PASTORALISM AND LAND:
Land Tenure, Administration and Use in Pastoral Areas of Ethiopia
This publication is jointly produced by:

Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia
Box 364, 1250, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
Email: pfe@pfe-ethiopia.org

Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia (PFE) was established in 1998. PFE aspires to see empowered, socially and economically developed pastoral communities that enjoy an affluent livelihood and a durable peace and social harmony. Its mission is to promote pastoral rights through policy advocacy, networking, research and capacity building with partners and stakeholders at the local, national, and regional / international levels.

International Institute of Rural Reconstruction
Africa Regional Centre, PO Box 66873-00800, Nairobi, Kenya
Email: admin@iirr.org
Website: www.iirr.org

Ethiopia Country Office, PO Box 7931, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

The International Institute of Rural Reconstruction is a non-profit non-governmental organization that aims to improve the quality of lives of the rural poor in developing countries through rural reconstruction: a sustainable, integrated, people-centred development strategy generated through practical field experiences. Based in the Philippines, IIRR has regional centres in Africa (located in Nairobi) and Asia (located in Silang, the Philippines). IIRR's Africa regional centre is committed to strengthening the institutional capacity of partner organizations through learning, knowledge generation, documentation and sharing.

The production of this book was made possible with financial support from The Development Fund. The Development Fund is a Norwegian non-governmental environment and development organisation supporting projects for small-scale farmers and pastoralists in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Its main aim is to help people help themselves. It believes that the fight against poverty must be based on sustainable management of natural resources and biodiversity. The Development Fund also conducts information and advocacy work in Norway and internationally.

Published 2010 by PFE, IIRR and DF

Printed in Kenya

ISBN 9966-754-07-5

Correct Citation

PFE, IIRR and DF. 2010. *Pastoralism and Land: Land tenure, administration and use in pastoral areas of Ethiopia*
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Preface

Ethiopia’s pastoralist community of ten million people occupies 61 percent of the total land mass. The 29 nationalities and ethnic groups inhabit land with natural resources and a wealth of cultural and traditional heritage that remains largely untapped. Ethiopian pastoralists raise a large portion of the national herd, estimated at 42 percent of the cattle, 7 percent of the goats, 25 percent of the sheep, 20 percent of the equines and all of the camels. However, pastoralist communities are often unable to harness the immense resources of their land due to internal and external pressures related to land tenure and use. This is because the policies that relate to the use and access of pastoral land do not adequately promote pastoral rights.

To address this and other challenges to pastoralists in Ethiopia, Somali and Borana pastoral elders initiated the Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia (PFE) in 1998 to provide a united front that would promote pastoralist rights as well as advocate and lobby for legislation that promotes their well-being. Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia is a local umbrella Non-Govermental Organization working with pastoralists and partners for the advancement of Ethiopian pastoralists; it represents the collective voice of its member Civil Society Organizations. The forum has come a long way from its establishment as a loose network for pastoralist information exchange. It has developed both organizationally and institutionally, building on experiences and lessons on pastoral development and networking. Since 2004, Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia has transformed into a full fledged NGO.

The Pastoralist Forum has contributed a great deal in ensuring that pastoralism and pastoralists are included in the national agenda. Pastoral issues have been reported, discussed and debated in parliament; pastoral institutions have been formed and formulated at the federal and regional levels; the Ethiopian Pastoralist Day (EPD) has been recognized as a national day; and the plight of pastoralists has been included in the country’s Five-Year Plan (2005/06-2009/10) and the Plan for Accelerated and Sustainable Development to End Poverty (PASDEP). National conferences have been held on selected themes, aimed at narrowing the pastoral knowledge gap and indigenous knowledge has been documented. Under the coordination and management of the Japanese Social Development Fund to support pastoral development projects in pastoral regions, eleven NGOs with thirteen projects have been selected and sub-granted to undertake community capacity building. Facilitation and
support has been given to the establishment of Pastoral Elders Councils, and broadcasting of a regular pastoral program on Ethiopian Radio. Today PFE has a membership of 36 local and international NGOs working in pastoral areas. The Forum works to strengthen partnership with both Government and Non-Government bodies.

*Pastoralism and Land: Land Tenure, Administration and Use in Pastoral Areas of Ethiopia*, was born out of a need to share the experiences of pastoralist communities and organizations that work with them. It will raise awareness and support for pastoralists in similar organizations and more importantly it will encourage development of land use practices and policies that are sensitive to pastoralist needs. In addition, this book will enable the reader to understand the pastoralist production system as well as the current pastoral land administration and land use policy in Ethiopia. The reader will also get a glimpse of traditional institutions in pastoralist communities and the role they play in the management of natural resources. In addition, the book explores how communities cope with change and gives examples of how these can help ensure continuity of pastoralist livelihoods. In addition, the considers supplementary activities and marketing options for pastoralists, an area which remains largely unexplored resulting in increasingly vulnerable communities. It ends with an investigation of Gender, Conflict and HIV/AIDS and explores the impact these have had on pastoralists.

It is our hope that this book will demystify the Ethiopian pastoralist way of life to a wider audience and inform policy makers, development organizations and researchers on the experiences of pastoralists. And that it will offer realistic approaches to enhancing pastoralist livelihoods for greater harmony among pastoralist communities.
Acknowledgements

The Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia (PFE) and International Institute of Rural Reconstruction (IIRR) would like to acknowledge the many individuals and organizations that have directly and indirectly contributed to the success of this book.

- The Development Fund for technical support to the manuscripts and cases during and after the writeshop process and also for funding production, printing and distribution of this book.

Others include:

- Ayele Gebre-Mariam program manager of Development Fund, Norway who inspired the original idea of using the writeshop approach to write this book. He provided technical support to case and manuscript writers and served as a resource person during and after the writeshop.

- The management and staff of Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia and special thanks to Mebratu Kifle Belayneh who served as project coordinator.

- The Management and staff of IIRR in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia and Nairobi, Kenya, led by Zerihun Lemma Damenu who served as IIRR project liaison with PFE.

- Participants and staff who took part in the various regional preparatory workshops, developed ideas and identified the different cases in this book.

- The over 60 writeshop participants (resource persons, contributors, community leaders, facilitators, editors, artists and support staff) who developed the draft of the book (details at the end of the book).

- The unnamed pastoralists, government, NGO staff and researchers whose knowledge and experiences are reflected in this book; and

- The management and staff of Tegen Guest House and Conference Facility where the writeshop was hosted.
The Approach

Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia, along with its member organizations and partners and through close collaboration with the pastoralist societies, identified the need to document the experiences and challenges of pastoralists in Ethiopia – both to inform policy and for posterity. After considering the different options the writeshop process pioneered by IIRR at its headquarters in the Philippines was selected for its participatory approach. *Pastoralism and Land: Land Tenure, Administration and Use in Pastoral Areas of Ethiopia* was developed through a writeshop held in Addis Ababa in March 2009.

Several publications on diverse subjects have been developed using this approach. These include: extension manuals, toolkits, posters and policy briefs. The writeshop process has several advantages over conventional methods of producing a book. The process takes full advantage of the presence of many different participants and staff to develop a book in a short time. The process of writing, getting feedback, revising and illustrating the book takes place at the same time with all participants contributing to each article. In addition, the writeshop brings together people from different areas, various institutions and all walks of life. Each has his or her own perspective or experience that enriches the manuscript.
The Writeshop process

Planning and consultation meetings: Six two-day planning and consultation meetings were held in mainly pastoralist regions of the country. These included: Afar, Gambella, Oromia, Somali (Jigjiga and Gode) and Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Regional (SNNPR) States. The project coordinator made presentations on land administration and use at the regional planning workshops to help identify the content of the book. Following the meetings the PFE, IIRR and DF teams agreed on the book content and selected cases. Individuals were assigned to write the different cases and produce manuscripts. In addition, the meetings identified community leaders to participate in the writeshop. A two-day national planning and synthesis workshop then took place. The participants comprised knowledgeable representatives from each of the regional consultative meetings and others. At the end of this planning workshop a final table of contents was generated, topics and cases were assigned to writers and a detailed plan of activities was developed. Participants also agreed on manuscript submission dates.

Writing of cases and manuscripts: Manuscripts and cases on various land related issues were collected and the selected ones were then commented upon. The Development Fund program manager provided written and oral feedback to the authors. The project coordinator provided feedback to the authors through telephone and face-to-face discussions based on the written feedback given by the Development Fund program manager. Seventy cases and manuscripts were then prepared and made ready for presentation at the writeshop.

The Writeshop: Some 60 participants: community leaders, NGOs, CSOs, project officers from government agencies and media representatives together with facilitators, editors and artists convened in Addis Ababa in March 2009. During the twelve-day workshop manuscripts and cases were presented, revised and edited and illustrations developed. The facilitators also took advantage of the resource people in the workshop to develop new cases. At the end of this process a third draft of the material was produced, which was taken away for final editing and layout.
The Writeshop Participants

Abiyot Tilahun
Ahmed Abdul Kadir
Aika Bedane
Alemu Tessema Haile
Ali Abdela
Daniel Temesgen (Dr.)
Dawit Seyum
Dawit Tialhun
Dubale Admassu
Ebisa Gashu Wako
Fikre Zerfu Takele
Fitsum Wubeshet
Getu Wolde
Gezahegn Yilma Dejenu
Girma Amare
Haji Mussa Gurro
Hassen Mohammed Hassen
Honey Hassen
Kindie Gebeyehu Reta
Mengistu Woube
Mitiku Tiksa
Muktar Abshir Osman
Nur Abdi Mohammed
Nura Dida
Olkeba Botie
Seid Mohammed Ali
Seifu Lemma (Dr.)
Shirega Minuye Share
Solomon Desta
Sultan Mohammed Hassen
Tadesse Bekele Lutta
Wendessen Gulelat
Yimer Mengesha
Yohannes Gebremichael (Dr.)
Yosef Feye

The Writeshop Team

Facilitation
Firew Kefyalew Mekonnen
Isaac Bekalo (Dr.)
Mengistu Edo
Zerihun Lemma

Editing
Aileen Ogolla
Isaac Bekalo (Dr.)
Paul Karaimu

Resource People
Alemmaya Mulugeta (Dr.)
Ayele Gebre-Mariam
Daniel Temesgen (Dr.)
Mebratu Kifle Belayneh
Sora Adi
Taffese Mesfin Metekia (Dr.)
Teshome Estifanos
Tezera Getahun Tiruneh
Wendessen Gulelat

Illustrations
Dawit Tilahun
Fitsum Wubeshet Gebre-Michael

Secretariat
Bezunesh Seboka
Simret Yemane

Project Coordinator
Mebratu Kifle Belayne
Contributors who did not participate at the writeshop

Abarufa Jatani
Abdi Abdulahi
Aden Tekle
Ahmed Jemal
Ayalew Gebre (Dr.)
Belayhun Hailu
Ben Irwin
Fekadu Beyene (Dr.)
Johan Helland
Mohammed Abdulahi
Solomon Yilma
Tibebu Assefa
Tsegaw Mekonnen
Introduction

Ethiopian pastoralists face many threats to their livelihoods both internal and external. The internal factors include loss of livestock and shrinking rangelands. Climate change and recurrent drought are among the most obvious external factors but there are many others. A great many challenges arise from changing patterns of land use and land tenure. This book seeks to explore these land tenure, administration and use issues and share experiences from the country’s pastoralist communities to offer solutions based on knowledge gained over a two-year study and documentation period conducted in all the pastoralist regions of Ethiopia. To start, we must have a full understanding of pastoralism.

Pastoralism is a production system made up of people, natural resources, livestock and social relations. None can exist without land of some sort. Practised all over the globe, pastoralism is best suited to dry environments where it can be productive. Pastoralists support each other and work for their common good by maintaining water points, resolving conflicts and managing grazing of common land. Extremely adaptable, they use indigenous knowledge which is passed on through traditional leaders to make the best use of humans, the environment and livestock; all working together. Pastoralism has been a good system of production for thousands of years for a significant part of Ethiopia’s population and it is well suited to many parts of the country. The experience of the past hundred years, however, shows that pastoralism is becoming ever more threatened.

There are approximately 10 million pastoralists in Ethiopia who make up almost 14 percent of the total population. Coming from at least 29 different nations and nationalities, Ethiopian pastoralists live in more than 133 woredas (districts) in seven National Regional States. Somali, Afar and Oromo pastoralists are in the majority in their states and constitute 87 percent of the total pastoralist population. Pastoral communities in SNNPR (South Omo and Bench-Maji Zones), Benishangul-Gumuz, Dire Dewa and Gambella make up the remainder.

The pastoral regions of Ethiopia, as elsewhere in Africa, have a fragile environment and unpredictable weather. Pastoralist areas cover about 61 percent of Ethiopia. Usually found below 1,500 metres, these areas are known as ‘arid and semi-arid’ land and are often described as marginal. Pastoralist areas are sparsely populated; it takes much more land to sustain a population in the
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arid lowlands than it does in the well-watered highlands. Overall, pastoralist areas are noted for their highly variable and uncertain rainfall and are prone to drought and food shortages.

From this land, the pastoral population of Ethiopia produces more than its share of national livestock output. The areas in which they live are rich in cultural and traditional heritage, flora and fauna diversity, valuable minerals, water, energy resources (solar and wind) and tapped and untapped tourist attractions. Many of the country’s national parks and reserves for instance are in pastoralist areas. These areas contribute significantly to the national economy but economic statistics are so uncertain and skewed that this is very hard to show using existing data. Despite this contribution pastoralist communities have been subjected to changes in land tenure, ranging from dispossession to occupation, which combined with political, economic and socio-cultural marginalization have made their livelihoods ever harder to sustain.

**Sketch map of some pastoral groups in Ethiopia**

Location of some of the pastoralist groups
Land tenure is the conditions under which land is held or occupied. It is a contentious issue in Ethiopia, as in much of Africa, because there have always been different land use systems across the country among many distinct communities. Until the 20th century some of the land in the highlands of Ethiopia was owned by the church or the state and different pastoralist groups owned the arid lands communally. Over the last hundred years there have been many changes in these systems, both in the highlands and in the lowland areas where pastoralists live. Many farmers have moved down into the lowlands and started cultivating on pastoralist rangelands. This migration has led to conflict, environmental degradation and hardship.

This book seeks to examine what has gone wrong so it can be avoided in future and more importantly what has gone right. Where can we go from here and on which successes can we build? Each chapter builds upon the one before and ends with an outline of the challenges faced and suggestions for a way forward. Taken as a whole the shared experiences and knowledge of the pastoralists, academics and development workers who contributed to this book should allow policy makers and pastoralists alike to make appropriate future plans that take advantage of pastoralism’s extraordinary ability to adapt. It is the view of the contributors that pastoralism remains the best land use system for much of Ethiopia’s arid lands and that for pastoralism to give of its best to the national economy, pastoralists need some form of land tenure security over the lands they have protected and conserved for millennia.
Chapter One gives a brief outline of how the pastoralist production system works in theory and practice.

Chapter Two explains the history and the current status of land administration and use policies and laws in Ethiopia’s pastoralist rangelands using examples from different areas and regional states.

Chapter Three investigates the rich history of how pastoralist traditional institutions have managed the scarce natural resources on the land they controlled.

Chapter Four looks into the new forms of land use that have been introduced into the pastoral lowlands. It looks at the advantages and disadvantages of different systems and the effects on pastoralist lands that have been observed as a result of these changes.

Chapter Five first looks at supplementary livelihoods: how pastoralists have adapted to make the most of the remote and under-resourced lands in which they live. It then examines credit, extension and marketing – all ways that can improve pastoralist livelihoods.

Chapter Six is a chapter of many warnings. It looks at how HIV can spread fast with changes in land tenure; how it is essential to harness the power and influence of women in any solution making and how making wrong decisions on land can lead to conflict. This chapter also examines gender roles and conflict as related to land administration and use.
Chapter One

Understanding the Pastoralist Production System

Pastoralism is a livelihood system and way of life practised by people dwelling in arid and semi-arid environments, using mainly traditional knowledge to optimise the interaction between humans, the environment and livestock.

The most commonly recognized and most frequently used economic definition of pastoralism is the one given by Jeremy Swift (1988). According to Swift, pastoral production systems are those “in which at least 50 percent of the gross incomes of households (i.e. the value of market production and the estimated value of subsistence production consumed by households) come from pastoralism or its related activities, or else, where more than 15 percent of households’ food energy consumption involves the milk or dairy products they produce”. The global definition above reflects the characteristics of most Ethiopian pastoralists.

Pastoralism has been a viable mode of production since time immemorial for a significant part of Ethiopia’s population. Pastoralists’ adaptation to a marginal and unpredictable environment has made living in the drylands possible. However the experience of the past two decades shows that this adaptation is becoming difficult because of internal and external multi-dimensional factors.

The four elements of pastoralism

Pastoralists have adapted to the reality of the land on which they live and are able to pursue productive livelihoods in what many outsiders consider vulnerable and fragile regions. They have developed extensive traditional knowledge about their environment and have evolved strategies that allow them to survive and thrive in arid lands. For pastoralists themselves, pastoralism is not just a production system: it is a viable and important livelihood and existence. Nonetheless, it is important to explain the system so that outsiders can understand it. The pastoralist management system involves a complex set of elements that are linked together by a requirement for land and a responsibility to safeguard it. They include:
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- Mobility.
- Keeping or possessing large herds of livestock.
- Herd diversification and splitting.
- Focused mutual assistance systems.

Mobility

Pastoral communities make well-planned and targeted movements between wet and dry season grazing areas. Mobility is a strategy suitable to the fragile land on which pastoralists live, which allows communities to best use limited pasture and other resources. Mobility allows pastoralists to balance and conserve rangelands through careful management. In Ethiopia, pastoralists’ prime reason for moving is to search for better grazing, water and saltlicks (the different minerals which are an essential ingredient for animal health) and to avoid disease. In Afar, Somali and South Omo regions movement is further dictated by the seasonal flooding of the Awash, Wabi-Shabelle, Ganalle and Omo rivers, which threatens lives and livelihoods.

