserves (alalili pl. alalilia) were evaluated for preservation of rangeland biodiversity. The macro-landscapes comprising the cool high plateau (osupuko pl. isipuki) and montane forest highland (endim) were included in the survey. At micro-landscape scales, the osupuko was classified into uplands (orkung'u), slopes (andamata) and dry valley bottomlands (ayarata). The micro-landscapes were assessed in terms of herbaceous plant species and woody species richness and risks of soil erosion. Biodiversity varied at both the macro- and micro-landscape scales and in accordance with the land-use types. Greater plant species diversity and less erosion risks were found in the pastoral landscapes than in the agro-pastoral landscapes. The calf-grazing pastures had greater herbaceous species richness than the non-calf pastures, which in turn had more woody species. The study concludes that the indigenous systems of landscape classification provides a valuable basis for assessing rangeland biodiversity, which ecologists should incorporate into ecological surveys of the rangelands in East Africa in the future.

Helland, Johan (1980)
This work presents five essays, four of them dealing with different pastoralist societies in the Horn of Africa namely: the Afar and the Borana (of Ethiopia), the Somali and the Maasai (of Kenya); and one introductory essay discussing some discourses regarding pastoralism and development. This opening essay underpins the approach employed to uncover the situations of nomadic people.

In the background essay Helland attempted to draw the distinction between livestock rearing in the context of Western world and the situation of Africa’s subsistence pastoralism. He also examined regarding the linkages between various aspects like people and livestock, people and land, livestock and land. The author also looked at the views of development towards pastoralism.

In the second essay, Helland focused on the social organizations and water control among the Borana. He specifically addressed the Geda system, Borana’s livestock and the biophysical environment of the Borana (rainfall, pasture and water), and Borana’s well organization. In this analysis, the author drew a conclusion that sustained pastoral production among the Borana depends on the balanced relationship between pasture, animals and humans.

In the essay concerning the Afar of the North-eastern Ethiopia, Helland began by presenting some of the misconceived constructions about the Afar people by the outsider. He made clear that the social organization of the Afar is
welcoming for the outsiders, and their relations among themselves is very promising. The study for this essay was originally made for ‘the Northeast Rangelands Development Project’. Thus, the report is presented in two separate situations. The ‘Situation I’ deals with the overall project area description focusing on natural resources, administration, neighbours and controlling the system. The ‘Situation II’ tells about the quantitative aspects of population, herd size and human food requirement, reduction of grazing areas, over-stocking and overgrazing, responses to over-grazing. The important aspect of the third essay is that Helland formulated ‘the Afar economic model’ that simplifies the complex realities of the livelihood of the Afar pastoralists.

The fourth essay discussed the practical problems brought about by the introduction of grazing blocks by the government intervention in the Somali pastoralist areas of the North-eastern provinces of Kenya. ‘By modification of the environment by the provision of water, the grazing block project has replaced harsh, direct and efficient natural control mechanism with man-made, soft-approach controls.’ Helland concluded that misunderstandings and false assumptions contributed for the failure of the grazing blocks intervention. ‘A pasture-rotation system has been designed for cattle husbandry in an area where camels, with quite different requirements, are at least of equal importance.

The final essay concerns the group ranching in the pastoral Maasai areas of Kenya. It documents the centuries-old adaptations of the Maasai of the Eastern Africa to natural catastrophes, as well as human interventions through colonialism, national park and game reserves establishments on their pastureland, as well as the expansion of highland farming into pastoral areas.
Helland puts the general situations of the pastoral Maasai production system over the past few decades as: ‘reduced grazing areas, reduced herd productivity and quality, increasing animal numbers and increasing human population’. Thus, the idea of organizing group ranch partly emanates from those facts. According to Helland, the basic rationale for the development of group ranches is to ‘assign definite property rights to specific groups’ so that ‘the consequences of misuses and the returns to investment in future productivity are both made specific to the holders of those property rights’.

**Helland, Johan (1996)**


In this article, Helland examines the political viability of Borana pastoralists. He argues that understanding the political viability of a people helps uncover a number of issues like internal distribution of power and authority, arrangement for decision making, resolution of conflicts, the maintenance of law and order, the relationship of pastoral groups with its neighbours, security of the members of pastoral society, and the competition between groups and pastoralist-state relations. The author also points out the economic and ecological viability, which has remained the basic theme of debates in academic and policy arenas undermined the discussions regarding political dimension of pastoralism. According to Helland, for the Borana of Southern Ethiopia political viability is very crucial in two important respects: first, the *nagaayia boorana* (the peace of
the Borena), which involves the orderly running of public affairs and the non-violent settlement of disputes and conflict, an issue that distinguishes the Borana from other pastoral systems in the region; second, the ability of the Borana social system to mobilize resources, to organize large group of people over prolonged periods of time to make orderly and legitimate decision on access to and utilization of the wells. In the light of the second issue Helland concludes: ‘without the Borana political system the Borana well complexes cannot be maintained; without the wells the Borana model of pastoralism cannot be sustained and significant changes in the pastoral production system will follow. The article also clears up the confusions surrounding the gada system because of misinterpretations of the institution by different authorities.