Mobility allows the efficient, supervised and sustainable use of fragile natural resources. Rains are not predictable and are unevenly distributed across pastoralist rangelands. Mobility allows pastoralists to react to these events carefully and manage the rangelands efficiently. Furthermore, mobility is useful for exchanging information, social interaction, animal husbandry and disease avoidance. Mobility serves to maintain good relations among different pastoral groups. Pastoralism is like a farm with four legs that can walk, search and reach important pastoral resources like pasture, water and minerals. Thus, mobility is an indispensable element of pastoralist livelihood.
### Mobility patterns in selected communities

#### Mobility in South Omo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribal/ethnic group</th>
<th>Wet season</th>
<th>Dry season</th>
<th>Drought period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hamer and Besheda</td>
<td>Hamer range, Meno Gelti, Kizo, Surge, Zersia</td>
<td>Kizo, Dunka, Mino Gelti, Demeka, Kara, Surge, Zersia and Chelbi</td>
<td>Chelbi swamp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kara</td>
<td>Kizo</td>
<td>Karo Dus and Karo Lebuk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dasenetch</td>
<td>Berar, Illemi triangle, Kalam to Koras mountain, Kibish, Fejej, Bubua</td>
<td>Lorinatom range, grazing areas in the delta include Nairobi Eorar, Nemeren, Nekebel, kezkez, Diba, Elfel Yebul, Kayele, and Derich</td>
<td>Same areas as in the dry period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bume/Nyangatom</td>
<td>Kibish</td>
<td>Along the Omo River from Ikangaton to Shenkora</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbore</td>
<td>Hamar-Tsemaco range</td>
<td>Woito River, Chelbi plains and Wata Wondo area</td>
<td>Chelbi swamp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsemaco</td>
<td>Foothills and mountain ranges</td>
<td>Woito River, Ayemale, Shala Luka, Eru</td>
<td>Kako and Maale land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benna</td>
<td>Argo plains and foothills</td>
<td>Bore, Alduba, Dezheshe</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mursi</td>
<td>Foothills of Bongoso, Dara, Kurum Mara and Elma wooded</td>
<td>Mara, Elma, Bongo, Dara, Moizo and wooded grass land lying between the wooded thicket which comes close to Omo and the foothills east of the Omo – Mago watershed</td>
<td>Along the Omo River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodi</td>
<td>Foothills and Shune</td>
<td>Wooded grass land lying between the wooded thicket which comes close to Omo and the foothills east of the Omo – Mago watershed</td>
<td>Along the Omo River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maale</td>
<td>In each Kebele administration</td>
<td>Wegida Kare (near sanctuary), areas in Derashe and Bonke Woredas, Gazabazo/Woyla, mountainous areas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Afar livestock mobility

The Afar pastoral community has adapted well-planned and targeted seasonal movements between wet and dry seasonal grazing areas through the leadership and guidance of traditional institutions known as *Feameta Aba*. Afar pastoralists have their own mobility pattern. They move:

- In search of better grazing, water, salty water, salt licks.
- To conserve grazing for the dry season.
- In search of available good quality fodder.
- To guard against parasites and pests.
- To allow overgrazed areas time to recover.
- Because of the Awash river over flooding and high mosquito prevalence (For zones 1 and 3).

According to Afar Region’s Natural Grazing Lands and Livestock Feed Resource survey report (2004), there are three types of forage resource areas used by the Afar: (i) the dry season grazing and browsing areas within a day’s herding distance from permanent camps, (ii) the much more extensive wet season forage resource areas up to 100 kilometers from the camps, and (iii) the emergency forage resource areas used only in years of severe forage shortage (for example, the Chefa and Borkena Valleys). The survey also indicates that communities in different zones/woredas have different mobility patterns.

**Livestock mobility pattern of the Afar community**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Zone / Woreda</th>
<th>Major areas of mobility</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wet season</strong></td>
<td><strong>Dry season</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zone 1: Dubti, Aysaita and Afambo Woredas</td>
<td>Doka: Chifra and Aura Woredas between the Hida and Uwa rivers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zone 2</td>
<td>Herders move eastwards into Erebti and Afdera Woredas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
During drought, herders will move from their normal grazing lands to areas where pasture and water are presumed to be available. This movement across clan boundaries is authorised by the traditional leadership, once they have forecast rainfall for the second time. Herders’ mobility is also guided by resource and risk assessment missions both of the migratory routes and of destinations. Mobility helps herders to take the fullest advantage of rainfall and avoid the risks associated with staying within a confined area. However, cross border mobility is in most cases not peaceful and leads to conflicts with other groups.
Borana mobility

The Borana rangeland is a key asset, allowing animals to exploit nutritional resources in areas that are not suitable for cultivation. Mobility from one maddaa (grazing territory) to another is one of the survival mechanisms Borana pastoralists have adopted over time. Technically and traditionally, this movement is desirable because extended stays in one place have a harmful effect on the wellbeing of livestock.

The Boran production system - seasonal movement

The lowlands of Borana are geographically and ecologically classified into three major production systems. They are:

- Liiban which is subdivided into Diid Liiban, Chaari, Badha.
- Golbo which is divided into Gobole and Bada
- Diirre, which is divided into several several eco-climatic zones that include; the Tulla well complex zone, the Malbe (including Marmaro, Bidru, Gelchet, Gobso, and Dhokole) the Gomoole (including Yabello, Dubuluq, Matin, east of Arero), Badha (including Tuka, Hidi Lola, Gamadu, Gomolle, Arero and Liban).
Borana livestock seasonal movement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Production system</th>
<th>Season of grazing</th>
<th>Examples of the area</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>I. Diid Liban Production system</td>
<td>Wet</td>
<td>Liben Woreda</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subsystem:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Did Liban</td>
<td>Wet, Dry, Dry</td>
<td>East of Negelle town, North of Negelle town, South of Negelle town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chari</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>II. Dirre Production System</td>
<td>Wet and dry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsystem:</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulla well complex production system</td>
<td>Dry</td>
<td>Leh (in Somali Region), Gof (in Somali Region), Melbena, Erder, Dubuluk, Web, Higo, Gorille, Wachile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malbe production system</td>
<td>Wet and dry</td>
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<td>Dry</td>
<td>Marmaro, Bidru, Galchat, Gobso and Dhoqolle</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subsystem:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gomole</td>
<td>Wet and dry</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bada</td>
<td>Dry</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dry season rangelands of the fora herd are used during the wet season by the warra herd management system. Hence, the rangelands tend to be overgrazed when the fora herd returns. In the Golbo production system, there are two situations. The pastoralists keep their animals near the well during the dry season and they have established a grazing radius for the warra herds during the wet season. The pastoralists in this production system have also delineated certain areas where the herds are supposed to move during the dry season.

Somali mobility patterns in Liben zone

The Somali community exercises herd and family splitting during mobility. All family members with major milking livestock move and settle very close to
water sources like *ellas* during the dry season. This is known as *Ollok/Herman*. The young herdsmen move all the other non-milking stock to distant areas mainly close to big rivers.

**Wet and dry season grazing areas in Somali region**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zone</th>
<th>Wet season</th>
<th>Dry season</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gode</td>
<td>Foothills and uplands</td>
<td>Along the Wabishebele River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afder</td>
<td>Cheerti, Dolloban, Baren, Hargelle, Gorobagagsa</td>
<td>Along Genale, Web, Wabishebelle Rivers, El har, Yabow, Dhan Adir, Shakissa, Budhi, Bali Baako, Qorsadula, Gerar Elgojo, Qundi, goroba, Gagsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiq</td>
<td>Qubi, Dooya, Dargamo, Qaruaqod and Maymuluqa</td>
<td>Gebere Abood, Digiweyne, Jajale, Afmeer, Birqod, Maleyko, Sulul, Ela Sibi, Qarri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degahbur</td>
<td>Jig, Bohololey, Dayr, Dig, Sibi</td>
<td>Fafan, Jerer, Galaisha, Dakhata, Sibi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jigjiga</td>
<td>Babile, Gursum, Karamara</td>
<td>Jerer, Fafan Dakhata Valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qorehey</td>
<td>Jool Jeoh, Nusdaarrig, Handheer, Bank Dhibaweyn( Kalajeen, Hannan, Har Ano, Jiracle, EL Ogaden), Melka Afweyn, Qorjeh, Mario Ado, Elhaar, Banka Qoraheey, Banka Shaykosh</td>
<td>Gabagabo, Mariaado, Subaarco, El Har, Giid, Guoglo, Subauke, Shey Hoosn, Alla Gadweyne, Higloley, Quruh, Jeehdin, Herweyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liben</td>
<td>Ayinile, Gunway, Walenso, Moyale, Wayamo, Chilanqo, Biyoley, Boqolmoyo, Triyangolo, Jarso Dhafabulaale( extensive grazing areas far away from rivers, birkas and ellas)</td>
<td>Seru, Sora, Dinbi, and along Dawa and Genale Rivers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shinile</td>
<td>Hills and uplands</td>
<td>Araq, Bisiq, Muli, Qandaras, Erer River and Somaliland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warder</td>
<td>Laheelow, Dhrurwa, Hararaf, Aado, Qorile, Darafole, Markha Lifo, Agaarweywe, Danod, Burawo and Las Anod in Somaliland</td>
<td>Wasdhusug, Garlogubay, Yuub, Ubad Taale, Warder, Galadi, Walwal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Most pastoralist communities are not as mobile as they were in the past. There are a variety of reasons for this including government policy, ill-planned investment and crop cultivation in pastoralist areas.

**Keeping large herds**

Maintaining large herds is a planned livelihood strategy. The main production objective of pastoralists is not just to increase herd/flock size. Pastoralists aim to increase milk yield, maintain an appropriate herd/flock structure for short and long-term reproductive success and ensure disease resistance by selective breeding. Accumulation helps ensure the long-term survival of herds/flocks despite losses incurred during periodic droughts and disease outbreaks. Another reason for stock accumulation is that many pastoralists lack alternative means of investment and asset storage. One of the main methods for self-insuring against risk is to accumulate food stocks and marketable assets. Pastoralists tend to respond to drought or crisis conditions in steps: *risk minimization, risk absorption, and risk-taking* to survive. During the *risk minimization stage*, pastoralists accumulate livestock and minimize the risk of loss. During the *risk absorption stage*, they undertake measures to sustain their most valuable animals and market less valuable animals to buy food. In the *risk-taking stage* pastoralists sell their most valued animals and/or move from their home areas in order to survive. The economic rationale of pastoralism has all too
often been misunderstood or overlooked by bureaucrats and aid workers. In particular, they have questioned pastoralist herd/flock management, claiming that pastoralists let herds/flocks get too large leading to overgrazing.

Herd diversification and splitting

Herd diversification further reduces risk and insures against natural as well as human-made shocks. Nowadays many pastoralists are changing their livestock species composition from grazers that feed on grass (cattle and sheep) to browsers that eat bushes (camels and goats). Camels and goats easily adapt themselves to changes in pasture. Successive droughts, loss of land, overgrazing and bush encroachment in areas where rangelands have been interfered with have made this change necessary, a change that shows pastoralists’ ability to adapt and continue to thrive.

Herd splitting achieves two things: it maximises animal production and protects rangeland and grazing reserves for later use. Cows that are producing milk and young animals generally stay close to permanent settlements, whereas
dry cows and adult males are split off and move away to seek fresh pastures. Sheep and goats are usually herded together although goats can survive for long periods on browse alone. Camels and cattle that are not producing milk can be herded long distances away from permanent encampments. By doing this, pastoralists ensure that there is milk close to camp for family needs and that their livestock get palatable grass and minerals at the right times.

**Mutual assistance systems**

Pastoralists have developed community support systems that are a key part of their success. Much finer tuned, formalised, receptive and focused than in most sedentary populations, these systems enable pastoralists and their herds to recover from severe shocks and thrive once more. For example, if a fellow pastoralist loses his herd, his lineage contributes livestock to keep him from dropping out of the community. At village level pastoralists help each other to water animals, move huts, search for lost animals and during burials. Bulls are shared for breeding under the direction of village heads to ensure that the herd is developed for the greater good. At clan level, defence becomes important, as does paying off debts. The clan will help a family if someone is badly injured.
or has no milking cows. Pastoralist men help each other to find wives so they
can have children and clan members, carry each other to medicine men or
healers when someone is sick.

Community support systems

The Afar have various institutionalized mutual aid associations in their
communities (*kaidoh*) which lead to the growth and establishment of new
households. Local communities reinforce these mutual aid associations. Some
of these include; *hantilla* which are lactating animals are given as free loans to
destitute Afars so that they can have some milk. The *Irbu* are those who lost
animals due to epidemics or raids go asking for animals from hut to hut but do
not consider themselves beggars. *Ees* is an individual who is less fortunate steals
animals from the herd of a rich community member. *Gera hara*: an individual
asks his local community to give him animals in order to buy a firearm.

The Boran have developed a social security system where wealth, land, water
and pasture are all communal and shared fairly among the tribe using a unique
system of indigenous management, governed by the *Gada* system. *Buusaa-gonofa*
helps people in need and also maintains solidarity and shares wealth. This
strategy ensures survival despite losses caused by drought, animal or human
disease. It also restocks and maintains the health of the herd. *Buusaa-gonofa*
involves different units – clans, sub-clans, family groups and households - with
virtual independence to manage their own affairs. In Somali region the mutual
support system is known as *Kalmo* and is administered by the *Ogamilog* or village
head. Pastoralist mutual assistance systems come into play when a household
member becomes destitute due to war or drought and when he has many
children and cannot support his family with the remaining livestock.

In the pastoral societies of South Omo richer people are obliged to help the
poor as they live in a risky environment and are vulnerable. They share common
grazing areas and water resources but livestock is owned individually. They
must cooperate to use resources efficiently. Means of cooperation include:
gifts of free labour, livestock, grain and honey.
The production system in practice

Pastoralists in Ethiopia rely on livestock production as their main livelihood because the land and its vegetation dictate it. They breed cattle, goats, sheep, camels and donkeys; different communities keep them in different proportions, depending upon the availability of fodder. Livestock are kept for products (milk, butter, ghee, meat, blood, skin and hides), income, transport and as asset reserves. Donkeys are kept primarily to transport water although they are also used to carry grain from markets. Male camels are used for transport and for breeding. Some pastoralists now also cultivate crops on an opportunistic basis to supplement their livestock production. In areas where there are rivers – such as Afar, Somali and South Omo - some pastoralists use small-scale irrigation to supplement their livestock production.

Livestock production in selected pastoral areas

Livestock are central to the pastoralist production system: females for all species types are preferred so that herds can keep growing as quickly as possible. Indigenous knowledge of livestock production, their diseases and needs, combined with an innate understanding of the land, allow pastoralists
to make the best possible use of the available resources. Each pastoralist community in Ethiopia has devised methods to allow them to prosper in their own environments; they have their own innovations and ways of doing things that are suitable for the particular areas where they live. These are useful to share. Taking great care of their animals in combination with wise rangeland management allows pastoralists to maintain the health and size of herds.

All pastoralist communities suffer from a shortage of quality feed and water, which makes their livestock susceptible to disease. Infrastructure and markets need improving if pastoralists are to continue to make the best use of the land on which they live. These are discussed with alternative livelihoods in Chapter Five. Here we concentrate on the experiences of different communities.

All the grazing land in the Afar community is owned communally except in agro-pastoral areas where some people grow crops along riverbanks and have small private grazing areas for cattle. Pastureland is mainly found around the hills, mountains, and swampy areas where stagnant water lies. Crop leftovers are used as animal feed mainly at the time of harvest but in some areas it is stored for use at other times. Despite attempts to introduce the practice in Aysaita and Afambo woredas people tend not to make hay in Afar region. In other areas it has sometimes led to conflict when people who sell hay use communal grazing for their cattle but refuse to share their grazing areas.

The Afar community’s preference order for the different species is camels, goats and sheep followed by cattle. Camels are much preferred due to their better capacity to tolerate drought and because they provide a high volume of milk. Goats and sheep are preferred to cattle as they also cope with drought better and have high fertility rates. In recent years, grazing areas have become smaller because of the invasion of Prosopis juliflora and Parthenium, expansion of crop cultivation and drought (See Chapter Four). Continuous conflict with the neighbouring Issa community and encroachment from highland farmers has also reduced the Afar rangeland.

Most Afar stay in their woreda or adjacent woredas in normal times and all types of herds move together. However in the dry season and in bad years, some milking cows and their calves are left behind with the elderly household members. The Afar communities have been severely affected by successive droughts, which have caused changes in vegetation. They now keep less livestock per capita in total and have started breeding more browsers than
grazers. As in all Ethiopian pastoralist regions, livestock disease and access to services is a major problem.

Afar herders tend to eat grain during the dry season and generate the money needed to buy it from selling sheep and goats. Male cattle, sheep and goats are the first animals to be sold. In the absence of goats and sheep, or if a pastoral household is in need of more money, excess male cattle, followed by male camels will be sold. Only if there is no male stock will female animals be sold. Selling female camels is the last resort and even then, they are not usually sold directly in the market but are bartered within the community, as they are precious resources, particularly during drought. The selling of livestock is decided upon by the local community not just the owner.

Like the Afar, the pastoralists of South Omo consider goats as cash, which they trade with highlanders in exchange for guns and coffee husks. They are known as “poor man’s cows”. Traditionally the livestock kept in South Omo have been cattle, goats, sheep and donkeys. Recently, camels were introduced by an NGO working in the area. During the dry season cows with milk, calves, goats and sheep and old cattle are kept close to home. Oxen, bulls and other dry cattle travel long distances in search of water. This is a pattern followed to varying degrees across Ethiopia’s pastoralist communities, including the Boran.

Most households in Borana still have access to large communal grazing lands and are primarily dependent on livestock and livestock products. Livestock are the major sources of food, cash and assets. The main types of livestock reared are cattle, goats, sheep, camels and donkeys, in order of importance. Livestock are moved when there is scarcity of pasture and water around permanent settlements. The Boran household unit consists of one household head and one or more wives depending on the number of animals one has. In the dry season young men take away the dry fora animals in search of water and grazing. The warra herd of females grazes close to the homestead. The fora herd returns just before the long rains when cows are calved and plenty of milk is produced. The Afar, Somali and South Omo groups also have elaborate systems and have local terms to describe them. A key aspect of the Boran production system is the strong relationship between wealth in livestock and labour. Herds that grow beyond a certain size cannot be managed with household labour alone. Thus there is a tendency towards bearing more children to look after the herds; children are highly valued and considered to be ‘blessings’ for a Boran family.
More children are often obtained through having more wives and sometimes children can assume full membership of a Boran family even if she/he is fathered by a father from outside the family (abbera).