**Helland, Johan (1997)**


In this article, Helland starts with the exposition of the two competing perspective regarding the pastoralists’ resource management capabilities: ‘the perspective that blames the pastoralists for destroying the environment’; and the view that contends pastoralism ‘as a dynamic adaptations to a difficult environment, providing pastoralism with a comparatively high standard of living on the basis of marginal resources’. The article then takes up the discussion about the customs of the Borana, livestock husbandry, access to pasture, access to water, the dynamics of Borana pastoralism, relief and development, local institutions for resource management, institutions for popular participation. Water is a scarce resource in Borana and one of the most
characteristic features of Borana pastoralism is the orderly and peaceful way in which the Borana organize access to it through the operation and maintenance of the wells. Hence, the organization of water use in Boana is not however primarily about resource management, but about maintaining the peace of the Borana and the injunctions of aada (customs or traditions).

Helland, Johan (1998)

The paper examines some current issues in Borana, a pastoral society straddling the border between Ethiopia and Kenya. Pastoral societies in the African Dry lands these days seem to be in a state of perpetual crisis, having been transformed in the course of few decades from healthy, independent-minded, and self-sufficient tribesmen to poverty-stricken famine relief clients living on the ecology as well as political margins of society. Some of the issues raised in this paper are more or less unique to Borana, while other can be quite easily recognized also in other pastoral societies, in Ethiopia and elsewhere. Many of these are reflected as central concerns in pastoral development policies. Development projects have become an important part of the context within which pastoralists live, for better or for worse. Although few pastoral development projects have achieved what they set out to achieve, they have nonetheless, often had important consequences for their pastoral "beneficiaries," creating new opportunities or imposing new problems.

Helland, Johan (1999)

This paper discusses the land rights of the Borana pastoralists as an example of pastoral land tenure in Ethiopia. Pastoral tenure rights are usually a simplified version of much more complex tenurial arrangements found in agricultural areas. The pre-eminence of state rights is characteristics of the situation. Pastoral tenure rights usually involve unclear group user rights to the resources, with poor legal protection from the pastoral competitors or agricultural expansion into the rangelands. The land base of Borana pastoralists has been continuously diminished over the last century partly because of political and military competition, more recently because of development approaches which on the one hand encourage alternative forms of land use (agriculture land grants to "investors") and which on the other hand have ecological repercussions (bush encroachment) which remove large parts of the remaining land resources from Borana pastoralism. This paper argues that Borana have inadequate protection from the land tenure legislation which does not take the requirements of pastoralism much into account.

**Helland, Johan (2000)**


This paper discusses the current food security crisis in the pastoral areas of the Horn of Africa. Helland attempts to explain the recurrent famines with reference to some important features of pastoralism as a production system,
and outlines some of the effects that development projects have had on such systems. The current situation of the pastoral communities in the Horn of Africa is discussed within a framework of three distinct, but closely interrelated crises: an ecological crisis, a food security crisis, and an institutional crisis.

The paper argues that the problems of the pastoral communities of the Horn must be put back on the development agenda and that there is an urgent need for new initiatives and reform within pastoral policy, resource tenure, economic policies and service delivery. The pastoral societies of the Horn of Africa are probably facing the most complex set of issues in their entire history. Failing food security is a vitally important issue but it is necessary to pay renewed attention to a much wider set of problems if pastoral societies are survive into the next century.

**Helland, Johan (2001)**


Hallend strongly argues that pastoralism as a way of life in eastern Africa has outlived its own well-established success and that pastoral societies now are looked in a downward spiral of ecological crisis, famine, dependency and permanent destitution. He expresses his fear that these processes can result in the disappearance of pastoralism as a way of life. Hallend analyses the case of transformation of the livelihood of Borana pastoralists to substantiate his views. The article documents the drastic changes over several decades with regards to
access to land, administrative structures and related institutional shifts, development interventions, famine relief interventions and population growth. According to the author, the changes in these respects have impoverished the Borana pastoralist society. Thus, the author characterizes the today’s people of Borana as: permanently food insecure, which has led to the distribution of famine relief supplies every year; the inability to directly subsist on their herds for the overwhelming majority and the dependency on market; increasing ecological crisis due to bush encroachment resulting in shortage of pasture for livestock. Hallend also looks at the participation of the Borana people in the processes of policy making and implementation. He argues that government interventions to the Borana society have been without involving them and hence instead of improving the livelihood of the people the interventions were meant for the control of people, as well as the squeezing of local institution of the people.

**Hogg, Richard (1993)**


Hogg examines the administration of Boran pastoralist in post 1975 Ethiopia, and draw out the continuities in organizational forms, not only between pre- and post-revolutionary periods, but also between indigenous and externally imposed organization. The author claims the particular organizational forms and management practices have been relatively compatible with external administrative goals, and no fundamental conflict between the two has
developed over the years. This view is somehow different from other researchers’ perspectives dealing with the Borana pastoralists.


The article describes changing land tenure and use patterns in the southeast of Ethiopia, home to Somali pastoralists and farmers. Many of the developmental changes in the area have been brought about by the growth of agriculture in better-watered areas and adoption of new water technologies, in particular the construction of cement lined water tanks in hitherto wet season grazing areas. These changes have in many areas, exacerbated clan division within Somali society


A book about conflicts between pastoralists themselves and between pastoralists and the state. In the introduction, Hogg reviews the evolution of paradigms and debates concerning pastoralism and produces a general description of pastoralism based on four essential features: dependence on livestock, marginal environments, geographical location in lowlands with poor infrastructure and in border areas as well as political marginalization. Hogg
advocates for an approach to pastoralism based on historical and political dimensions rather than some form of environmental determinism. Most studies in this book convey a message that all pastoral societies are increasingly affected by the wider societies and economies they are embedded. Pastoralism is changing towards an increased integration of herding with cultivation as well as the replacement of communal by private tenurial arrangements. Modern adaptive strategies emphasize relations to the market and to state bureaucracies. The new federal structure of Ethiopia has provided a new area for old inter-ethnic battles. Marco Bassi’s chapter (Returnees in Moyale district, Southern Ethiopia), is an overview of past and current conflicts between the Borana and Garri Somali over the control of water and pastures.

Johan Helland (Development interventions and pastoral dynamics in Southern Ethiopia) criticises development planners who wrench indigenous ”natural resource management” units out of their cultural context for the Borana.

Ahmed Farah (From traditional Nomadic context to contemporary sedentarization: Past relations between the Isaq and Gadabursi clans of Northern Somalia and South East Ethiopia) tells about Gadabursi-Isaq changing clan relations along the Ethiopian-Somali border, where old common interests are undermined by the adoption of cultivation and sedentarisation.

Richard Hogg (Changing land use and resource conflict among Somali pastoralists in the Haud of Outh East Ethiopia), shows that inter-clan fighting is explained in terms of changing land tenure trends in the area as well the context of wider Somali politics. Ali Said (see ref. Ali Said (1997). Ayalew Gebre (Arbore inter-tribal relations: An historical account) argues that the Arbore cannot be understood except in terms of their relations with their neighbours.
and the outside world. **Claudia Futterknecht** (Diary of a draught: The Borana of Southern Ethiopia, 1990-1993) presents an account of draught among Borana together with the impact on their responses of the collapse of the Derg.


The authors examine the complex relationship between pastoral poverty and ecology, with emphasis on its implications for drought and famine. ‘We neither challenge the claim that African rangelands are being degraded nor examine the evidences in a detail. We do note a rising sense – if not consensus – among environmentalists and ecologists that the identification of long-term secular degradation on rangelands is not easy, and there are few areas where longitudinal data sets of sufficient reliability exist to support either the claim of desertification or, what is more important for policy, the contribution of pastoral production systems to its creation.’ They reached the conclusion: ‘programs of sedentirization and agricultural development, while appropriate in some cases, are not generally beneficial to either the herder population or the environment. In post-drought periods, such as the one we presently find ourselves in, more attention should be directed to restocking pastoral herds and to improving pastoral production systems, as opposed to replacing them.’

**Igoe Jim** (2003)
Scaling up civil society: Donor money, NGO’s and the pastoralist land rights movement in Tanzania

A study about the Maasai, not on Ethiopian pastoralists but important since its dealing with issues of governance particularly on the role of NGOs. They are not a panacea. The article shows that it is not possible to consider NGOs as a true expression of civil society and that they too, like government structures are not immune to patron-client relationships, becoming top-heavy and authoritarian, distanciating themselves from popular control. The donors believe that they, by funding some NGOs, are funding civil society institutions when it facts it is undermining the formation of civil society. NGO leaders are becoming the gatekeeper between western donors and the assisted communities

Lane Charles (ed) (1998)

An important collective contribution on East and West Africa, under the direction of Charles Lane. It is a review of the processes at work affecting pastoralism especially land tenure systems. It explores the relationships between land tenure, land access and changes. It analyses the marginalisation of pastoral people under worsened climatic conditions, population increase but mostly under restrictions in their migratory movements and alienation of their lands. It shows that the policies for privatization of land and settlement of pastoralists have failed. It seeks solutions away from a technical approach,
searching for alternative policy interventions on how to support pastoralists and their own organisations. The chapters are written by Mukhisa Kituyi on Kenya, Mohammed Ould Zeidane on Mauritania, Richard Moorehead on Mali, Amadou Tamsir Diop, Ibrahim Niang, Alioune Ka and Aboubakrim Deme on Senegal, Abu Sin on Sudan, P.K. Ngadala on Tanzania and W.Kisamba-Mugerwa on Uganda, in addition to the introduction and synthesis written by Charles Lane.