The main livestock species reared in Kereyu communities are camels, goats, cattle and sheep in order of importance. Migration patterns for livestock are different in normal and drought years. Camels move long distances, even in good years, while cattle only move short distances. Sheep and goats don’t move at all and always stay close to home. In normal years, livestock movement starts in mid-September. In bad years, the Kereyu migrate to different grazing areas both inside and outside Kereyu land. During bad years, migration often starts before the end of the usual rainy season. The Kereyu migrate with their livestock towards Afar, Wolenchiti and Shashemene and when the drought is severe, they migrate into prohibited areas such as Awash National Park – land that has always been a dry season grazing area but whose land tenure has changed.

The contribution of Somali Regional State to the national herd and the economy is significant. There are 9 million sheep, 8.5 million goats, 6 million cattle, 2 million camels, 250,000 donkeys and 1.2 million poultry there. The livestock in the region are mainly indigenous although the South East Rangeland Project (SERP) has tried to ‘improve’ sheep breeds. Despite recurrent drought in the region, livestock sustains the economy. The livestock is also under constant threat from diseases that often go untreated because veterinary services like much of the infrastructure in the area, are poor.
Crop cultivation

Some pastoralists have diversified from relying entirely upon their livestock to putting areas under cultivation. This has been one of the most radical changes in land use and tenure. There are four main techniques for growing crops in pastoralist areas:

1. Irrigation – including river-fed, hand-watered or machine-pumped.
2. Flood recession – along river banks, using the flood-waters.
4. Dryland cropping – planting in the hope that expected rain will produce a harvest.

In Somali region cereal crops (maize, sorghum and wheat), oil crops (groundnuts, sesame and castor beans), Industrial crops (cotton, sugar cane, tobacco, and kenaf) are grown in irrigated or rain-fed fields. Sorghum and maize are the two staple food crops cultivated in Somali Region. In general, the crop production system practiced is poor: crop rotation and falling for example are not known or practiced. Nonetheless, crop cultivation is practiced by about 25 percent of the total rural population.
In **South Omo** crop farming is becoming increasingly popular with many agro-pastoralists growing maize, sorghum and haricot beans along the banks of the Omo and Weyito, using the flood-recession method. In South Omo this technique is more successful than rain-fed cultivation. Despite there being two rainy seasons in the area, the rains are not reliable and do not provide enough water for crop cultivation. Most growing is done for subsistence but the Tsemaco, Hamer, Arbore and Bena also trade goats and sheep between each other in exchange for crops.

Crop-livestock integration has become more popular in **Borana** where it is practiced mainly by immigrants and poorer people who have dropped out of the pastoral system. Opportunistic cultivators have access to both communal grazing land and private farm areas and they practice both livestock rearing and crop cultivation. Crop cultivation in Borana has very low productivity because of unpredictable rain. It is a recent phenomenon that started as a response to recurrent drought.

The crops cultivated in Borana are mainly consumed by the people who grow them and the amount sold is insignificant. Rain-fed agriculture that takes advantage of flood plains is the main method used. There are two rainy seasons. The main rainy season (locally called *Gena*) is from mid-March to mid May. The short rainy season (*Hageya*) extends from mid-September to mid November. There are no perennial rivers in this area and irrigation is almost non-existent but many seasonal rivers flow from the highlands to the southeastern part of Borana. Community members whose plots are close to the banks of these rivers take advantage of the floods to cultivate maize and haricot beans. Teff, barley and wheat are also cultivated.

In many areas, opportunistic cultivation has created conflict over shared grazing between cultivators and herders. In **Kereyu** – where land has been put aside for industrial sugar cultivation – large-scale agriculture has caused conflict. Although the rains are normally light and erratic, they enable pastoral households to grow small quantities of maize. The showers that occur between November and December (called locally *Furmata*) are very helpful for the regeneration of browse and shrub vegetation for goats and camels but have little importance for crop production.

The main cultivated areas are close to the canals of the sugar plantations where the major crops planted are maize, sorghum, teff, tomato, onions and watermelon. However, in acute dry periods when the agro-pastoralists most
need water, the plantations block the canals so they lose their crops. Crop pests including stalk-borers and beetles, are a major problem in Kereyu. Locusts, a migratory crop pest that affects crop production in the Horn of Africa, are also a problem. Some pastoralists who practice relatively sophisticated irrigation use pesticides to protect their farms. The main weed infestations are from Parthenium and Prosopis juliflora. These weaken the browsing bushes and shrubs. Weeds are also spread by the overflow of the Awash River, which creates a serious problem, destroying farmland under cultivation. The river water deposits many different types of weeds: some fields are completely overtaken, which ultimately leads to yield reduction.

Rain fed crop cultivation is also practiced in Afar mainly on the borders of Amhara and Tigray - where it is highly risky. Poor soil fertility and salinity, erosion and the occurrence of periodic drought limit productivity. However, the region does produce some food and industrial crops. In the middle and lower Awash Valley, more productive crop farming is practiced through irrigation of the Awash River. The major crops cultivated are cotton, maize, sorghum, fruits, vegetables and date palms.
Challenges and the way forward

In spite of pastoral areas’ huge resource potential and significant contribution to the national economy, the majority of pastoral communities do not get enough food or basic services. The livestock production system is under serious pressure and is unable to adequately support the livelihood of the majority, particularly the poor and very poor segments of pastoralist society.

Across the country, grazing areas are shrinking and becoming less productive. Traditional water distribution and utilization systems are being challenged by industrialization and modernization. Indigenous coping strategies have suffered a decline. Moreover poor physical infrastructure, uncoordinated development efforts, low levels of pastoralist involvement and lack of appropriate research and extension services contribute to the downward trend. Despite its central role and contribution to society, pastoralism has been attacked as outdated and unproductive. Pastoralists in Ethiopia face not just unfavourable physical and environmental factors but also long years of neglect and the failure of development policies and strategies to satisfactorily reflect their views and interests.

There are however, opportunities here too. Pastoralism remains a resource - a system of producing meat and milk cheaply on land that is otherwise hard to exploit. This resource can be protected and managed effectively or ignored and allowed to decline. There are many ways in which the pastoralist production system can be improved. These include building on the growing interest and concern about pastoralist affairs within government. Pastoralists and their allies should try to ensure that unlike the failed top-down strategies of the last century, 21st century policies are designed with full pastoralist involvement.

Support should be given to the development of land use and administration policies, which guarantee communal land security and support pastoral mobility (See Chapter Two). Pastoralists should seek to work with government to create contingency plans for drought, successful early warning and rapid response mechanisms. Legal support for pastoral policies and changes in conservation and wildlife policies are needed, as is access to all social services. Education in particular holds the key to success for future generations of pastoralists. Traditional institutions have managed the rangelands and their resources for generations; sophisticated systems ensure that water points, grazing and
minerals are shared wisely for the good of the herd and the community. These currently weak traditional institutions should be strengthened so they can work with government for the good of the nation (See Chapter Three).

*Prosopis juliflora* and *Parthenium* invasion is a plague affecting all pastoralist areas (See Chapter Four). Lessons should be learned and shared to come up with a strategy for their management. With good extension and training packages that are suited to rangeland environments, such a strategy could be effectively adopted across the country. Pastoralists’ contribution to the economy can be encouraged to grow by focusing on creating effective micro-finance and rural saving and lending systems for pastoralists by promoting livestock marketing, infrastructure development and restocking. The Community Based Animal Health Service Delivery System is a good basis on which to strengthen and increase the reach of veterinary services for example. Government administration, security forces, politicians, customary leaders, elders, women, and youths should all be involved in avoiding conflict and the formal legal system should support local customary ways of managing conflict (See Chapter Six).

All of these issues are examined in this book. Chapter Two looks specifically at land use and administration. It explores the history and current situation of land tenure in Ethiopia, particularly in pastoral areas, and examines what can be done to ensure that pastoralists continue to be important contributors to the economy.
Chapter Two
Pastoral Land Administration and Land Use Policy

What defines land and how is it held?

Land is one of the most important elements to be considered in the context of urban and rural development. It is the source of almost all material wealth and the main resource for human settlement. The interrelation of people and land is fundamental to human existence. The shortage or inaccessibility of land therefore has very negative effects and can seriously hamper social and economic development. One of the prerequisites for efficient land management is tenure security.

The Food and Agriculture Organisation says that “land” refers not only to soils, but also to landforms, water balance, climate, flora and fauna together with land improvements such as resources management which include mobility, traditional institutions, indigenous knowledge, technical know-how, labour and capital available to the community.

Land tenure is derived from the Latin word *tenere*, which means, “to hold”, and it generally refers to the right, mode or terms of holding. Hence land tenure defines the method by which individuals or groups acquire, hold and transform property in land. Formal rules of tenure therefore define the nature and content of property rights and determine how individuals or groups are allowed to hold property in land or other resources and the conditions under which those rights are held and enjoyed.

Tenure affects virtually all decisions concerning land use systems and agriculture-based development, be it croplands, grazing lands, or forestlands. In general land tenure is the system of rights and institutions that governs access to land and other resources.
Pastoralism and Land: Land Tenure, Administration and Use in Pastoral Areas of Ethiopia

Rangelands face many threats

In Ethiopia rural and urban lands, including the pastoral areas, belong to the state but in pastoral areas land holding arrangements are not clear. There are no clear rules giving security to the people who have used and cared for the land over generations. This has led to poor and inefficient investment and bad management of these lands and their natural resources. Traditional communal lands have been given out to individuals and remaining pastoral lands are being degraded. In some cases, pastoralists have been evicted from their ancestral lands. This has made it hard for them to earn a living, has disrupted their lives and weakened the traditional systems that administered land use and tenure.

Pastoralist land has been given over for national parks, commercial farms, mines, military camps, airports, oil exploration and cropping. Land administration and use policies and laws that superficially address pastoral issues have not been sensitive to pastoralist traditions and hence pastoralists do not benefit from investments made in their lands.
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International Agreements

The rights of communities are protected by international agreements. Many international rules on human rights and environmental protection provide group rights for indigenous communities to their communally possessed lands. The African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights has recognised and categorised pastoralists in Africa as ‘indigenous communities’.

The Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which was adopted by the UN Human Rights Commission in 2006, guarantees the rights of indigenous communities. The Declaration provides collective rights that include the rights to maintain and develop one’s ethnic characteristics and identity; to protection against any deprivation of one’s ethnic identity and characteristics and forced assimilation; to traditional economic structures and ways of life; and to be secured in the enjoyment of one’s own traditional means of subsistence and to engage freely in traditional activities. In addition to human rights instruments, there are also international environment documents, which uphold land rights, such as the 1992 Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, Agenda-21 and the Convention on Biological Diversity.

The government has started to address pastoralist land tenure. The current land administration and land use policies of the Afar Region and the draft land use policy documents of Benishangul-Gumuz regional government provide good examples of how to deal with pastoralists’ land rights. Policies such as the 2005 Federal Land Use Policy, the 2002 Oromia National Regional State and SNNPR policies and laws exist and address the specific needs of pastoralists both nationally and regionally. The policies are superficial and often not practiced.

Even though the government has listened to the needs of pastoralists, challenges still remain in addressing their complex needs. Issues such as compensation, certification as well as conflict and gender empowerment in land use present challenges. The overriding need is to consult and involve pastoralists, including women, in all decision-making processes in order to move forward.

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1 ACHPR resolution on the Rights of Indigenous Populations/Communities, OAU Rev. 1., 28th Ordinary Session, Cotonou, Benin, 6 November 2000.

2 UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007)
Pastoralism and Land: Land Tenure, Administration and Use in Pastoral Areas of Ethiopia

The history of land tenure in Ethiopia

Prior to the 1975 land reform, which nationalized all rural lands, pastoral lands were under direct state ownership. All unsettled or permanently uncultivated land in Ethiopia was conceived by the authorities as no man’s land, and claimed as state property. This was enacted in a 1954 proclamation, the 1955 revised constitution and the Ethiopian Civil code of 1960.

Unsettled land was known as zalan or “wanderer” land. This land was divided into nomadic herders land and nomadic hunter-cultivators land. The land under the pastoral production system was reassigned to individuals, large state farms and national parks. The large state farms in the Awash Valley, which emerged during and after the 1950s developed at the expense of and against the plight of the Kereyu, Jillie and Afar herders. These communities were forced to evacuate their grazing lands and watering points. The effect of such forced evacuation has been devastating on humans and animals.

In the 1975 land reforms proclamation, the state monopoly of ownership of land was reaffirmed and the rights of pastoralists were limited by law, only to usufructuary rights. Pastoralists have possessory rights over the lands customarily used for grazing or other purposes related to agriculture.

The land law further proclaimed that pastoralists pay all dues to the state, and that all previous land related obligations to the Ballabats (traditional chiefs) were annulled. Pastoralists were further urged to set up associations, and the government took it upon itself to improve grazing areas, dig wells and settle the pastoralists. In some places pastoralists were co-opted to organize themselves into pastoral associations. The main function of the associations should be to induce the pastoralist to cooperate in the use of grazing and water rights. But the associations were not mandated to carry out distribution and redistribution of lands. The proclamation on one hand respected the communal use right by not distributing and redistributing land but on the other hand substituted the traditional resource management system by giving the mandate to pastoral associations. The latter caused the erosion of traditional institutions and contributed greatly to the distortion of the pastoral way of life.

In the subsequent years and decades after the 1975 Land Act, the circumstances of Ethiopian pastoralists has worsened, particularly because of increased
encroachment upon their land and water resources in favour of interventions that are not useful for pastoral production and social organization. Large state farms emerged and or expanded at the expense of pastoralist herders in the rift valley regions. The best rangelands were demarked and enclosed for national parks and protected forests, outlawing pastoralists from using them for grazing. Large resettlement schemes were carried out at the expense of pastoralists, hunters and cultivators in the Gambella, Beni-Shangul-Gumz and the Wabeshibelle Valley.

The Context of Pastoral Land Tenure in Ethiopia

An understanding of land tenure patterns in Ethiopia depends on clear differentiation between the northern part and the southern part of the country. In the North, systems of community based land tenure (generally rist) were common. Rights to rist lands were distributed through inheritance. People could neither sell nor mortgage the land but could lease it out and pass it on to children as inheritance.

Overlying the rist lands were various systems of rights to raise tax and levies. For the sake of simplicity, these taxation rights may collectively be referred
to as *gult* rights, some of which were heritable within the feudal aristocracy, some of which belonged to the crown and were granted as feudal chiefs on a temporary basis (*Madereia* land) and some of which were granted to the church on a permanent basis (*Semon* land).

In the South the majority of crop farming households became share-cropping tenants on their own land after it had been distributed to the feudal elites and their retainers. The people of the South therefore often had to pay rent and provide other services to highly exploitative share-cropping contracts to gain access to land. The main contrast to the northern *rist* system concerned security of tenure, where the fundamental distant based system of land rights was underwritten by the system of taxation. In the south, however, share-cropping contracts and land rent offered no security of tenure. Ownership or disposal rights and administrative taxation rights were kept separate in the South. With the introduction of mechanized crop farming in the 20th century, the need for larger holdings grew and tenant eviction became common. Overall, the South was characterized by highly inequitable patterns of land distribution.

The Ethiopian state, which transferred rights to the most important capital asset in urban agriculture (land) to the settlers did not attempt to confiscate and transfer equivalent capital assets in pastoralism. There were obviously economic linkages between the settlers and the pastoralists (trade, credit and in contract herd). But they never became integrated into the pastoral economy of the Ethiopian lowlands. The less favourable ecological conditions in the pastoral areas combined with the clear economic bias seems to have protected the pastoralists from the harsh economic exploitation experienced by the share croppers in the arable areas of southern Ethiopia.

One result of this situation is the paradox that Ethiopian pastoralists, who inhabit the poorest parts of the country as far as natural resources and productivity are concerned, probably enjoyed a better standard of living, in terms of health and nutrition, as well as access to natural resources and economic assets, than neighbouring agricultural communities living on much more productive land. This is changing.

**Pastoral land tenure today**

Current pastoral land policy does not adequately address the legal and institutional issues of access to land and land rights by pastoralists. The
Pastoralism and Land: Land Tenure, Administration and Use in Pastoral Areas of Ethiopia

Encroachment on pastoralist lands comes in many forms

The Rural Development Policies and Strategies

The government’s policy for pastoralist areas is not laid out in one clear document or law but in many different papers and strategies. The Rural Development Policies and Strategies (RDPS) paper of 2001 contains the government’s policies and strategies for rural development. Though much of the paper focuses on crop cultivation, it also has policies on pastoralist development. The short and medium term strategies focus on reducing pastoralist mobility.
The RDPS notes that development activities must match pastoralist needs. It highlights the need to improve livestock development and prevent natural resource degradation. It is known that the opening of water points without consulting pastoralists at different locations could lead to land degradation. Rangeland management and conservation based on traditional management systems is recommended as a way of improving the availability of water. It also recommends a wide range of other activities be made in cooperation with pastoralist clan leaders and elected representatives.

The policy recognizes the wide range of traditional livestock husbandry knowledge among pastoralists. It recommends this be improved through:

- Training extension workers and providing extension services that focus on the indigenous knowledge of pastoralists.
- Preparing and providing options that strengthen pastoralist knowledge of livestock husbandry.
- Creating a system of veterinary services and livestock development extension services that complement pastoralists’ mobility.
- Creating an efficient livestock marketing system that will lead to a market-oriented pastoralist system.
In the long-term however, the strategy aims to sedentarize pastoralists by developing irrigation, implementing settlement programmes and changing the way of life of pastoralists. This is in contrast to strategy in the highlands, where land use policies conform to the highland way of life.

**Sedentarization**

The Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (I-PRSP) issued by the government in 2000 notes a persistent knowledge gap in pastoralist areas and suggests, ‘improving the welfare of the pastoral people by increasing productivity and minimizing risks through infrastructure development, improved market access and other support services.’