Lewis, I.M. (1961)


This book is based on fieldwork between 1955 and 1957, when Northern Somali was under the British control/colony. It mainly focused on pastoral habits and political institutions of the pastoralists, when there was no indigenous centralized government. Thus, the book demonstrates that an individual Somali nomad had a power which was manifested in pride, his extraordinary sense of superiority as an individual, and his firm conviction that he is sole master of his actions and subject to no authority except God. Lewis organized his book into ten separate chapters. Apart from the introduction and conclusion, it consists of detailed examination of relations of ecology and clan, structures of grazing encampments, settlement and cultivation, some aspects of clanship and lineage system, authority and sanctions, force and feud, nationalism and party politics. Looking at the analysis in this book may allow to explore the change and continuity among the people of the Somaliland over the half century period.


In this article, Little argues that in order to have the comprehensive picture of the situation of pastoralism there is a need to underpin a research on interdisciplinary approach. In the light of this, he on the basis empirical data in Kenya and Somalia, demonstrated that the ‘political ecology’ approach allows to address the interrelations between nature, society, and state. The approach integrates the ecological, social and political processes to understand the change and continuities of the pastoral societies.

Manger, Leif. (2001)


It is a long established fact in studies on African pastoralism that an understanding of pastoral adaptations cannot be limited to a man-land relationship seen in isolation, i.e. to focussing only on the direct relationships between the natural environment and human adaptation. We know that
contemporary African pastoralism is also affected by factors beyond such immediate ecological relationships. African pastoralist communities are deeply affected by the general social, economic, political and ecological crisis in the continent. They are subject to forces which have an increasing influence on their ecosystems and which raise the vulnerability of local production systems. Understanding this crisis needs a perspective that takes into consideration broad socio-economic causes, as these are interlinked with factors such as demographic growth, agricultural stagnation, the incorporation of pastoral economies into the market economy, general insecurity arising from civil wars and conflicts, faulty national and international policies, as well as factors linked to climate and ecology. These processes have led to rapid sedentarisation and urbanisation, the breakdown of traditional structures, transformation of gender relations, degradation of natural resources and growing vulnerability of groups to ecological and economic stress (e.g. Bovin and Manger 1990, Ahmed and Abdel Ati 1996).


The eleven papers, and the introduction by Leif Manger were presented on one of the two workshops held in Addis Ababa (November 1997) and in Jinja – Uganda (March 1998). The main issues dealt in the discussions falls in either of the followings: ‘the future of pastoralism and pastoralists in Eastern Africa’, ‘pastoralist resistance’, ‘traditions in the making’, ‘understanding nature:
western science versus indigenous knowledge’. The tents of each article in the
light of these themes will be reviewed below.

**Johan Helland’s** paper discusses the Borana pastoral society of southern
Ethiopia, and asks questions about the long-term viability of such communities
in the context of various development efforts. He is able to show how
traditional Borana mechanisms for regulating resource use have functioned
better than modern development inputs. One example is the availability of
organization of water points, though well councils based on *gada* system.
Helland argues institutional erosion is a result both of the contact the Borana
have with government agencies and also international NGOs. The article by
**Boku Tache** also discusses about Borana pastoralists. This paper focuses on the
social organization of the Borana, the CARE-introduced water cisterns in the
area, and the on-going establishment of private enclosures. **Assefa Tolera**
argues that the Karrayu pastoral group has been marginalized through
government interventions, like the introduction of mechanized farming of a
sugar plantation in the area, and the establishment of national parks along the
Awash River.

**Salah Shazali** explains pastoral development in Eastern Sudan. He relates his
discussion to the paradox in which from 1975 until 1985, the country moved
from being a ‘breadbasket of the Middle East’ to a famine-struck country. The
article by **Omer Egeimi** holds the position of somehow counter-argument to
Salah. Omer argues that the Bishariyyyn Beja of eastern Sudan were doing well
than other groups in the Red Sea hills taking the advantage of better relations to
animal markets in Egypt.
Frank Muhereza focuses on pastoralists and squatters within the territories of Ankole ranches in Uganda. He describes both the history behind the establishment of the ranches as well as an incident in 1990 in which there were riots involving the squatters were involved. Astrid Blystad also deals with resistance. She addresses the marginalization of Datooga, a pastoral group, by the Tanzanian Government. The author underlined that because of the resistance of the pastoral group, the governments have stigmatized them as being primitive, war-like, etc. Likewise, Yusuf Lawi, based on the oral sources from the Irawq people (neighbours of the Datooga) analyzed memorized traditions (prayers), formalised speeches (epic) and narratives, he is able to derive information about earlier conditions in the area relating both to general living conditions as well as environmental conditions. Frode Storaas discusses a fluid tribal situation. His paper on the Turkana in northern Kenya is about how to understand the tribal relationships and the identities among the Nilotic groups in South Sudan, Uganda and Kenya (Karamojong, Turkana, Toposa, Dodoth, Jie). The article by Mustafa Babiker deals with the tension between a western, scientific type of soil classification and an indigenous one. Whereas western soil scientists characterize most of the land in Dar Hamar, Western Sudan, as sandy soil, qoz, with some patches of clay soil the local Hamar categories divide the land into three: quz, jurraba, qardud.

Markakis, John (1993)

In the introductory opening of the book edited by Markakis offers some important statistics related to pastoralism in the Horn of Africa. ‘The states of the region – Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia and Kenya – rank first, third, fifth and sixth respectively, in the world in terms of pastoralist population size. Vast expanses of land in the arid zone, which comprise a major portion of each state’s territory – 52% in Ethiopia, 66% in Sudan, 72% in Kenya, and 75% in Somalia are pastoralist habitat.’ The article also introduces some salient features of pastoralism as a way of life, focusing on ecological issues, socioeconomic features, and the social organization of the pastoralist communities. Based on the intensity of mobility, Markakis makes a distinction between pure nomadism without settled habitation or cultivation of the Somali, Afar, Boran (Kenya) and many smaller groups, to the settled mode of Nilotic peoples of Southern Sudan (who live in village and combine transhumance with cultivation and fishing). The author also underlined the fact that there has never been ‘state political superstructure’ of among most of the pastoralists in the region which is explained by a number of inter-related factors such as low population density, mobility, lack of economic surplus, marginal role of trade, and self-reliance on defence.

In the rest of the article, Markakis based on the evidences in the articles in the same volume as well as other sources, gives an account of three important issues: ‘pastoralism in the colonial era’, ‘pastoralism in the post colonial era’ and ‘the decline of pastoralism and political conflict’. Many external and
specific location-induced factors have considerably contributed to the declining of pastoralism as a way of life is thus one of the important conclusions drawn from the discussions in a historical perspective.

**Markakis John (2004)**


A somewhat pessimistic but thorough review of the situation of pastoralists in the Horn of Africa. It shows the decline of pastoralism, because of deprivation, marginalisation, forced settlement both under the colonisation and after independence. The foundations of pastoral culture are undermined, most of pastoralists are now becoming agro-pastoralists. “Pastoralism as a way of life has entered a phase of decline that may well prove terminal”. It also review some of the weaknesses of the approaches to promote or defend pastoralists (human rights, cultural heritage, environmental, market economy.) and of NGO’s involved in pastoral areas.

**McCabe, J. Terrence (2003)**

The savannas and rangelands of East Africa are famous throughout the world for their vast concentrations of wildlife, especially the large migratory ungulates and the predators that depend on them. The unique qualities of these grasslands and bush lands and the vulnerability of these ecosystems to over-exploitation have been recognised since the early days of the colonial period. The first game control ordinances were put in place at the beginning of the twentieth century and the first national parks in East Africa designated in the 1940s (Western 1997, Neumann 1998). Once the national park system was established, the number of parks and protected areas increased dramatically throughout the remainder of the colonial period. Some parks were fairly small, such as Nairobi National Park, while others were vast; the original proposal for Serengeti National Park encompassed 29,500 square kilometres, nearly the size of present day Belgium (Neumann 1998).


Sustainability and livelihood diversification among the Northern Tanzania. Human Organization 62, 100-111.

Masai people in East Africa are attempting to craft new sustainable livelihoods in response to increasing population pressure, a fluctuating livestock population, reductions in grazing areas, and a modernization process that places increased emphasis on a monetary economy. The adoption of cultivation by pastoral Maasai living in Northern Tanzania over the last 40 years has been the most significant step in this livelihood diversification. The rapid social and economic changes that have accompanied diversification have challenged current attempts to integrate people into conservation efforts, especially in the Ngorongoro conservation area and the newly proposed Wildlife Management
Areas of Tanzania. This paper examines the addition of agriculture to the livestock-based economy of Maasai people in Northern Tanzania, how this relates to the literature on sustainable livelihoods, and the implications for conservation policy.