The overarching Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program (SDPRP) recognizes the lack of clarity and strategy for pastoralist development, saying it leads to frequent and destructive conflicts and tribal disputes. It puts forward the following strategies for working with pastoralists.

- Mobile pastoralists should be sedentarized on a voluntary basis
- Those already settled or semi-settled should be encouraged to stay settled through improved water supply, pasture and social services
- Viable and reliable river courses should be selected for future sedentarization based on irrigation and they should be linked through roads and other communication lines
- Mobile social services, including health and education should be provided as a united package for those that continue to be mobile

Resettlement of farmers from drought-prone settled areas involves only a change of location. But for pastoralists, sedentarization involves a complete change in lifestyle and a significant cultural transformation. This complicates sedentarization programmes and requires training and initiation work. The SDRP acknowledges that the cultural transformation and the required persuasion work could take decades before “success” is achieved.

**Addressing poverty**

Human development indicators and poverty in pastoralist areas are worse than elsewhere in the country. Pastoral areas have proven difficult to reach with traditional basic services. Ethiopia has formally adopted the Millennium
Development Goals (MDGs) as its guiding development framework. Hence sectoral and macro strategies contained in the SDPRP/PASDEP are developed in the context of the MDGs. On the basis of the SDPRP and PASDEP performance, although encouraging achievements have been made, studies and reports suggest that a lot more has to be done to achieve the MDGs in the pastoral areas where the overall socio-economic level of development is far below that in other areas.

A number of initiatives started under the SDPRP and are deepened and strengthened under the Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP). The main elements of the pastoralist programme outlined there are:

- Improving pastoral livelihoods and asset bases.
- Livestock marketing, veterinary, and livestock feed improvement.
- Water development and environment protection and management.
- Natural resource conservation policies.
- Building infrastructure and social services like education and health in pastoral areas.

Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty suggests that these issues can be addressed by:

- Developing participatory drought management mechanisms, including community-based drought early warning systems and mitigation measures.
- Encouraging livelihoods/asset diversification such as in fisheries, agro-pastoralism, herd diversification and mining.
- Facilitating local and cross-border livestock trading with better market information, credit provision, and certification for quarantine; restoring the stocker/feeder programme through private or livestock cooperatives; and promotion of commercial livestock production objectives.
- Strengthening veterinary services, in both the public and private sectors, to enhance the possibility of controlling livestock diseases; and training of community-based animal health workers from pastoralist communities.
- Expanding strategically-placed dry season water points, including traditional deep-wells, boreholes, and environmentally friendly water harvesting technologies.
- Controlling regulations on factories/state farms polluting rivers, and encouraging traditional environmental protection and natural resource management mechanisms.
- Modernizing the rotational range use systems.

**Resettlement**

Resettlement programmes are integral to the national economic and social development programme. Government policy expects pastoral associations, community elders and regional administrations to work together to solve the problem of how to use resources effectively and efficiently.

Pastoralist resettlement has been carried out haphazardly on a small scale and there has been no major resettlement. Pastoralists resist resettlement in the same way they resist destocking because their livestock will die if kept in the same area all year round. The carrying capacity of the land does not allow them to keep animals all year round in a specific area as practiced by highland farmers. If this is done, biting flies and mosquitoes will breed rapidly and may devastate both animals and people. Animals like camels can’t stay more than seven days in the same place due to disease problems. The kraal of the camels and their grazing area has to be changed frequently to keep the environment conducive for camel husbandry.

Poor and destitute pastoralists without livestock resources may be willing to resettle and practice rain fed/irrigated agriculture. The poor with few animals often like to increase their income by expanding cropland and then ploughing back the income from crops into building up their livestock. Rich herd-owners usually have more than one wife, allowing one of the wives to do farm work while the rest herd animals. This allows them to resettle but also to remain pastoralist. Rich pastoralists like to have vast rangelands to feed their livestock and exercise mobility by benefiting from both pastoralism and crop farming.
Settlement should be voluntary

Land administration

Land administration is the process of determining, recording and disseminating information about tenure, values and use of land when implementing land management policies. Such processes include the determination of rights and other attributes of the land, including the survey, description, registration and recording of these rights. Land administration guarantees security of tenure, reduces land disputes through conflict resolution, allows the issue of certificates of land holding and supports environmental management through proper land use planning. All these processes should involve the community.

The key concern among pastoralists is insecurity of tenure. Increasing land tenure security through strong land administration systems would bring about expansion of agro-based and related industries. To strengthen land tenure in the country, the government is carrying out a land certification programme in the highlands through which it hopes to provide holders with robust and enforceable land tenure security through land administration systems. Land certification has not yet started in the pastoral areas of Ethiopia because land issues there are more complex.

In the highlands, certification was carried out through proper cadastral surveying based on individual holdings. Such practice cannot be applied to the pastoral
areas since the land is owned communally and the area is very large. Because of the lack of clear land tenure procedures in pastoralist areas, pastoral lands are encroached upon, which leads to tenure insecurity. Customary laws that were an effective means of ensuring sound use of grazing reserves have been weakened and need to be strengthened.

Government support for pastoral natural resource management is essential; it needs to devolve decision-making responsibility to grassroot indigenous institutions. NGOs and development agents can play a pivotal role by creating a favourable environment for inter-community socio-economic integration through community based development interventions.

**The advantages of formal land administration**

Increasing land tenure security through land administration systems that benefit pastoralists and investors alike would bring about the expansion of livestock based agro-industries that support livelihoods. There is much debate among pastoralists, about how their security of tenure should be acknowledged communally or individually.

Communal land holding is the guiding principle of natural resources management in pastoralist societies. The procedures to govern and laws and regulations of management are set out in customary institutions. The role, status, power relations, rights and duties of individual community members are determined by culturally instituted structures. Societies use various devices to protect their welfare or interest, maintain social order and fulfil their spiritual and material needs. They have established social mechanisms to defend themselves and ensure access to natural resources, in the struggle against harsh environmental conditions.

The traditional laws that have long been an effective means of ensuring sound use of natural resources have been weakened over time. In pastoral areas resources depletion and population growth have created competition for resources and almost inevitably, conflicts. Government support for pastoral land tenure and administration is essential if there is to be sound pastoral natural resource management. And as with all other policies, gathering the views of pastoralists themselves is crucial to ensuring policies on land ownership and use will be relevant, effective and easily adopted.
Certification

Certification strengthens land tenure security in any country, including in pastoralist societies but it may have problems. Certificates describe the size of the land, land use types and borders as well as the obligation and rights of the holders. Certificates might help pastoralists to better manage their resources and increase production but, who would hold the certificates when land is currently owned communally?

Issuing land certificates to pastoral group leaders

Certification has worked well in the highlands and its application among pastoralists could help protect their lands from different forms of encroachment. There are some concerns among pastoralists themselves about how the method would be applied. Certification in pastoralist lands needs to consider communal systems and how they work. It is important that consultation with pastoralists themselves is incorporated in the design of certification programmes.

Land use planning

Land administration is not an end in itself. It has to be supported by proper land use planning. Different physical, technological and economic information should be compiled and integrated to develop a workable land use plan. The plan should identify the potential and current constraints to agricultural and livestock development in a given area and make recommendations on how each land unit can best be put to sustainable use.
Land use planning begins by recording the physical resources of an area, such as soil, climate, agro-ecology and socio-economic resources. This information is then analysed and used to prepare a land plan, which is presented as a document that includes maps of the area.

**Borana based land use and administration**

The Borana traditional land tenure institutions, rules and regulations have served the community for generations despite various internal and external stresses. Internally, the growth of human and animal population, shrinking of rangeland, bush encroachment, crop production and expansion of settlements are serious factors that are now forcing the pastoral system in the areas to transform.

The rangeland under this system gradually deteriorated because of increasing population and the proliferation of new livelihood systems. Drought and famine have affected the Borana pastoralists as drought cycles have shortened and traditional coping strategies have failed.

The emergence of new institutions such as the formal administration system, the influence of religion and government policies and strategies have further weakened traditional social values and resource administration, yet they still exist and are key to rationing resources in the community. The system is dictated by the rules of the *Gada* system to which all are accountable.

Land administration is simple in Boran areas as both land and critical water sources are used (owned) by the Borana who have the responsibility for their proper use and maintenance and for conflict solving. When the Boran suffer drought, war and conflict they migrate within Borana land. The first approach is to appeal to the communal (*Maddaa*) leaders or the *Abba Gada* for admission. The person will either be admitted and given grazing land to be used for a certain period as well as access to waterpoints or he will not be allowed access in order to save the range and water resources from degradation, to avoid conflict, and ensure security.

Mobility in Boran society is not individualistic in most cases. Groups of communities will move together within Boran territory. Trans-boundary movement only occurs if there is serious need such as prolonged drought or fierce conflict. Movement is therefore informed and known among the different Boran groups. Plans about where to move, for how long are discussed and agreed upon by all members of the group. Conflicts between individuals are rare as are those between communities with similar lineage.

In this system, more flexible land use and administration could be instituted under the umbrella of the broader Borana society. For example, with proper zoning land could be allocated to individual members. Communities could have their own permanent grazing and access to the *Maddaa* water resources while being dependent on their individual and community resources. Trans-communal collaborations could also be made with other pastoralists such as the Gabbra and the Somalis.
Thus communal based land use and administration could be multi-stage and hierarchical in nature where traditional systems of administration are complemented by formal, more adaptive and knowledgeable resource use and administration systems. This system should also be seen as saving the cradle of the Oromo history and culture and protecting the rights of the indigenous people and preserving their traditional institutions.

Borana resource conflicts are solved by the council of elders of all the Borans and the Gada system. Communities abide by traditional laws and regulations that ensure their co-existence. For the government this system is less costly in terms of administration, control, and maintenance. Accepting the superiority of the Boran system and traditions will enable the government to formulate appropriate policies and development programmes that can bring significant impact on pastoral livelihoods.

The experience of different states

The Rural Land Administration and Land Use Proclamation No 456/2005 gave regional states the responsibility and mandate to enact rural land administration and land use laws. Somali, Gambella, and Benishangul-Gumuz Regions have not yet done so but the others are detailed below.

**Oromia National Regional State**

The Oromia National Regional State Rural Land Administration and Land Use Proclamation No. 130/2007 addresses highland land administration and use and superficially addresses that of the pastoralists. The proclamation recognises pastoralists’ communal customary rights to access land and states that pastoralists cannot be evicted from their holdings and that their holdings cannot be transferred to a third person or organization. The proclamation lacks regulation and directives for implementation and certification on communal land use rights. Since pastoralists have no access to individual land holding, the Oromia proclamation may be difficult to put into practice.

**Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State**

The SNNPR Rural Land Administration and Use Proclamation No. 110/2007 gives little information on how pastoralist lands should be administered. It says that pastoralist men or women engaged in agriculture have access to land free of charge and that the duration of land use rights for pastoralists is unlimited. Land is owned by the state and Ethiopian nations and nationalities. They allow communal land holdings to be changed to private holdings. Pastoralists can lease land to farmers or investors from their holdings as long as they are not themselves displaced by leasing out the land. The policy allows reallocation of land to the landless and to youths. It does not explain how land-holding certificates for communal land should be given out.
Afar National Regional State

The Afar National Regional State Rural Land Administration and Use Policy of 2008 says the traditional range management system is important for maintaining a healthy eco-system. In Afar land is owned by the state but pastoralists’ right to use it is ensured. Pastoralist communities can be persuaded to change their production practices and transfer their land rights. In theory pastoralists have the right to land certification. The certificate describes the size of the land, land use types and borders as well as the obligation and rights of the holders. The policy recognizes the existence of large tracts of land suitable for grazing in the region and seeks to ensure continuity of communal grazing based on traditional mobility patterns. All proclamations, regulations and directives to be enacted in the region are required to adhere to the policy. The policy does not take into account the existing different types of communal landholding and says nothing about dry season grazing land, especially that of the river banks.

Compensation

The Afar have lost land to Awash National park, game reserves, wild life sanctuaries, irrigation schemes run by the state (Nam Mlefen–Kessem Tendaho Plantation, middle Awash farms, Aysaita, Gewane and Dubti farms) and private farms; the Kereyu and Jille have lost land to state farms and the Awash National Park and the Borana to government ranches, individual ranches such as that of MIDROC ranch at Surupa, livestock multiplication centers and the South Omo pastoralists to commercial farms, parks, game reserves and hunting grounds.

The Somali pastoralists and agro-pastoralists have lost land to irrigation schemes owned by groups and an airport. The Ogaden pastoralists have lost land to irrigation schemes along the Wabe Shebele in Godey owned by specific clan groups. The pastoralists and agro-pastoralists in Gambella have lost land to irrigation schemes such as the Ababo/Alwero Dams and parks and to resettlers, taking over the grazing lands of the Anywaa and Nuer. The agro-pastoralists in Beni-Shangul and Gumuz have lost land to resettlers as well. This process is continuous. Pastoral land is converted to different purposes and is thus shrinking in size. Where there are parks, hunting grounds, game reserves, wild life sanctuaries and airports in operation in the areas, tourism activities do not benefit the community. Benefit sharing is a key issue in protected areas.
The suggested compensations are addressed below:

**Commercial, regional and state farms.** The government at regional and federal level and entrepreneurs may be keen to launch big farms on pastoral land. One thing that should be made clear is that there is no unutilized pastoral land available for outsiders. Pastoralists have their own dry, wet and drought period grazing areas spread over a distinct territory. Practices of benefit sharing associated with big farms hardly exist in pastoral areas. But benefit sharing is critical to this new set up. Communities need to receive compensation for the land they lose to others. There are options for the provision of livelihood-related benefits especially in employment opportunities. The employment of guards and unskilled labour offer alternative livelihoods to pastoralism. These opportunities should increase once the enterprise is established.

**Out growers schemes.** Large scale irrigation developments will inevitably displace pastoralists and agro-pastoralists by taking their best grazing and cultivation areas. The establishment of settlement programmers could be used as a strategy to compensate at least part of the displaced population. These types of settlement programs will have the advantages of allowing the indigenous population to participate in the agricultural development going on around them. The irrigated agricultural development could also benefit from the settlement schemes by making them a reliable source of casual labour, which is scarce in these areas. Training in crop farming techniques should be given to agro-pastoralists.

In planning the agricultural development of settlement schemes, especially pastoral settlement, due consideration should be given to incorporate livestock farming to crop production. For pastoralists any development proposal has to consider a livestock component for easier acceptability and the success of the schemes. The cropping pattern has to include irrigated pasture/forage development as a component. In most cases those willing to settle could be settled under irrigated agriculture. The pastoralists could be keen to keep some cows in the irrigation farm to supply them with milk. The local communities need training in crop farming practices.

**Ranches, livestock multiplication and improvement centres.** Ranches and breeding centres could be established in pastoral lowlands to improve the genetic make up of existing breeds. Land is scarce due to ever increasing population growth therefore government institutions and private enterprises need to compensate the original users. The compensation should be decided
in the presence of the users, the ranch and breeding centre owners and other stakeholders.

**Oil, gas and mineral fields.** The existing oil and gas fields are in the Ogaden and Gambella. Similar to ranches and breeding centres the users need to be compensated for the loss of the land. A committee from government, investors and community should preside over the issue. Another alternative is to set up a community comprising of mineral exploiters and the community to decide on the benefit sharing mechanism periodically. The programme will address benefit sharing issues as a key issue in mineral exploitation. The positive way is to facilitate the revenue sharing of minerals sales between community and government.

**Pastoralist’s own initiatives.** In cases where some pastoral groups want to establish area closures/grazing reserves or farms, all communities should be consulted. If they agree to the set up of the enterprise they have to negotiate the profit sharing mechanism.

The revenues from benefit sharing should not necessarily end up in individual pockets. The fund could go to the woreda for community social development enterprises.
Challenges and the way forward

Certification

There are two opposing views on land certification for pastoralists. Some believe that pastoral land certification will guarantee tenure security; others, including elders from SNNPR and Somali National Regional states are concerned that such a system might further restrict mobility or become a source of conflict. They believe that mapping pastoral land is enough. There are particular concerns about which individuals would hold the certificates in a system that owns land and natural resources communally.

Communal pastoral lands should be mapped: this will be a significant step towards addressing encroachment and differentiating their land. Once communal land is mapped, the process of certification can be considered in consultation with the community involved. Not all pastoralist communities are alike so one system may not be suitable for all.

In Borana for example, pastoralists recommend that woreda leaders should hold any certificate issued by the government. Community members would then be allowed to move with their animals within this well marked land. Giving a certificate for a woreda or kebele should not mean the group should be confined to a location. Grazing in and outside the specific locality should be allowed and respected.

In Afar, where clan boundaries are clear and well known, certificates of land holding could be held by clan leaders, while in other places they could be given to kebele administrations, woreda representatives or clan chiefs.

In Somali Region, certificates could be held by Sultans, Waber, Garad and in other places they could be given to kebele administration and to woreda representatives.

In South Omo where many groups live, certificates could be held by the clan leaders of each group, while in other places they could be given to kebele administration and woreda representatives. As in Borana, in the Afar, Somali and South Omo cases, grazing outside the specific locality should be allowed and respected.
Conflict resolution issues

By definition pastoralists move with their animals. When restrictions are placed on such long-held patterns of life, conflict is inevitable. This problem could be resolved using the formal and customary laws and institutions. The government land administration and land use policy should be in harmony with existing customary laws.

Gender issues

Within pastoralist communities there is no gender disparity about access to communal natural resources; control of these resources is determined by local customs, which are dominated by men. Women should be empowered to increase their roles in the control of resources through proper land administration systems.

General issues

Many policies toward pastoralists have been shaped by fundamental misunderstandings of how pastoral systems work. Social changes and encroachment on their lands have contributed to a decline in mobility and led many pastoralists into a downward cycle of environmental degradation, poverty and increased food aid dependency.
The potential of pastoralism to contribute to the sustainability of large arid and semi-arid areas, which are often not used for other activities, should be emphasised. If properly managed, pastoral lands will contribute to regional and national economic development. Pastoralists play a vital role in the sustainability of dryland ecosystems and future policies should aim to enhance the roles of pastoralism as a conservation and sustainable dryland livelihood system.