McCarthy, Nancy; Kamara Abdul, and Kirk, Michael (2001)


The Borana people are the predominant ethnic group on the Borana Plateau in southern Ethiopia. Though traditionally transhumant pastoralists, they have recently increased their reliance on crops. Rainfall in the region averages between 353 mm to 873 mm; variability is high, with coefficients of variation ranging from .21 to .68. Anecdotal evidence implies that the vulnerability of pastoralist households to drought is increasing; stock levels increase dramatically during good rainfall years but plummet when rainfall is poor, indicating that the drought cycle is becoming more pronounced. In recent years, there has also been a dramatic increase in land allocated to crops, and land allocated to pastures that are either privatized or accessible to only a small subgroup of people. Nonetheless, the Borana are still highly dependent on access to common grazing lands, which provide the predominant source of forage and, importantly, which also provide a mechanism to reduce risk of poor rainfall in one area by allowing for mobility. Because many of the land resources are used and managed in common, it is hypothesized that one of the key determinants of
the productivity and sustainability of the systems is the ability of community members to cooperate over the use and maintenance of these resources. In this paper, we develop indicators of cooperation and examine factors affecting these indicators. We then use these indicators to determine the impact of cooperation on stock densities and land allocation patterns. Results indicate that cooperation is positively related to factors that increase the profitability of livestock, but negatively related to the total number of households, the use of community pastures by non-community members, and heterogeneity of wealth within the community. Furthermore, stock densities are negatively related to the index of cooperation as we would expect. Stock densities are also lower in areas with more highly variable rainfall indicating that high variability reduces the number of livestock held, contrary to the oft-mentioned hypothesis that households build greater stockholdings in areas were rainfall is highly variable in order to survive a drought with more animals. Finally, results from the land allocation estimations give evidence to support the notion that more land is privatized - either for crops or pasture - where levels of cooperation are lower. Given the importance of mobility and the poor suitability of most land for cropping, measures to offset the increasing densities and land privatization should focus on improving the capacity of communities to cooperate and mitigate the impact of heterogeneity on that capacity, and on improving market access to improve cooperation and increase incentives to sell stock in good as well as poor rainfall years. Results also highlight the need to search for alternative policy mechanisms that mitigate the impact of drought, but that do not simultaneously increase incentives to increase herd levels in non-drought years.
Mohammed Mussa (1995)

The objective of the paper is to address the contribution of livestock to food security in Ethiopia and to make suggestions on how to eliminate or alleviate the constraints facing the subsector for increased and sustainable contribution to food security. The demand for livestock products has been growing faster than the production. Apart from domestic consumption, livestock and livestock products are sources of foreign earnings. However, livestock production and productivity are constrained by several factors including animal diseases, feed, genetic improvement, and institutional and policy factors. Animal loss due to animal diseases is estimated at about 30–50 percent of the total livestock production. Hence, improving the animal health services (reducing the loss of livestock production) would result in increase in food supplies from livestock, drought power, manure, and income from the sales of livestock products. Given the importance of livestock for sustainable agricultural development, earnings of foreign exchange, and providing incomes to smallholder farmers, animal health policy must incorporate not only the need for economic efficiency but also for social equity and food security. Thus, under certain circumstances, some private goods could be publicly provided either in the form of partial cost sharing or even subsidies, if necessary.
Ethiopia has a vast lowland area that is important for human subsistence and the national economy. This paper reviews the physical and biological features of the lowlands and some development perspectives that have been pursued since the 1970s. As elsewhere in Ethiopia, the lowlands have growing populations of people and livestock that might be responsible to resource degradation in the form of overgrazing and dryland cultivation. A third factor of degradation, bush encroachment, is the combined effect of overgrazing and lack of fire management. The solutions to these problems vary in difficulty, though all would principally involve pastoral participation in problem-solving, local administrative facilities, and revaluation of some national resource management policies. The latter includes the need to formulate regional land-use guidelines, with local loosening of restrictions to permit range burning or regulated charcoal production (where appropriate) thereby to enhance the quality of some vegetation communities. Of all problems, overstocking is the most difficult to solve. This arises from a human population that is still subsistence-oriented and has little other alternatives than invest resources in livestock. Options to help ameliorate this problem may include more pay-as-you-go development activities to stimulate cash demand, and possibly raising livestock prices to increase off take. Until the economy is in a position to offer attractive alternatives to livestock-based subsistence and investment, the spectre of overstocking in some lowland areas will not be avoided.

Morton, John (1993)
Pastoral decline and famine: The Beja case. Markakis, J. (ed.)

Conflict and the Decline of Pastoralism in the Horn of Africa, 30-44.

Morton discusses the causes of the Red Sea Hills famine of 1984, and in so doing makes a distinction between the processes of decline among Northern and Southern Beja. The author also argues that the history of marginalization and neglect as a part of processes contributed to the vulnerability of the Beja people to hunger.