Pastoralist community participation in the development, monitoring and evaluation of these policies will protect their way of life and ensure that interventions complement rather than substitute the good practices that already exist in these communities. Enhancing land tenure systems that build on and work with pastoral customary institutions and that respect and use pastoralist knowledge systems, will strengthen the national economy and reduce the susceptibility of pastoralists to drought and other environmental factors. Combined with initiatives to increase market access and by developing alternative and complementary livelihoods for pastoralists, their future will be protected (See Chapter Four).

By creating an enabling policy environment, pastoralists can be the best custodians of drylands environments. The best way to achieve this aim is by decentralising the management of pastoralist areas to the community level, leveraging the immense power of the pastoralist traditional institutions and creating harmony with the formal government structure. They have been severely weakened in recent years but they still have a great deal to offer and there is no solution to the problems of land administration and use in Ethiopia without them. In the next chapter we learn from how different communities have managed land over the millennia.
Chapter Three

The Role of Traditional Institutions

Traditional resource management

Pastoralist communities have accumulated centuries of experience and knowledge about resource management. Traditional institutions are run almost exclusively by older men who make decisions that affect everyone else in society. They set rules and regulations that forbid inappropriate practices, they ensure that rangeland resources are used and maintained properly. They also arbitrate disputes. The leadership negotiates with neighbouring groups on the use of water and pasture and allocates range and water resources. Their key strategy is managing mobility; they decide if, when and where the community should move.

Traditional management of pastoralist rangelands depends on careful and wise use of community knowledge. The main consideration is availability of pasture and water. The Afar have deso (grazing reserves) which are used as dry-season grazing areas during drought years when other areas are depleted. The Boran widely use Kallo that allows them to conserve grazing resources in a specified area for use during the peak dry season.

Two traditional practices under threat

To ensure the availability of good pasture pastoralists practice herd splitting and range burning.

Herd splitting conserves and safeguards range resources from being degraded and overgrazed and reduces competition among various livestock age groups. Herds and flocks are broadly split into base and satellite herds. In most pastoralist communities very young animals are tended by the boys and girls while the men look after the adult herds at a distance from home. Lactating animals, which provide milk for families are herded near settlement centres while the dry and pregnant females travel long distances in search of pasture and water. Due to factors like increases in human population, land degradation and so on, the practice of herd splitting is on the decline.
Different pastoralist groups have different traditional institutions so it is difficult to generalize about them. Most are based on social structures (groups of related people) or territory (where the person comes from). Everyone is a member of a lineage group or clan. These institutions vary even within a pastoralist society. For example, the Somalis in Liban and Afder have different systems from Somalis elsewhere.

**Selected societies’ traditional rangeland management**

**The Afar**

The Afar are governed by a traditional legal system, known as *Afar ada*. It manages conflict and social problems and provides leadership to the community.
The Afar are organized into clans, called *mela*, each with a hereditary clan leader, a *feima aba* responsible for carrying out punishments, and a group of elders. Each level has its own leader, referred to as *aba*, for example, *burra aba*. These leaders manage the clan’s internal affairs and organize assemblies to settle disputes according to customary laws. Religious leaders and elders help them resolve murders, thefts and other crimes.

The animals belonging to the *kaidoh* (local community) members are seen as a kind of social fund that other members can call upon when in need. If due to some misfortune a community member loses all his/her animals, the *kaidoh* can provide support by giving animals to start a new herd. This is an important form of support for disadvantaged members of Afar society. Different decisions are made at different levels of the traditional hierarchy. These include decisions on how to use water and pasture, livestock marketing and livestock mobility. The first point of contact for outsiders is usually the local community leader (*kaidoh aba*) who should also be the focal point for any land tenure discussions.

Communication is vital to the Afar. They have a traditional communication system called *dagu*, which enables information to be passed from one person to another via either acquaintances or strangers. *Dagu* enables people to find pasture and water during a drought and warn others of threats such as an impending drought, insecurity or diseases. It is also used to pass on information that people have heard over the radio, or to share market information. *Dagu* thus helps livestock owners decide where to sell their animals and at what price.

The Afar follow a well-planned and targeted seasonal movement between wet and dry seasonal grazing areas governed by the leadership and guidance of the *Feameta Aba* traditional institution.
They use three types of grazing areas:

1. Dry season grazing and browsing areas within a day’s herding distance from permanent camps
2. Much more extensive wet season forage areas up to 100 kilometers from the camps.
3. Emergency forage resource areas used only in periods of severe drought. During drought herders move across clan boundaries and beyond from their normal grazing lands to areas where pasture and water are presumed to be available. They are guided by resource and risk assessment missions undertaken by the traditional leadership, both of the migratory routes and of destinations.

The Afar have a deep knowledge of the rangeland, its soil and seed bank reserves. They exercise careful timing of grazing to safeguard plants during seed production. Previously they were able to establish grazing reserves for the emergency feeding of their livestock (Deso). The reserves were governed by customary law through a special elder committee. Access to grazing reserves was allowed based on an agreed set of rules shared by all users. Other pastoral groups (outsiders) could use any grazing reserves based on negotiated access, which requires long discussion between the owners and outsiders. These systems are now threatened by outsider encroachment.
The Boran

The Boran have two major moieties known as the Sabo and the Gona. These are divided into clans: the Karayu, Digalu and Matari for the Sabo, and the Fullele and Haroressa for the Gona. These groups are in turn subdivided into groups of related families or lineages. Natural resources are managed through the Gada system (see box below) and guided by traditional rules and regulations (Aada-Seera Borana). There are specific laws that govern water and pasture use and livestock mobility. Members of Boran society who abide by these rules have an equal right to access resources and administer and manage properties at their disposal. Customary institutions are set up at various levels of resource management.

The Boran separate land into two major categories called land for the bigger family (Warra) and land for dry livestock (Fora). Warra is subdivided into three functional categories, called Kallo or land for calves, lafa hawicha, land for lactating cows, calves about two years old, and other weak livestock and lafa quftuma land for settlement.

The rangeland is divided into these different units after discussion and agreements among community members. At the beginning, representatives from each Maddaa, who share one permanent water source, sit together and decide on the borders of land for lactating livestock and settlements. In the process, enough grazing land for lactating livestock is left between each Arda. Finally, members of neighbouring villages (Ollas) demarcate land for calves (Kallo) and then fence it.

Villages are also established according to the rules and regulations of Dongora seera, which obliges everyone to put up their homes in one area so that the rest can be used as grazing land. Rangeland management is the responsibility of
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every member of the community, even though Arda elders play an overall coordination role. Kallos are closed during the rainy season to conserve forage for the dry season.

It is a customary practice of Boran society to differentiate dry and wet season grazing with a set of rules and regulations that residents are expected to obey and respect. Fora cattle and other animals are the biggest group; they graze rotationally away from homesteads or villages. The movement can be trans-boundary, trans-woreda, -maddaa and -kebele. In the past they included areas as far as northern Kenya and other woredas in the Borana lowlands. Grazing is now limited, use of water and vegetation restricted, and sustainable grazing and browsing systems are threatened.

Fora movement is information driven. Before any major movement adult men scout host areas to check the available grazing and water points. After negotiation, the host community will allow them to use restricted grazing and watering points for a specified duration. Information thus obtained is crucial to reducing conflict and ensuring safe movement.

Boran customary rangeland management at village level

A Borana village or encampment is called an Olla. It includes several common cattle enclosures (called Mona), each of which is run by a Warra family unit. The setup of territorial organization is shown below:

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Dheeda several Maddas

Madda several Reeras

Reera group of neighbouring Ardas

Arda – group of adjacent Ollas

Olla several Manas

Warra family unit

Mana each household

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Raaba-Gadaa have overall authority to rule on land, social and cultural issues. Jaarsa Dheedaa A group of elders who regulate seasonal access to grazing and water. This is believed to be the most important level of natural resource management and is critical in managing mobility. Hayyu is a member of the council representing the clans. The hayyu councillors make sure that wells are used properly. Jaarsa ardaa are groups of elders who coordinate the range management of each arda (sub-unit of the Dheeda).
The Gada

The Gada is the traditional social organization system of the Boran. It is responsible for all ritual, political and religious matters. It belongs to all the clans and is the foundation on which Borana pastoralists manage their rangelands and govern themselves. The Gada system is based on age grades. A boy enters the first grade when he is about eight years old. He spends eight years in this grade before progressing to the next higher grade, which also lasts eight years. There are five grades in total so the man should be about 40 years old when he enters the uppermost grade. Each grade has its responsibilities and privileges.

The most senior age-grade usually forms the Gada Council. They formulate and interpret customary laws, arbitrate disputes, and are responsible for teaching the younger generation about customary law. Some council members inherit their positions; others are elected by the members of their Gada age group.
Each Aba Gada leads the community for a period of eight years. The Gada council is expected to make a one-time tour of all the ritual sites to perform ceremonies. They bless the land, the livestock and other resources like water. The Boran consider this a very important ritual (Aada) for the wellbeing of their community. The ceremonies are a time of great festivity for the entire community. There is song and dance to show gratitude for peace and prosperity (Naga) and with the blessings of the Gada, they can look forward to their livestock doing well. The seat of the traditional leaders of the Boran is in the Arero district of Borana Zone. There, once every eight years, they organize the all Boran assembly (Gumi) at Dirre woreda at a small village called Gayo. The ceremony is called the Gumi-Gayo.

The Gumi-Gayo agrees upon and passes new legislation. The Gada traditions are revisited, adjusted, adapted and handed down to the next age group. Much of the traditional knowledge and oral histories of the Boran are connected to the land. They attach special spiritual meanings to shrines or sacred places. They worship their ancestors and conduct special religious ceremonies that have been passed down from generation to generation. Many ceremonies involve offerings to the spirits of nature. People use them to ask Waqqa or God, to give them rain, peace and stability.

**The Hamer**

Hamer traditional leaders possess both secular and spiritual authority. The chief leader with supreme power in the social, political and spiritual life of the Hamer is known as the Bitta and is also believed to be able to call for rains. The Bitta is perceived as the father of the land; he blesses those that take care of the environment and curses those that harm it. The Bitta is recognized by the government, which uses the traditional institutions’ leaders when they want to work with the community on development initiatives. The elders group is referred to as the Donza. They guide the young people on how to manage livestock and solve livestock related problems. The decision making body which jointly works to achieve a common goal among the Hamer is made up of Zarsi (citizens). Zarsi are elders who form an Osh (general assembly). Conflicts or any other problems of public concern are resolved by the assembly. The Ayo is the spokesman of the assembly and is elected by the Zarsi. There are approximately forty-five Ayo in Hamer land, approximately one for every two villages. The symbol of an Ayo is his spear, which signifies his right to speak at a meeting. The office of the Ayo is not inherited; competent men with high political skills are selected. Ayos mobilize the
people, direct public decision-making and articulate the consensus of a public gathering. The assembly has more power than the Bitta. No single man has any unlimited authority but is always guided by subtle democratic processes.

The Hamer have borile (scouts) who supervise and check on the security of litty (dry) season grazing land before the qula gishiya or qolan gishelo (the herd and herders) move there.

**The Benna and Besheda**

The ritual leader Bitta is supposed to have come from Ari. According to oral tradition, he then moved to Benna, established himself and attracted a population that settled with him and became the Benna ethnic group today. At a later stage his young brother moved to Hamer land and became the Bitta of the Hamer. The Besheda are a group that broke away from the Hamer at an early stage.

The Benna and Besheda have the same moieties and clans as the Hamer. The linguistic, cultural and political backbone of these ethnic groups is the Bitta who is said to have been the first to have arrived in the Hamer mountains and take possession of all the land. Both Benna and Besheda have their own Bitta.

**The Kara**

The Kara belong culturally and historically to the Hamer, Benna and Besheda. The Kara clans include Kogo, Gersi Belo, Kelaza, Iwsula, Digne Olo, Gershima, Esheba and Donger Dirta. A village is inhabited by different clans and not by specific clans. The Kara have two Bitta (chiefs). Under each chief is a Shun (an assistant). The shun has a Shun Shola (messenger) to help him in his work. Whenever conflicts arise elders are called for Delek (general assembly). The Bitta presides over the meeting.

The Kara area provides grazing and water for the Hamer and Kara communities during the wet season. But most dry seasons, Hamer and Kara livestock have traditionally moved to the area that is now the Mago National Park. This has become a great cause of conflict between the Hamer and the park authorities.
The Arbore

The Arbore live in big villages. Each village has a Kewet (spiritual leader). The villagers give him sheep to slaughter. The fat and tail is buried underground and the Kewet begs God for rain or any other thing the people want. The Kewet has an assistant called Kirnet, who is both a spiritual and political leader. The Kulama Kewet is responsible for the welfare of animals. The Jelaba or supervisor acts as a judge and the Mura is the person who distributes cultivable land for members and sometimes to non-members. The man who whips offenders for various offences on the orders of the Jelaba is called the Danto.

The Tsemaco

The Bogoliko is the spiritual leader and supreme priest of the Tsemaco. The Tsemaco clans include the Bereto, Benasko, Izmako, Amedo, Elko, Ozbuko, Regako, Sheley and Algaco. The Bogoliko begs God for rain, good harvests and good health for Tsemaco children. The title Bogoliko is inherited. Upon the death of the Bogoliko a younger brother inherits the position. If there is no younger brother, the eldest child inherits. The Balko is an assistant to the Bogoliko. He prays to protect his people from diseases, calamities and epidemics. He resolves cases of conflict, murder, etc. The Balko’s workload is generally heavier than the Bogoliko’s.

The Bogoliko gives blessings to the community every year and is believed to be a rainmaker. He resolves conflicts that cannot be solved by the council of elders. Community members contribute honey, goats, young female sheep and 2 to 3 quintals of maize as tribute to him every year. Melbasqo (elders/advisors) communicate with the Bogoliko and have the power to order the Dago to whip offenders. The Dago also scouts and moves ahead of the herds to check if the new pastureland is good for the animals. Promotion through the levels is based on age.
The Maale

The Katti is the supreme ritual and administrative leader of the Maale. His main task is asking for rain from the gods. He can also give blessings or curse wayward community members. He is supported by a number of Godatti (elders) who make rulings. Gatto is the next level below Godatti. They communicate with Anna and Guro Toyidi about making decisions and with Donzas or Chimis who have specialist knowledge on matters like conflict resolution. Chilo (herders) are supervised by the Donzas and Chimis.

In the first week of October the Maale move from their wet season grazing areas in the mountains and do not return until January when rain falls and the grazing starts to revive. They usually move to the Wondkare Sanctuary in the dry season but it is soon to be reserved for wildlife.

The family head (male) and two young boys move with the livestock while the rest of the household members remain at home. Elders and children remain near the homestead and take care of old cows, oxen, horses, donkeys, sheep
and goats; they also farm and guard crops near the homestead. Those who remain at home grind maize and sorghum to send to their family members who are far away with the animals.

**The Mursi**

**Maale traditions**

Stray goats are referred to as *jibare ware* and are put aside until their owners claim them. If no one does, they are slaughtered for guests; they cannot be individually owned. There are certain blessings and curses that relate to livestock (as is the case with most pastoralist communities). The Maale believe that misfortunes, such as loss of one's cattle, will befall lawbreakers.

The cultural and linguistic affinities of the Mursi are with the people lying to the west and north of them. The Mursi clans are the Dola, Ariholi and Ginglubibi. Each clan more or less occupies a specific territory. The dominant clan in terms of population size is the Dola. Each clan has a chief. Under the clan chief is the Archay whose function is to pray and bless sick animals. The messenger under the Archay is called the Jelabay. The titles Archay and clan chief are inherited. Conflicts or resolutions concerning natural resources and others are considered in a general assembly of elders, the Mezey. The spokesman of the meeting is referred to as Jelaba.

**The Gambella**

The Anywaa and Nuer live in the Gambella area. Power in their traditional institutions passes from generation to generation through the elders. Most of the customary laws of the two communities relate to livestock and rangeland. Governance of resources like water and pasture in the Nuer community is governed by the Diel, the most respected member of the lineage; Tut – influential elders – deal with mobility and social aspects. They also have a Kuaar Twac, who is the ritual leader.

The Nuer are the more mobile of the Gambella pastoralists. During the rainy season (June to October) the Baro River floods and the whole community
moves to the hills with its livestock. When the water level decreases in the Baro they return to the riverside so that the grass on the hillsides can replenish itself. Both the Nuer and Anywaa’s mobility is influenced by the Baro. Their twice a year movement is to follow the seasonal distribution of grains, milk and also fish.

The Somali

Somalis are organized into clan families, clans, primary lineages, dia-paying groups, jiffo units and households. The primary lineage (a group of related dia-paying groups) is the most stable political unit within a shifting system of allegiances and alliances among clans and lineages. Somali leadership may consist of the following:

```
Clan family

Clan

Primary lineage

Anna

Dia-paying group

Jiffo

Household
```
Lineage is traced through the male line. Members of the *dia*-paying group share a common male ancestor 4-8 generations back. They accept responsibility for the actions of other members. *Dia*-paying groups are divided into *jiffo* units (up to 100 households) composed of a man’s close relatives. These are all slightly different but the specific roles of leaders in resource management can be seen in the example of the *Garri* clan (See box below). Their leaders oversee social and political matters and manage natural resources for their respective clans.

**The *Garri* Clan of the Somali**

The *Garri* are a Somali clan living in Liban zone of Somali region on the border of Ethiopia and Kenya. The *Garri* are broadly divided into *Tufi* and *Kuran* with twenty sub-clans. They are headed by a hereditary Sultan and each sub-clan has a *Gob*, a council, to which members are elected on merit.

**The Sultan** commonly deals with issues relating to other ethnic groups and with government bodies. Cases which *Gob* members fail to resolve are referred to the Sultan. He prays for the prosperity of the *Garri*, blesses the good and curses wrongdoers.

**The *Gob*** has a membership of 20 representatives from each sub-clan of the *Garri*. They provide leadership in resource use, management and resolving conflicts at sub-clan level.
Odeyasha Deeganka are elders elected because of their in-depth knowledge of the Heer (traditional rules and regulations of the Garri clan). They are usually three or four though their exact number is flexible. The Odeyasha Deeganka are also responsible for the use and management of water and pastures, social welfare and conflicts at Maddaa level (a group of settlements depending on the same permanent water source).