Muhereza, Frank Emmanuel (2001)


The article argues that the Ugandan governments since the colonial period have focused on the development of commercial livestock ranching disregarded the significance of the traditional livestock production sector. The discussion in the article demonstrates that the thinking that were based on ‘modernity’ considers pastoralists and other traditional herders as the main factors for environmental destruction, and are economically untenable. It also shows that the policies of introducing ranching and crop production were not successful. The main constraints to both sedentary farms and ranching were land scarcity and lack of sufficient water.
Nur, Hassan Mohammed (2001)


Sudan is primarily an agricultural country, with a total area of 600 million feddans, of which one-third is potentially arable. Eighty percent of its 25 million population is involved in farming. The annual contribution of this sector to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) for the period 1990/91-1994/95 was thirty-seven percent on average (The Economic Review, 1994/95) and its yearly contribution to the state's export earnings is over ninety percent. Livestock, which plays a major role in agriculture, consists of 30 million, 37 million, 33 million and 3 million heads of cattle, sheep, goats and camels respectively (Livestock Economics Dept. 1994). Animal husbandry provides partial and/or full subsistence to approximately forty percent of the country's inhabitants (Ali 1988, Robinson 1987, Abdalla 1985) and its contribution to the agricultural sector in terms of GDP ranges between thirty-five and fifty-two percent, averaging roughly twenty percent (The Economic Review 1994/95); it counts for about one-quarter of Sudanese foreign exchange returns since 1993 (Bank of Sudan data). Over ninety percent of herds in the country are in the hands of pastoral communities, comprising what is generally known as a traditional sector, and herding is based entirely on natural pastures, characterised by migratory movements between dry and we retreat lands.
Opschoor, J.B (2001)


In this article, Opschoor argues that resource scarcity has been among the central factors inducing conflicts between different groups: peasants, pastoralists, modern commercial farmers, minors and game parks in the countries of the Eastern Africa. The author attributes the marginalization of pastoralism as a source of livelihood in Eastern Africa to two mainstream reasons: first, scant contribution of pastoralists to the national wealth, and second, the fact that the pastoralists constitute to the political minority. The article briefly looks at the discourses that surround the relations between resource conflict and sustainable development; and institution and institutional failures to redress the problem scarce resources and to bring about sustainable environment and livelihoods. Opschoor has underlined three issues which the development researchers and policy endeavours towards improving livelihoods of pastoralists. First, understanding the role of formal and informal institution is very important while assessing the situation of pastoralists. Second, ‘what we perceive as local resource competition could originate from global processes over which pastoralists have no control’. Third, pastoralists are not passive accessories in the relationship between market, state and environment. They interact and react to institutional and development interventions in a verity of ways.
Rugumayo, Caroline Rusten (2000)

*The Politics of Conservation and Development: On Actors, Interface and Participation the Case of Ngorongoro Conservation Area, Tanzania.* Doctoral dissertation submitted for the Dr. Polit. at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Technology Management, NTNU.

The central aim of this dissertation research has been unpacking the participatory approach to the management of Ngorongoro Conservation Area as it can be read from the various actors through their strategies and perceptions. The conservation area covers 8292 square km. The area is the home for pastoralists, predominantly Maasai and small numbers of Tatoga, as well as the hunter-gatherers population (Hadzaba). The area is also regarded as a park attracting visitors of many thousands every year. As a result, more than 2000 inhabitants directly or indirectly depend on parking activities. The thesis has demonstrated three important things in relation to the marginalization of the pastoralist societies of the Maasai. First, cattle grazing were restricted to specific area with the view that livestock will destroy the environment. Secondly, the lack of educated people among Maasai pastoralist to fight against injustice by the name of conserving environment have left them impoverished. Third, the principle of resource management in view of entertaining a multiple of land users in the area was based on rational planning, which hardly fits to the situation and context of development of pastoral society.
Pastoralist and the war in Southern Sudan: the Ngok Dinka/Humr conflict in South Kordofan. Markakis, J. (ed.)
Conflict and the Decline of Pastoralism in the Horn of Africa, 16-29.

In the article, the author demonstrated that the conflict between the Ngok Dinka and the Humr pastoralists of south Kordofan, Sudan, is not isolated incidence of ethnic hostility but it has a wider relevance to the nature of the Sudanese state, the national power, structure, regional inequality, and the hegemony of Arabs in the North over the other Sudanese nationalities. The article also shows the fact that the Ngok Dinka considered the war against Hume as a part of the Southern struggle for survival, for equal rights of citizenship and fair representation in the central government. Salih pointed out three factors that have contributed for the continuity of the conflict between Ngok Dinka/Humr conflict: ‘first, both groups are pastoralists competing for livelihood in the same district; second, the Ngok Dinka occupy the unique position in the politics of the region because although they belong ethnically to the 2 million Dinkas, they live in Southern Kordofan, a Northern Province -and thus their conflict constitute the part of civil war between the South and the North; third, the Ngok Dinka support their southern compatriots in their fight against Northern domination.’ Salih drew a conclusion that the internal dynamics of the conflict have been complicated by the national political system dominated by the Muslim North, in its struggle to subdue the animist and Christian South.


The book by Salzman is a very important document in which the author has distilled his knowledge of pastoralism drawn from more than 30 years of researching and teaching on the subject. The book ‘provides detailed analysis of divergent types of pastoral societies including segmentary tribes, tribal chiefdoms, and peasant pastoralists. At the same time, it addresses a set of substantive theoretical issues: ecological and cultural variation, equality and inequality, hierarchy and the basis of power, and state power and resistance.’ Although some chapters of the book tell about pastoralism in general, most cases to substantiate the arguments were drawn from Middle East and Asian countries. Even then the book is among the most important document with latest discourse and hence should be consulted by the student of a pastoral society.