Hogamiyaha Olaha is the last position in the leadership hierarchies of the Garri clan. He is responsible for enforcing the Heer at grassroots level. He is a pious, generous individual well versed in the Heer of the clan. He deals with issues at settlement level, including marital disputes, conflicts at individual and household level and where to move in search of resources.

The Garri exercise herd and family splitting when they move. All family members with milking animals move and settle very close to water sources called ellas during the dry season. This is locally known as Ollok. The young herdsmen move all the other non-milking stock to distant areas, mainly close to big rivers. This is called Jill (Hur weyin).

Water management and use

Water is in short supply in pastoralist areas where its presence or absence determines mobility. Traditional institutions manage water and have the authority to determine usage and to mediate disagreements over its use. In instances where traditional institutions are absent, democratically elected water committees may fill the gap.
Pastoralism and Land: Land Tenure, Administration and Use in Pastoral Areas of Ethiopia

Boran Water Management

The Boran rely on hand dug ponds known as haro and wells (ella). They have an elaborate system that manages the wells and the associated grazing areas:

The Konfi: the first digger gets the well named after his clan. His cattle are entitled to drink first. He also arranges the watering schedule for the entire community, depending on its availability.

The abba-herega is the water manager. He coordinates the use and maintenance of water points by fixing water-rotation schedules. A dheeda is the grazing area surrounding a specific water point or well cluster. Rules are set as to whose livestock drinks first, next and last. To ensure supply water managers have a variety of strategies:

- They close the ponds and deep wells in the rainy season when both livestock and humans drink surface rainfall.
- They shift to smaller ponds around their villages when the rain stops and the water decreases. Other ponds are left for calves and humans.
- They move dry and lactating livestock to larger ponds, farther away from the villages. As the volume of water decreases from these larger ponds, dry livestock are taken away to distant permanent ponds.

The herds may drink once a day (Dhabsu) or after every two (Limalima) or three (Sadeen) days as the water decreases and depending on the number of animals in the herd.

Water sources can be divided into surface-, ground- and spring-water. Strict rules and procedures govern their use in dry seasons. Controlling access to this important resource gives greater security to livestock and family livelihoods. Moreover, when they can control access to water, it is easier for pastoralists to control the number of animals that can be watered and decide which pastures around the water point will be grazed. The drinking order of livestock is decided according to the rules set by traditional leaders. The well is the property of the clan that initiated the digging, but others may also use it as

Availability of water and rights over its use are critical in determining access to water, pastures and other resources. Thus the location, legal status and technical characteristics of water sources are critical components that determine the conditions under which pastoralists can access and manage pastures. Local water user associations improve the distribution and management of water. They also help ensure that water interventions consider the use of rangelands and grazing patterns.
Pastoralism and Land: Land Tenure, Administration and Use in Pastoral Areas of Ethiopia

Traditional tulla wells in Borana

Traditional water wells are spread all over Borana. There are many things, which are not clear about their origins, for instance who dug them and how and when were they dug? According to Boran legend, the Wardah dug the wells. These were pastoral community members who used to live in the present Boran territory. According to the legend, the Boran expelled them towards present day Kenya and became the owners of the land. Whoever dug the wells must have had advanced tools, which could crack solid rocks to reach permanent water levels.

To water animals at the ella, traditional wells, young men have to haul water from deep underground. The haulers cannot afford to get tired nor leave the well before the cattle are watered, so they sing songs, most of them in praise of their cattle, to keep their spirits up. They express gratitude to their animals; they thank them for giving them milk and butter; they appreciate the grazing areas by name because they keep their animals alive.

In the songs, individual cows and their owners are praised, for example, “The red animal is well fed and it has short horns and the owner is happy”. If animals are emaciated they sing that they are emaciated because they do not have adequate grass or healthy water. The singing motivates the young men and increases their endurance as they lift the 10-litre jerry cans. The haulers are considered to be lazy if the watering trough (naniga) is not kept full until all the animals are watered and are ready to go back to their pastures. At the end of the day, it is customary practice to fill up the earthen watering trough with water so that wild animals can come and drink in the evening.

The Somali have Eelely - selected people who manage waterpoints. They schedule the watering times for the clans. There is a time scheduled for every household and big herds must await instruction to move in to drink. Individual animals may just go and drink and move on. Eelely are usually paid in milk.
Forest management

Forests have been adversely affected by high population growth and bigger and more farms. This has resulted in a worsening of pastoralist livelihoods. Forest cover in Ethiopia has decreased and patches of remnant forests are now mainly found in inaccessible areas. This has impacted on the livelihoods of the rural community and on overall environmental stability. Some pastoralists are exploiting forests to support their livelihoods. Loss of forest affects the whole nation and not just the communities where forest cover is lost.
As in most pastoralist communities, the Somalis are prohibited from cutting trees and offenders are punished. They are fined in livestock depending on the extent of the damage and if they have offended before. They have a *Hogaamiyala* – a leader (elected by the *Olaga* – village) who manages forests and other resources. Traditionally, the Afar do not cut trees that serve as browse for animals or as a source of edible fruits for humans. When tree cutting becomes necessary for feeding animals during drought, only the branches are cut so that the trees can recover. Throwing stones to knock down fruit is prohibited and fruit gatherers must either shake the tree and allow the fruit to drop or climb the tree to harvest the fruit. This protects the tree from damage but they sometimes cause fires when trying to harvest their honey.

Forest fires are increasingly common elsewhere but unknown in Hamer. The elders take time to advise the younger generation of the advantages of taking care of trees. Collecting firewood and cutting of trees cannot be done without permission from the elders.

Many things have contributed to the loss of forest cover including in some cases, the actions of pastoralists themselves. In the South Omo, some pastoralists use forests for making and hanging their hives. It is believed that pastoralists have also learned to make charcoal from highlanders. Positive national projects like developing the country’s infrastructure, particularly roads, have also contributed to the loss of forests.
Old meets new in Borana

Forests were previously governed by the *Gada* customary institution in the Borana lowlands but today they are overseen by the State. This centralization of authority as well as the expansion of agriculture and private ranches has increased forest destruction.

SOS Sahel Ethiopia, FARM Africa and GTZ initiated a community-based project that would develop a more sustainable system. The community was involved to reverse forest degradation in the *Borana Collaborative Forest Management Project*. The elders played a major role in the process. The project targeted Liban zone of Guji and Arero and Yabello districts of the Borana and Guji zones. These are priority forest areas that the pastoralists use as dry season grazing areas.

The group used a Participatory Forest Management process through which they first identified all the stakeholders. They negotiated with the *Gada*, a key partner, to agree on management roles. The *Gada* then negotiated with community members in instances where there were misunderstandings. *Gada* laws known as *Karra Mataa* were created for people who deliberately destroy forests and they were fined five head of cattle for doing so. This system has been successful in saving the forest from destruction. There are clear indications that the area around Negelle is regenerating as a result of implementing the project. The community members agreed to keep the forest as a “no bush fire zone” and there have been no forest fire incidents in the area since.

Boran practicing *Karra mataa* laws
Yicib sustains life during drought

The Gud plant or Yicib (pronounced yieb by the local Somali people) is a drought resistant shrub of the Fabaceae family. It is a multipurpose plant, which has been extensively used, and is now an endangered species. This particular species is unique to Warder Zone of the Ogaden and Muduq and Galgudud of Somalia.

The Yicib grows on deep sand or even sand stones and in time becomes a bush. Camels will generally not feed on Yicib if other browse is available but they can survive on it if there is no alternative. Animals can eat as much of it as they want without getting sick. Indeed it is said to improve their condition. Some pastoralists believe Yicib makes camels and sheep and goats fat and maintains their good health. Cattle and sheep sometimes feed on it but only when they are starving. Cattle and sheep and goats but not camels eat the fallen leaves. The Yicib produces a large edible nut, which is sweet and nutritious. It stays fresh for a long time. It can be eaten fresh or cooked. The leaf makes excellent bush tea. This tea is said to be of medicinal value, for back and stomach aches. The stems make good firewood and the smoke has a pleasant smell. Pastoralists never cut the stems; they only use the dry branches, the toughest of which are good for building.

Excessive harvesting has led to greatly reduced regeneration of Yicib. During the Sahelian drought of past years, the Yicib seed was one of the few foods available in the Somali desert but the Yicib is now headed to extinction. No one knows why it is disappearing. Some blame it on recurrent, severe drought and disease and do not relate their relentless fruit collecting to its decline. The tree has proved difficult to re-establish. Soon after the plant became known by outsiders early this century seed was distributed to various countries with arid regions. Yicib has not done well in areas out of its original rangelands but production can be increased in its natural habitat.
Fishery resources

In some rivers and lakes the fish population has been depleted. This will continue as the human population grows and more fish is demanded in urban centres. The Anywaa and Nuer exploit fish – particularly Nile Perch - along the Baro and other rivers to support their livelihood.

Challenges and the way forward

Many pastoralist communities are no longer able to apply most of their traditional rangeland management practices. This is due to the increasing pressure on rangelands, loss of indigenous practices and weakening of customary law. Diminishing resources are a threat to local livelihoods and increase pastoralist vulnerability. The existing traditional institutions are not always recognized by the formal kebele administrations and weakened institutions are unable to enforce traditional land rights. This has resulted in increased land use conflicts among neighbouring communities and has put land use systems in competition with each other. The formal institutions are no
longer able to efficiently manage the vast natural rangelands and it is evident that mobility, utilization, and management of grazing reserves are not properly coordinated as they were in the past.

- Traditional systems need to be strengthened and re-empowered to manage natural resources with understanding from the government and in harmony with formal knowledge. Supporting the customary institutions, which contribute to ecosystem management, can help reverse aspects of climate and environmental change.

- National policies that support livestock mobility should be strengthened: mobility is a key strategy for range management and pastoralist communities have managed their pasture and water resources through accumulated experience and tradition for centuries. Modern institutions should complement this existing strategy.

- Traditional rangeland management institutions should be strengthened and provided with legal recognition: this will help ensure controlled utilization of the range and water sources.

- Strong water user associations should be supported to improve the efficiency of water use.

- Forest management strategies that include traditional institutions should be adopted across the nation: these strategies have been shown to be effective in the Borana rangelands.

In the next chapter we explore how land use and land tenure is changing across the pastoralist regions of Ethiopia. The weakening of traditional institutions allowed this to happen and they are being further eroded by its effects. Taking examples from different areas and communities we see how changes in land use and uncertainty in land tenure are causing problems that affect the whole nation.
Chapter Four

Changes in Land Use

New forms of land use

Pastoralist institutions and the traditional pastoralist way of life are challenged on all sides. Even though pastoralists have adapted with ingenuity, to many changes over the years. These adaptations have come at a price. Today, most pastoralist communities find themselves torn between the need to survive and the need to maintain their traditional lifestyles. Increased encroachment from crop cultivation, the rise in private area enclosures and the resulting diminished rangelands have led to fundamental changes in the pastoralist way of life. This chapter highlights the key changes and trends in land use and land tenure that affect pastoralists in Ethiopia and describes their effects.

As we have seen, traditionally pastoralist land was communally owned and pastoralists relied almost exclusively on livestock for their livelihoods. Pastoralists and their animals were able to move freely across vast rangelands in search of water and pasture without restriction. This is no longer practiced. In the last fifty years rangelands have become smaller and those that remain are much less productive. The natural resource base has shrunk because of the allocation of former communal grazing lands to large-scale state and commercial farms, wildlife parks and ranches. There is also a significant increase in the human population per hectare, which has contributed to overgrazing and the destruction of forests. Even though livestock population has increased, the per capita holding has declined. The cumulative effect has been environmental degradation and drought that has further reduced productive rangelands. In many areas, pastoralists have reacted to these changes by enclosing their own land and cultivating it themselves.

Changes in land tenure have weakened the valuable indigenous institutions that were discussed in the last chapter and have led to the breakdown of traditional natural resource management systems. Land grabbing and individual enclosure for grazing and cultivation have caused many problems. Since 1973 in Yabello, Borana and Oromia, there has been a drastic reduction in grasslands whereas cropland has increased considerably. These new practices disregard traditional and customary practices for managing water and rangeland that have
sustained communities for generations. Pastoralism – previously sustainable and productive in arid areas – has been made to look old-fashioned and unproductive because of changes forced upon the land use system by outsiders. In addition, farmland and national parks have expanded into grazing areas. This restricts herd mobility and limits access to pasture and water.

Herds are now confined to smaller areas causing further degradation of fragile lands already constrained by droughts, soil erosion and general land degradation. It has now become common practice to settle in marginal and dry grazing areas, which hinders traditional rangeland management. Dry season grazing areas are particularly badly affected.

Settlement and cultivation has led to transfer of communal lands to individual ownership, a practice previously unknown in pastoralist areas.

**Encroachment by other users**

Over the past fifty years pastoralist rangelands have been given over to national parks, to industrial crop farming projects and to government resettlement schemes. The Afar region has lost close to 50,000 hectares of dry season grazing areas to various plantation projects. Kereyu pastoralists in Oromia region have lost about 22,000 hectares of their grazing land to the Methara sugar cane plantation. Similarly, Somali pastoralists lost about 22,000 hectares of land to Gode large-scale irrigation project. Awash National Park and other sanctuaries cover more than 350,000 hectares in Afar; 50,000 hectares have been lost in Gambella and 60,000 hectares in SNNPR. The Mago National Park, which covers 200,000 hectares alone, shares borders with six ethnic groups, the Bena, Ari, Mursi, Hamer, Kara and Muguji (Kuwigu).

In Ethiopia, migrant farmers from the highlands and towns descend to the seemingly empty pastoralist lowlands and start to cultivate as a way of securing their livelihoods. In some areas, this has been a government backed process, in others a pioneering and voluntary resettlement.

Irrigated crop farming in the areas close to the Awash River has changed land tenure patterns on the Afar and Kereyu rangelands as highland farmers have brought new land tenure practices with them. Ethiopian land laws restrict anyone from entering into any form of contractual arrangement without the
approval of the concerned state agency. Nonetheless, the reality is that there are now many different contractual arrangements for land use in these areas. These include: land renting, share-cropping arrangements, the use of hired labour, share contracts, inheritance, mortgages, pledges, gifts and, in some cases, the selling of land. Land has now assumed a commodity value, which has led to the creation of an informal land market. It is common knowledge that those who have the cash and the capital now own private land.

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**Changing pastoral land use in Woito**

The Beralle commercial farm was established in Woito Valley, South Omo in 1991. The farm initially received 1400 hectares of land from the federal and regional government. Today, its size has more than doubled. The Commercial Bank of Ethiopia has sold the farm, which grows cotton, vegetables and maize, to the privately owned Omo Valley Industry plc.

Before the establishment of the Woito Commercial Farm the area was covered with forest and was home to animals such as gazelle, lion and zebra. To allow the area to be cultivated, residents were evicted and had to migrate to the neighbouring hills. The community lost its prime grazing land. Now livestock are not allowed into the farm and a fine of 3 Birr per goat and 4-6 Birr per head of cattle is charged for trespassing. In some cases the farm seizes the animal. The farm owners do not allow the community to graze their livestock even after the cottonseed and maize harvest so the residue is wasted. With no organized conflict resolution mechanisms between the farm and community, incidents of harassment of locals are common.
The community has access to an ambulance service from the farm for medical emergencies but are required to pay for all health services. The community also benefits from the farm’s canal water for small-scale agriculture. There are however few employment opportunities for them. Nearly all the labourers at the farm are from Wolaita in the highlands. Community members were dismayed because their land was allocated without their consultation or even knowledge.

The local community was not involved during the planning and implementation stages that led to the creation of the farm. Had there been consultation, the community could have negotiated for benefits such as jobs for local pastoralists, use of water for home and animals, health facilities for humans and livestock, access roads, schools and skills training in agriculture and other livelihood options and importantly, permission to graze on crop residues.

**Reduction of grazing land**

In Hamer, frequent and severe drought has resulted in the reduction of water and forage availability on the rangelands. This leads to the exhaustion and the complete disappearance of rangelands and the subsequent encroachment by thorny bush. This decrease in rangelands productivity has been recognized by all Hamer people.

The change in Borana has been well recorded. As illustrated in the tables below, land use/land cover trends in the Yabello area of the Borana zone between 1973 and 2003 has undergone dramatic changes in the grassland type while cropland has increased five fold. Both the bushed grasslands and bush lands have increased substantially. These results support the widely expressed idea that grazing land has been lost to crop cultivation and bush encroachment.
Change in land use/land cover in Yabello area for the period of 1973 to 2003

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<td>Bushed-grasslands</td>
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<tr>
<td>Croplands</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>100</td>
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Source: Coppock Lane 1990 and Sintayehu Mesele 2006

Percentage change in land use/land cover in Yabello area for the period of 1973 to 2003

<table>
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<td></td>
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<td>-86.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croplands</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>+153.8</td>
<td>+84.8</td>
<td>+384.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Coppock Lane 1990 and Sintayehu Mesele 2006
Area enclosures

There is an ever-growing trend among pastoralists themselves for creating private enclosures on pastoralist communal grazing areas. Area enclosures are fenced off areas (live or cut thorny sticks or shrubs and bushes), designed to prevent the entry of humans or animals and to allow the growing of seasonal or perennial crops or fodder. In most cases the enclosure of land in this way is motivated by competition over land between individuals who seek to establish private ownership.

Though precise records do not exist, land enclosure has been practiced in most pastoral areas for a considerable period. For instance, in Harshin district of Somali region (see case below), area enclosures began in the 1970s to halt the expansion of cultivation in the Northwest of the district. The intention of pastoralists who started enclosing their land was to discourage agro-pastoralists from further encroaching into their pastoral lands. The trend increased dramatically in the 1980s and 1990s because of competition for land between pastoralist returnees and refugees from Somalia. And it is spreading across the nation: wherever there is encroachment from farmers, pastoralists are forced to encroach upon their own rangelands by putting up enclosures.

Grass sale and area enclosures in Harshin district

The use of area enclosures is common in Harshin district of Somali region. Thriving pastoralists who lack livestock keep private enclosures for different purposes. Those without livestock benefit from private area enclosures by selling the grass to those who can afford it. Grass selling is also practiced by households that have more fodder than their stocks need.

There are two types of selling arrangements. The first one is the “cut and carry” system in which the buyer is supposed to harvest and take away the fodder. This arrangement, which is relatively cheap, is preceded by an agreement between the buyer and the owner on the size of the plot to be harvested.

In the second type of deal, the animals of the buyer will be let into the area enclosure. The quality of the grass, the species and the duration of stay in the enclosure determine the price. Most livestock traders use this method, as they like to fatten up their trade cattle so that they can get better prices. Since pasture is getting ever more scarce, the practice of enclosing and grass selling will continue.
Because animal feed is in short supply, grass selling is becoming an alternative source of income across pastoral areas. Relatively better-off households buy fodder whenever common pasture becomes inadequate. For pastoralists who seek to protect their own assets, enclosures provide dry season feed reserves. They serve as a source of fodder for milking cows, which maintains their productivity and is crucial for household food security.

Some agricultural research programmes, government programmes and NGO projects advocate private land enclosure. Some of their reasons are:

To transfer agricultural knowledge through extension services. These have introduced animal fattening programs into agro-pastoral areas by distributing improved forage species and providing training. This activity encourages households to enclose more land.

To create an incentive for participation in the research process. Each household that is a member of the research group earns some money per year as compensation for contributing land. Those attracted to such rewards for the allocation of their land to field experiments may enclose more land in order to maximise their earnings.
To promote private enclosures as a means of sendentarizing pastoralists. Private enclosures are a significant change in land use. Taken beyond grass selling, any investment in improved agriculture technology makes it necessary to practice enclosure, given the high cost of investment. Enclosing for pasture is often an initial step towards converting pasture into cultivated cropland.

**Crop cultivation**

In recent times pastoralists, as well as highland and industrial farmers, have started crop and vegetable farming on enclosed land. Some have cultivated in areas with low moisture and where soils are unsuitable for crop production. And often the areas they choose, while unsuitable for prolonged cultivation, are the most productive rangelands - highly suitable for livestock production. The fencing needed to protect farms from livestock and wildlife intrusion further shrinks rangeland and also limits mobility.

There are many reasons why crop cultivation has been taken up by pastoralists. First among them is that the frequency and intensity of drought has increased in recent years and many pastoralists have lost their livestock. This has forced poor pastoralists to supplement their income and food for their daily subsistence. The loss of livestock assets due to pasture and water shortages, livestock diseases, conflict, raiding and theft has compounded the effects of increased drought. People who lose animals during conflicts sometimes react by creating their own enclosures to protect themselves and their few animals and as we have seen above, this often leads on to small-scale cultivation.

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**Good enclosure practice in Hamer and elsewhere**

In the Hamer area of South Omo enclosures were done with the full understanding and involvement of both the local community and government. They were created to provide a place to feed weak animals, which could not travel. These enclosures were established by the community and were not privately owned. In Afar, clan based enclosures have been used in the dry season although these are also open to other clans that are in need. Ideally, these enclosures should not be set up in times of conflict or near water points because they can become sources of conflict when communities save their own enclosures for the dry season and seek grazing land elsewhere. This behaviour has been witnessed in Afar, Somali and Borana regions.
Traditional coping mechanisms by which pastoralists help each other during times of distress have become very weak. Systems like Buusaa-gonofa of the Boran (a traditional livestock restocking mechanism discussed in Chapter One) and the mutual aid arrangements of the Afar and Somali have been weakened by the dependency created by external systems like safety nets or food for work and other forms of NGO and government support. Government and NGOs have provided incentives to encourage and reward pastoralists who adopt cultivation themselves or allow their land to be used for experimenting with cultivation.

Pastoralist involvement in crop farming particularly increased after the 1999/2000 droughts. In Borana land under cultivation has been expanding since that time, mainly as a coping strategy for poor households who lost their livestock and were unable to rebuild their herds. It is generally looked upon as a means of income diversification and a source of grain for household consumption. Poor pastoralists who own a small number of animals complement livestock keeping with crop production rather than leaving livestock altogether. The main crops cultivated are maize and sorghum. Teff, haricot beans, and wheat are grown in Borana and the Jigjiga areas of Somali Region. Crop bi-products are used as livestock fodder, which fills part of the gap caused by diminishing pasturelands. As detailed in the Area Enclosures section above, some pastoralists now grow their own fodder and other crops in privately owned enclosures for sale and as a way of improving household food security.
Small-scale irrigation

Small-scale irrigation development has helped some pastoralists to achieve food security at household level through diversifying food and income sources. The community's livelihood improvement cannot be assured by only addressing a single constraint. Societal development is also required. Enabling society to achieve food security and income diversification leads to addressing the other demands. The varieties introduced have included maize and sorghum, onions, tomato, peppers and pulses like groundnut and sesame.

Irrigation in Afar

Afar pastoralists using the Awash, Aura, Borkena, and Uwa Rivers have experienced major changes in their lifestyles. Achieving household food security has been the principal benefit. In achieving this objective, the provision of tools and food for work played a key role in regulating grain and livestock markets. In normal times the food security of the Afar is built on a combination of livestock production and grain purchase. This traditional economy has been transformed by the use of irrigation.

The yield of maize per hectare in quintals ranges from 28 to 60 and 24 to 30 for maize and sorghum respectively. The yield of tomato, pepper and onions per hectare in quintals is 60, 10 and 50 respectively. Irrigation has allowed cultivators to produce more than a household can consume. Hence, households began restocking their herds and flocks from the sale of their farm produce. This new practice has enabled the agro-pastoralists to attain food security.

Agro-pastoralists are organized into water users associations to maximize the use of water. Farmland in the area is owned communally or individually whereas water is communally managed. Improved grass varieties such as Panicum and Rhodes grass are grown including leguminous plants such as pigeon peas, cowpeas and lablab. The marketing of vegetables, especially onions and tomatoes has not been easy as damage occurs during transport to the market.

The new settled village life of the community has opened doors for a number of other developments such as transport, health and power facilities. People from the neighboring Amhara region now frequently visit Afar villages to trade and to look for work on the farms. Moreover today, the agro-pastoralists are also engaged in petty trade including mini-shops, restaurants and grain mills.
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Borana case

In Borana, the relatively fair seasonal marginal return of crop production during a good year has encouraged pastoral households to seasonally transfer their labour into dryland crop farming, although the yield per hectare is very low compared to other potential areas. Crop failure is usual in Borana due to inadequate rainfall and lack of moisture conservation practices. In good years, the Boran staple food crops, including maize and haricot beans, are produced by pastoralists for consumption. Such harvests reduce the number of livestock that need to be sold to purchase food.

Crop production as a source of income and investment is only seen in peri-urban areas; the vast majority of the Boran still operate in the pastoral economy. The type of crop farming practised is opportunistic agriculture, which exploits niches within pastoralist areas that retain moisture after the rains. The cropped areas, which are situated on top of mountain ranges, in valleys or at the base of mountains, benefit from higher rainfall and cooler temperatures, which allow regular cultivation. For example, Dida Liban, the prime wet season grazing area, which is 17 kms from Negelle Borana town, is being intensively used by commercial cultivators coming from towns for wheat growing. The same pattern is seen around Arero, Yabello, Teltele, Mega, Hidilola and Moyale towns.

In the Borana zone the practice of cultivation is reaching its peak because of diminishing livestock productivity and the need to supplement household subsistence. Significant portions of the Borana rangelands are now turned over to cultivation. The rangelands are shrinking and creating conflicts among neighbouring clans such as the Gebra, Garri, Digodi and Merehan.

Results of changes in land tenure

The principal result of changes in land tenure has been a reduction in the size of rangelands and in the productivity of that which remains. This is leading to increasingly rapid changes in the livelihoods of the pastoralist community. In this section, changes in the quality and quantity of rangeland, their causes, consequences and socio-economic effects are looked at. These changes in land tenure have consequences for the very survival of the pastoralist production system. It is increasingly hard for pastoralists to manage their rangelands and pastoralist production systems are becoming less viable as a result.

Cultivation is a serious constraint to livestock production and traditional natural resource management. In many areas cultivation has taken over the valley floors and areas of higher moisture and fertility. These areas were traditionally
set aside for grazing by milking cows and calves during stress periods. But all across the nation, the best grazing land is being given over to agriculture; without this land, the more marginal land that only pastoralists have been able to make a living from is rendered much less productive and becomes wasteland. The displacement of pastoralists to increasingly marginal lands aggravates land degradation. These activities cause deforestation of multipurpose fodder trees like the Yicib in Somali region and contribute to soil erosion and flooding. This increased pressure on the remaining land and natural resources makes communities ever more vulnerable to drought and famine.

Private land holding and cropping encourages settlements, which seriously constrain mobility, one of the key elements of the pastoralist production system. Mobility balances the use of resources, sustains the environment and assures pastoralist livelihoods. The new settlements and enclosures not only block access to pasture and water but also over exploit these resources and threaten the future sustainability of pastoralists and their environment. Furthermore this results in reduced livestock production and productivity and increased incidence of disease and conflict.

**Strengthening traditional Institutions, Dire woreda**

Dire is one of the 13 woredas of the Borana zone. It is 670 kilometers to the south of Addis Ababa, along the Ethio-Kenya highway. The woreda has an arid climate with modest and erratic rainfall. Recurrent drought has disrupted social life and livelihoods. The inhabitants of the woreda are predominantly ethnic Boran pastoralists who survive in conditions of deprivation and vulnerability, perpetuated by a wide range of natural and man-made causes. Their livelihood is primarily based on livestock rearing on open rangelands. This is complemented by some opportunistic crop farming as well as off farm activities.

Dire has a wide range of natural resources and a rich institutional heritage but life is made difficult by a range of natural and man-made factors including recurrent drought, rangeland deterioration, land alienation, bush encroachment, misperception of the pastoral/agro pastoral production system, erosion of traditional safety nets, weakening of potency of traditional elders, a narrow livelihood base, limited market outlets, conflict, and overall marginalization.
Apart from the structures of the modern state, social life and relations are regulated by traditional institutions such as the Gada, which facilitates traditional governance, access to land, the management of natural resources such as water and pasture, manages conflict, and engages in relations with other polities. The steady erosion of the potency of traditional institutions due to the influence of the modern state structure and market forces is however, threatening local livelihoods. This is manifested by the weakening of institutions for the enforcement of customary land rights, entailing land use conflicts among competing land use systems. This has in turn resulted in the shrinking of communal grazing lands and the restriction of livestock mobility, despite constitutional guarantees for customary land use rights. To reverse this, traditional elders need to be strengthened and empowered by returning their control over natural resource management. Revitalizing traditional institutions has been tried in Dire woreda and has shown some promising indicators but they need to be further strengthened.

**Climate change**

Climate change is both a cause and a direct consequence of rangeland degradation. Nearly all pastoralist areas of Ethiopia suffer from inadequate, erratic, and unevenly distributed rainfall. Like a self-fulfilling prophecy, drought is also one of the extreme climatic stresses that result in rangeland degradation and more drought. Soon there will be no recovery time for pastoralists and their livestock; the result is an increasingly frantic drift from one place to another.

**Drought in Afar**

Because of the frequent droughts in Afar land, the Afar buy heifers from the Oromo, Amhara, Tigray and Argoba to build up a herd. Traditional Afar cattle are being replaced by the zebu type which is not able to survive and be productive in arid and semi-arid environment. Particular species face different risks from diseases, predators and fodder shortage so by maintaining several species herders can reduce risks. When livestock are in good condition in karima (July –August) and sugum (March-April), their prices are high. The Afar sell livestock when they face food shortage, need clothing or health care and to acquire assets or when a beast is about to die.

During drought periods, a sudden increase in the supply of livestock is inevitable when herd owners see that their animals are dying at a fast rate. This causes cattle prices to decline and grain prices to soar simultaneously. This phenomenon leads to a rapid fall in the purchasing power of the Afar. A change in the terms of trade takes place such that the productivity of livestock falls more rapidly than during a dry season.
When droughts occur, the grass is completely grazed and gives way to bush encroachment – now common in Afar land. Land that is heavily grazed after the rainy season is also vulnerable to severe erosion. *Acacia nubica* is invading the grasslands of the Oromo foothills in the Amhara Region and *Chrysopogon plumulosus* (*durfu*) has been replaced by *Tiribulus cistoides*. Since the 1972 - 1974 droughts; *Combretum molle*, *Sansevieria robusta* and *Cissus rotundifolia* have also spread. As a result of this bush encroachment goats and camels (the browsers) have taken over from cattle and sheep.

**Changes in soil and vegetation composition and coverage**

Excessive grazing and trampling by livestock reduces vegetation cover and increases the exposure of the soil to erosion from wind and water. This contributes to prolonged dry seasons and further decreases in rangeland. The expansion of irrigated agriculture also increases the vulnerability of the lowlands to flooding and salinization (when harmful salts build up in the soil and groundwater). When rivers are diverted for irrigation their natural courses are changed which affects the community in lower areas and makes new areas vulnerable to floods; it also cause the formation of ox-bow lakes. Soils washed from the highlands accumulate and cause changes to vegetation: in the Awash valley, exposure to flooding coupled with salinization has affected the vegetation and the soil over a wide area. *Prosopis juliflora* was introduced to deal with the problem but has only worsened the situation.

The pastoral areas of Ethiopia were very rich in herbaceous plants (grasses and legumes) of good grazing value, and were until recently free of invasive woody plants. But indigenous species have declined. The grasses and legumes cover has decreased while that of woody vegetation has ballooned. This shift in vegetation composition from perennial grass species to bushes and shrubs has serious consequences for pastoralists and their livestock.

Grass species identified as feed for livestock in Afar such as Mefil (*Andropogon canaliculatus*), Durfu (*Chrysopogon plumulosus*) and Serdoita (*Cynodon plectostachyus*) have declined. The quantity of perennial grasses of good grazing value in Somali region, such as *Panicum coloratum* (*Garawgaraw* in Somali), *Brachiaria eruciformis* and *Cymbopogon pospischilii*, has also declined. Other forms of plants with insignificant forage value such as Aburi (*Amaranthus dubis*) and Ashara (*Spergula arvensis*) have replaced the preferred herbaceous plants. Similarly, multi-purpose trees such as Uddaito (*Balanites aegyptica*), Merderto...
(Cordia sinensis) and Kusraito (Zizyphus spina-christi) are declining in number because of the introduction of new plant species that push out the indigenous and more useful vegetation.

**Bush encroachment and alien invasive species**

These changes in soil and vegetation facilitate invasion by foreign species and bush. Increased bush encroachment has been observed throughout Ethiopia’s pastoral areas. *Acacia nubica* (Goronto in Afar and Galool in Somali) and *Acacia mellifera* (Merk’aato in Afar and Bilil in Somali) are invading the grasslands and making it difficult for cattle and sheep to survive in the Afar rangelands. *Opuntia* (a spiny cactus) is changing the ecosystem of the Somali rangelands, making them ever more unsuitable for cattle and sheep. Pastoralists in these areas have been obliged to adapt; they now keep a higher proportion of camels and goats. *Acacia drepanolobium* (Whistling thorns) and *Acacia mellifera* are now common in Borana and the Arsi lowlands. They have turned these high yield cattle grasslands into bush, some of which is so thick that even camels and goats cannot access it. It is estimated that 40% of the Borana rangelands – carefully managed and highly productive for generations – has now been invaded by
bush. This leaves these areas unutilized or under-utilized by livestock. The encroachment of wild bush on these rangelands also encourages an increase in predators, which is a further threat to pastoralists. And pastoralists are also concerned that they may no longer be able to find grass to thatch their huts.

### Plants threaten pastoralist livelihoods

Pastoralist livelihoods and the ecosystem are further threatened and worsened by the invasion of pastureland and potential rangelands by non native plant species (*Prosopis juliflora*). This is a multipurpose dry land tree or shrub native to South and Central America and the Caribbean. The weed is resistant to drought: it can grow well in low rainfall areas and in poor soils. It is tolerant to salinity, alkalinity and repeated cutting. The weed was introduced to Ethiopia from India in the 1970s by the Ministry of Agriculture for conservation purposes (HDRA, 2005), and it was initially planted in Dire Dawa and Afar (Amibara and Gewane). *Prosopis* was planted over large areas until 1982 and continued by the food for work program from 1986 to 1988.

The species is now taking over the rangelands. Nursery centres belonging to the Bureau of Agriculture are also blamed for contributing to the expansion of the species in the name of curbing desertification. The seeds of this thorny and evergreen species have strong coats and remain undigested which means they are easily dispersed to colonise new areas. The seeds require little moisture to germinate and the plant will not die off if cut down as it re-grows from its roots. It has poisonous thorns, which have the potential to kill livestock. It has created bush thickets across the region, destroying all native palatable grass and woody species. The grazing and browse potential of the rangeland has dramatically declined which has affected the livelihood of the community.

*Parthenium hysterophorus* or Congress grass is an unpalatable weed, which has encroached upon the Afar and Somali rangelands and parts of South Omo. The species has invaded grasslands along roads and railways and is spreading into rangelands and crop farms. The weed is also spreading in the northern and western parts of the country. If consumed by livestock it gives their milk a bitter taste. Pastoralists have stopped consuming milk produced from animals feeding on Congress grass. The plant is used to convert camel milk into curd. Camel butter turns white and waxy after browsing the herb.
Prosopis juliflora has destroyed rangelands across the nation

Reduced mobility and changes in herd composition

When they enclose too much land pastoralists restrict their own mobility and leave too little land for communal grazing. Herd movements have declined considerably because of the contraction of seasonal grazing lands and expansion of crop cultivation. Corridors for free livestock movement are ever more narrow and frequently entirely blocked. In some places, mobility restriction has meant that even where they still exist, prime pasturelands including dry season grazing areas and watering points, are underutilized because herders cannot get to them.

In most pastoral areas of Ethiopia the number of livestock owned has reduced significantly and new forms of land tenure have led to changes not only in herd size but also to a shift in the composition of herds from grazer to browser species. As we saw in the section on herd diversification, pastoralists now have to keep browsers like camels and goats rather than grazers (cattle and sheep). This is because the vegetation – previously carefully managed by the pastoralists themselves – has changed to bush and shrubs or wood species
Pastoralists used to be more mobile instead of grass. Subsequently, the yield of milk and other by-products like butter and ghee has declined. The live weight of animals has also decreased and as a result, animals fetch lower prices than they used to. Pastoralists have become less food secure and their income level has shrunk. The net effect is an overall decline in animal productivity, income and ultimately, reduced food security in pastoralist communities.