Sommer, Florian (1998)

Pastoralism, Drought Early Warning and Response. ODI- Pastoral development Network: livestock coping with drought.

Sommer argues that the majority of current Early Warning Systems (EWS) are not capable of detecting drought stress on pastoralists nor capable of providing adequate information for intervention to support pastoralists during a drought. The article attempts to identify the reasons for this failure and outline implications to make the early warning and response process more appropriate for the pastoral sector. It was based on ‘entitlements’ theoretical framework. Sommer suggests an EWS need to put more emphasis on monitoring
‘determinants of entitlements’, such as markets, assets, rights and opportunities to change livelihoods, instead of monitoring only rainfall, vegetation and crop production. Decentralised early warning and response capacities have many more advantages for this purpose than centralised ones.

Tegegn Teka (1989)


The role of camel in the sustenance of households in Afar is very basic. Though there are signs that all households engage in food production, most of them produce much below the camel provides milk, meat, service (household and otherwise) and cash to the households. All the loopholes and shortages in the household economy are covered by the camel and therefore we are not in excess if we say that the whole support systems of the pastoral households is one way or the other, depend on camel. Therefore, government and non government institutions should ponder about in the next decade and beyond to increase the productivity of camel in the region so as to improve the life of the nomad.


In Ethiopia, as in most dry lands of Africa and Asia, camels are the principal source of income and food for millions of pastoralists. In addition, camels play a
central role in providing draught power and determining the wealth and social status of pastoralists. Ethiopia's camel population is estimated to be one million head (FAO 1996a). This number ranks the country third in Africa after Somalia and the Sudan, and fourth in the world (India included). Camels inhabit almost all peripheral drier lowlands that generally fall below 1,500 metres above sea level in Ethiopia, except the western areas where high humidity and the incidence of trypanosomiasis are common (Teka 1991; Tekel 1989; Wilson 1989b). These areas include the major parts of the Somali and Afar National Regional States and some parts of the Oromia National Regional State.

**Turton, David (1995)**


The paper is an outcome of a short field study that Turton carried out in northern Mursiland in 1994 on behalf of Oxfam (UK and Ireland). ‘The original objective was to focus on the problem of cattle disease and to examine the scope for improving the access of Mursi pastoralists to veterinary services, especially through the training of “paravets”. Soon after beginning the fieldwork, however it became clear that this particular constraint on pastoral production could not sensibly be considered without reference to another, namely the growing shortage of water in dry-season grazing areas, which was forcing herd owners to subject their cattle to debilitating daily treks through tsetse-infested bush to drink in the Omo, Mago and Sala Rivers’.

A third threat to Mursi livelihoods comes from the ‘Southern Ethiopian Wildlife Conservation Project, which began in June 1995. It covers three national parks,
two of which (the Omo and Mago national Parks) contain between them the main agricultural and pastoral resources of the Mursi. The author found that the Mursi were neither consulted nor informed about the project during its planning phase, and they stand to carry the main burden of its cost. Turton recommends that ‘the pressure should be put a funders, conservation bodies, and civil authorities to protect the vital subsistence resources of the Mursi people, and to ensure that they gain net benefits from the projects’.

Vågenes, Vibeke (1998)


Vågenes thesis focuses on gender relations among the Bejas pastoralists of Red Sea Hills in Sudan. The work has two principal objectives to meet: first, to perform an ethnographic description of the gender order of Hadendowa and to identify the Hadendowa gender constructs that give meaning and terms of reference for individual social behaviour and gender relations; second, to do with the dynamic relation between social practice and cultural or symbolic structures.

The gender order of Hadendowa is molded upon the pastoral life of the Arab. The separation of the genders is crucial to their gender system. Largely women and men live apart in daily life. Men and adolescent boys take the livestock to the well and grazing grounds, and often the herdsmen may be separated from the rest of their households and family groups for long periods. Some of the animals are kept in the camp and these are managed by women and minor children of both sexes. Moreover, men leave their household by dawn, after
some *jebbana*, and they return by sunset. Men and women never eat from the same koba, it is ‘*aib* to eat together.


This article examines an institutional approach to development in which indigenous institutions are viewed as a resource for achieving development. It concentrates on indigenous natural resource management (NRM) institutions which have been seen by some development agencies to be a means to address the needs of people and the environment in a way that is also participatory. Using material from Borana, Ethiopia, the article describes the indigenous NRM institutions and examines the outcome of one attempt to work with them. In the process, it shows that partnerships between development agencies and indigenous NRM institutions are often fragile, and tend to dissolve when they fail to meet the preconceptions of the developers. Through an examination of this approach to development, the article also examines the usefulness of recent broad approaches to institutions.
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