Population pressure

Both human and livestock population growth is exacerbated by rangeland degradation. Although Ethiopia’s livestock population may have increased overall the per capita livestock holding has declined. The shrinking of grazing lands has increased livestock concentration, which of course leads to overgrazing. The human population of the highlands has increased manifold, causing further expansion of crop cultivation into pastoralist lands. There is ever more pressure on rangelands that do not have the capacity to support increasing numbers of either livestock or human populations. To compound matters, this increase in the livestock population is not complemented by an increase in livestock marketing – more livestock are worth less money (See Chapter Five). The traditional system of rotational grazing of land in dry and wet season can often no longer be practiced owing to the expansion of cultivation into grazing lands and the breakdown of traditional practices of range management. These have resulted in overstocking which in turn has a direct effect on environmental degradation.
Social costs

There are many social side effects associated with enclosing and cultivating land. Area enclosures exclude the poor from accessing range resources and resource poor pastoralists who cannot afford labour feel socially excluded. This can cause animosity and rivalry. The cost of maintaining enclosures may become a burden to pastoralist households. Within a particular group such as a clan, investment in enclosure increases social costs; at the same time, it secures one’s private benefits. The change also affects social structures by increasing the workload of women. The increasing importance of cereals in the family diet overburdens women who are now obliged to spend more time and energy preparing land, weeding, harvesting, processing food and collecting firewood for cooking.
Conflict

Resource and land related conflicts – ranging from simple misunderstandings to livestock rustling and kidnapping - are now common. Small disputes escalate quickly and result in displacement of whole communities and deaths. Conflicts confine pastoralists to specific areas, leading to the overuse of nearby resources, which in turn causes rangeland degradation. This may serve as a potential source of conflict between neighbours in the event of livestock intrusion of a fenced area. It may also create conflict between the wider community and owners of individual enclosures. Enclosure and cultivation of land also encourages individual – rather than communal – use of trees within the enclosures for activities like charcoal making. This damages the environment.

In Ngangatom community, South Omo, conflict arises in the dry season grazing areas between the Dasenech and Turkana (in Kenya) communities. There is also conflict with the Omo National Park authorities during prolonged drought periods, because pastoralists enter the park in search of pasture and water. Further conflicts between the Boran and Digodi have intensified into heavily armed battles because of competition over pasture and water as a result of rangeland shrinkage and degradation.

Inappropriate interventions

Lack of land use planning implies that crop and livestock areas are not demarcated clearly. At times, watering points, veterinary services and access roads have been placed in inappropriate locations that have contributed to rangeland degradation. Provision of essential services like water often attracts permanent settlement and aggravates land degradation by facilitating overgrazing. The level of degradation near some water points in the Ethiopian rangelands is high. The expansion of water points in prime grazing lands as has happened in Harshin has resulted in the formation of dust bowls and mini-deserts.

Non-pastoral livelihood activities

Cattle in particular are highly affected by changes in land use because they are particularly vulnerable to lack of water and grazing. Mortality rates in young stock are higher than in adult stock, which could be attributed to restricted
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milk supply and forced immobility. Livestock are most likely to be severely affected by a subsequent drought before pastoralists get enough time to recover and once more build up a critical mass of herd size. The drastic reduction in production of milk and milk products has changed the eating habits of pastoralists to new diets. They can no longer rely on milk and other dairy products during drought. All this combined has forced pastoralists to seek alternative livelihoods to supplement their income from livestock.

Challenges and the way forward

The use of land will continue to change over time and it is clear that the recent changes in land tenure may not be easily reversed. These changes have had a negative impact on the lives and livelihoods of pastoralists. Future changes in patterns of land use will undoubtedly continue to affect pastoralists but the beneficial effects should be promoted and the negative consequences should be mitigated.

This requires the full participation of pastoralists who have expert knowledge about the environmental constraints of the land. It demands engagement with traditional institutions so as not to undermine effective communal resource practices and increasing efforts to build trust between pastoralists and policy makers and properly valuing interdependencies between pastoralists and other stakeholders.

Some recommendations on mitigating the effects of changing land use patterns are given below:

1. An integrated land use plan should be devised. This should cover all land uses from settlement and farmlands to communal rangelands and wildlife parks. It should include mechanisms to minimize expansion of area enclosures and depletion of communal rangelands.

2. Selective support for the customary institutions, which contribute to ecosystem management, has the potential to reverse aspects of climate and environmental change.
3. Where changing land use patterns have directly affected pastoralists, the benefits of the new land use should be shared. Sharing the earnings from tourism and wildlife parks will improve the sustainability of the new system as communities assume responsibilities for protecting tourist areas themselves.

4. Where populations have already been displaced or are no longer living as pastoralists, well-planned settlement programmes could be used as a strategy for compensation. To be successful, any such programmes would encourage the indigenous population – through labour or crop sales – to participate in local agricultural development programmes. The agricultural dimension should include: livestock keeping; crop farming (with irrigated pasture/forage development as a component); training in crop farming techniques; and integrated crop farming practices.

5. Outgrowers’ (contract farming) schemes could be established to serve as a means of compensating the community for use of their land. Nearby community farms would be able to sell their produce to agri-businesses and pastoralists could supply the farms with milk or meat. This allows the indigenous population to participate in the agricultural development going on around them.

6. Further research on bush encroachment should be embarked upon.

7. Traditional rangeland management needs to be revitalized.
Chapter Five

Supplementary Livelihoods, Extension and Markets

Supplementary livelihoods

As a result of internal dynamics and external pressures, pastoralists are becoming poorer and poorer and have to rely on non-pastoral activities to eke out a living. All these many effects have forced pastoralists to find other means of survival, such as; trading with the establishment of saving and credit cooperatives, agriculture, irrigated agriculture, wage labour, cutting firewood, sale of charcoal, tending animals for others, salt mining, craft sales, cross border milk marketing, incense and gum collection, wildlife tourism and fisheries.

The income pastoralists get from engaging in these productive activities is meagre and cannot sustain their livelihoods. Pastoralists with herds and supplementary income are able to survive better than those who entirely depend on livestock. The productive activities serve as a supplement to livestock husbandry and give pastoralists a breathing space until a herd is built up. The destitute earning other meagre income may not have resources to build a herd or flock.

This chapter first examines some different alternative livelihood case studies from different communities. While these activities will only supplement pastoralist livelihoods, they would be much more productive if they were supported by good financial services. There are very few micro-finance institutions in Ethiopia so NGOs and the government provide savings and credit schemes – but only in a very few areas. Supplementary livelihoods, saving and credit services, marketing and extension, all of which would prove a great boon to pastoralist livelihoods are discussed below.

Handicraft in the Afar community

Handicraft production and marketing activities are becoming a key supplementary source of income for pastoralist communities in the Afar region and in other pastoral areas. Similar to most of the traditional societies in Ethiopia, the Afar
used to give no commercial importance to handicrafts. They just produced various articles for their own use, to give as wedding gifts and to guests. However, people have recently realized that handicrafts have a commercial value. The number of households involved in making handicrafts tends to increase during drought and famine. The sector is dominated by women, who usually work to supplement their livestock production earnings.

Afar women produce mats/carpets (*fidima*), milking utensils (*kaqunta*), food plates (*gedbo*), eating mats, hand fans, prayer mats, mats for floor/roof covering, brooms, bags for churning butter, butter storage bags, grain storage bags, water containers, baskets and jewellery. Men produce beds, chairs, ropes, sandals and spoons.

**Beekeeping in the Maale community, South Omo**

Beekeeping plays an important role in Maale society and is the major livelihood next to other livestock production. The Maale lowlands have huge potential for honey production: the plant species there are ideal and the community has great knowledge of bees and their behaviour. There is even a honey-finding bird in pastoralist areas, which appears during honey production season.
In Maale there is no land specifically put aside for beekeeping. Anybody can keep beehives anywhere suitable (relatively wet with flowering trees) as long as it has not been used before. It is traditionally accepted that once a hive is hung on a tree, it becomes private property that can be passed down from generation to generation. Beekeeping complements other livelihoods, as honey-collecting areas are also open for cattle grazing, firewood collection, and cultivation. Maale people gather on average 300 kilos of honey a year and sell it for 30 Birr a kilo in South Omo. The honey sells in Addis Ababa for 70 Birr a kilo in 2008.

Maale beehives used to be made from local trees - *Erythrina brucei* (Korch), *Acacia* (Girar) and *Cordia africana* (Wanza). These days, to avoid deforestation, the Maale use bamboo. The bond between the Maale and their bees is strong. The Maale love and trust bees and consider them as family members. The Maale pastoral community takes honey from the forest as well as from domesticated hives. By looking at the pollen they collect, Maale people can predict drought. This information is shared and discussed widely within the community as an early warning mechanism.
Crude salt extraction

In pastoral areas of Borana, salts are important both for livestock production and for people’s health. Different types of crude salt are extracted. They are known as: Dilo, Magado, Ilkole and Dhoke. The salts are found in different parts of Dirre area, Borana, where salt is extracted. The salt is harvested from crater lakes in specific seasons. Poor households excavate it to sell within Borana and adjacent areas. To use this resource more efficiently an NGO, in collaboration with the woreda cooperative promotion office, has established salt extraction cooperatives by providing seed money, training, an office and furniture. The aim is to benefit destitute and poor pastoralists. This approach may increase the income of the pastoral households involved. It is hoped that pastoralists will be able to double their income.
Gum and incense extraction in Somali

Gum and incense trees grow in Somali Region (Afder, Fiq, Liben, Gode, Warder and Degehabur Zones), Borana, South Omo (Hamer, Bana Tsemaco and Maale) and Afar (Zone two). But these resources are currently not wisely exploited and utilized. In Afar, the pastoralists collect incense for household consumption only. In Somali Region individual pastoralists collect gum and incense for sale to local middlemen. The middlemen then resell the produce at a profit to different parts of the country, especially to Addis Ababa. In Borana and South Omo individual pastoralists collect gum and incense and sell it at local markets. In these cases there are no middlemen and recently co-operatives have been established to facilitate the production and marketing of frankincense.

The role of savings and credit in supplementary livelihoods

Pastoralists are usually unable to use their land as collateral to guarantee borrowing: as we have seen, they seldom have certificates for land and most of it is owned communally. Most banks and financial institutions require land or proof of earnings as collateral for lending and pastoralists usually have neither. As a result, many supplementary livelihoods similar to the ones above go
unexploited because of a lack of seed money. This small initial investment that allows concerns like the salt cooperatives in Borana to start, is sometimes the only obstacle to economic success. Enabling pastoralists to help themselves by saving and borrowing money has been shown to reduce both long and short-term food insecurity. The financial instruments and policies adopted however must include many safeguards to protect lender and borrower alike.

Savings and credit services can bring substantial benefits to herders and could play an important role in pastoralist risk management. These services can ensure smooth transition from season to season as well as over the longer term by spreading the sudden effects of floods for example or helping pastoralists replace livestock after drought. Credit can allow productive herding enterprises to expand and vulnerable pastoralists to diversify household income and thus reduce their vulnerability to risks. To maximize cash income for immediate food needs, pastoralists tend to put pressure on common property resources such as the natural resource base (collecting of wild food and charcoal/firewood selling). Facilitating alternative cash income can also reduce pressure on the environment.

There are few formal banks or other credit providers in pastoralist areas and those that are there do not provide the required services. Communities have various indigenous forms of credit. Often, these involve loaning animals, exchange of labour, or gifts of milk and butter. Introduced schemes should take these existing systems into account, learn from them and build on them where appropriate.

There should be clear thinking behind any credit arrangements as inappropriate credit and resulting debt can increase people’s vulnerability. Dryland crops, for example, are likely to fail to produce yields in many years. Small-scale irrigation from a reliable water source, on the other hand, is a safer investment. Proposed enterprises must be checked carefully before they are allocated credit.

Currently, saving and credit services in pastoral areas are predominantly carried out by NGOs. They follow similar procedures. These include:

- Voluntary membership.
- Members should live in the same village.
- The group should have a bank account and minimum of saving of 10 percent of requested loan or credit.
• Assessment of proposed income generating activity to evaluate its profitability.

The community members, NGOs and government play different roles to ensure the success of the credit and savings cooperatives.

**The role of different actors**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Beneficiary communities</th>
<th>NGOS</th>
<th>Government</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Committed to work and Paying saving continuously</td>
<td>Carry out needs assessment</td>
<td>Collecting needs assessment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Develop and respect internal rules and regulation</td>
<td>Awareness rising on benefit of cooperative and its procedures</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opening bank account and deposit initial saving, decide amount and time of saving; decide on due date to pay the credit, and setting up Monitoring and Evaluation committee</td>
<td>Establishment of community screening committee</td>
<td>Site selection</td>
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<tr>
<td>Establish and effect controlling system</td>
<td>Facilitation of banking process</td>
<td>Technical support</td>
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<tr>
<td>Providing training, Technical and material support, Supply of seed</td>
<td>Legalize the cooperative</td>
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<tr>
<td>Capacity building for cooperative and line department</td>
<td>Auditing, Take over</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Monitoring and Evaluation</td>
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While appreciating the remarkable achievements of NGOs in supporting saving and credit services for the pastoral community, it is equally important to point out some of the critical factors challenging the quality and sustainability of the service. The first is the legal issue. There is no legal framework which
supports the provision of credit services by NGOs in the country. The second is the quality of the service itself. Among money credit and saving service established so far, very few are fully operational or profitable. The reason for this is poor planning, inefficient management and control as well as insufficient capital. Mismanagement results in waste of resources, reduction of profits and ultimately leads to failure.

**Savings scheme in Kereyu**

In 2002 a credit and saving self-help group was set up in Gelcha Kebele in Fentale woreda of Oromia region with the help of Care Ethiopia; it now has 240 members. Other than livestock herding, the community is involved in farming small plots of land, charcoal production, petty trade, guarding sugar plantations, selling firewood and selling standing hay to nearby towns. The group has six executive members – a chairperson, vice chairperson, secretary, cashier, and two people who keep the safe box keys. Members must be economically active, resident in the community and non-khat chewers who are willing to save 10 Birr a month.
The self help group provides term loans for six to 12 months mainly to petty traders at a lending interest rate of six percent. The average loan size is currently small (150 Birr) and the proposed loan size is 3000 to 4500 Birr. Since the demand for loans is high, clients are interested in improving access to credit. The cash control and disbursement procedures are rigorous and have resulted in no defaults so far. The loans have allowed women to improve their economic status, to be accepted in community affairs and to build their roles in household decision-making. The loans have also helped to diversify the rural economy and increase both income and employment opportunities. Members say that training in marketing and business skills is important prior to being given micro-credit services.

**Business growth**

Abdiya Below Osman is 39 years old, married and has five children. Her family came to Dollo Ado from Somalia in 1991. Abdiya joined the Group Guarantee Revolving Fund in 2001. In the first year, she received 400 Birr and started petty trading in clothing. She earned 350 Birr profit from the loan. She received 1000 Birr credit in the second loan cycle in 2002 and expanded her clothing trade. During this period, she also participated in business skills development training. From the second loan, she made a profit of 700 Birr. Abdiya continued to expand her business and repaid the loan.

Following the repayment of the previous loans, Abdiya became eligible for the next loan cycle and was lent 2000 Birr. With this money she expanded and diversified her business into food as well as clothes. During this period, her income improved but she made a profit of just 300 Birr due to inflation and changes in the exchange rate.

Abdiya repaid the money and applied for another loan in 2006. She received 3,000 Birr and diversified her business into goat marketing. She also built a house for her family and their living conditions improved. From the fourth loan she made a profit of 980 Birr. She repaid all her loans and become eligible for the fifth loan cycle at the beginning of 2009 when she received 5000 Birr and continues to expand her businesses. She expects to make a profit of 1380 Birr on this loan. In conclusion, since 2001 Abdiya has received total loans of 11,400 Birr and earned profits of 3,750 Birr.

Abdiya’s family now eats three times a day and she describes herself as food secure. They eat a variety of foods like rice, pasta, meat, milk, vegetables and fruit. “Moreover, I have developed my business skills, I have developed my literacy skills, continued my education and now I have finished tenth grade”.

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*Pastoralism and Land: Land Tenure, Administration and Use in Pastoral Areas of Ethiopia*
Pastoralist extension services

Extension is a process by which research findings and new technologies are tested and adapted by communities through facilitation by trained extension agents. It involves joint planning, training, demonstration, continued monitoring, follow-up and evaluating of impact. It also includes advising and coaching communities on their decision-making processes and educating them on how to make informed decisions. Extension services aim to bring about positive economic, social and behaviour change. They are believed to be a particularly helpful approach for learning with pastoralists who are being forced to learn new processes to sustain their livelihoods in remote and under-resourced lands.

The ultimate aim of extension is to promote sustainable rural development that contributes positively to economic growth and human development. There are several actors in extension: individuals and communities, public agencies, private service providers and others like cooperatives and Non State Actors (NSA) like NGOs. The key public actors are the national research and extension services, educational establishments and the media.

Pastoralist extension history of Ethiopia

Until recently government policy towards pastoralist extension had the goal of modernizing pastoral areas by introducing new production techniques. They were driven by agricultural development strategies rather than optimising the contribution from pastoral lands and had little or no relevance to the pastoralist way of life. Government and NGOs had very limited knowledge of pastoralist systems. This is now changing. The following project cases illustrate the various efforts tried over the last half century.

1. In 1964 USAID, the African Development Bank and the World Bank funded a project that helped establish a national authoritative body, known as the Livestock and Meat Board (LMB) to coordinate different livestock activities (livestock production, processing and marketing). The first project addressed dairy development and was called the Dairy Development Agency (DVA).
2. The second project, initiated in 1973, focused on increasing off-take by developing markets, the stock route system and establishing slaughter facilities in major towns and cities.

3. The Third Livestock Development Project (TLDP), launched in 1976, was the first large-scale pastoralist development intervention in Ethiopia. It was aimed at developing and rehabilitating three lowland areas: the Southern Rangeland Development Unit (SORDU), the North-eastern Rangeland Development Unit (NERDU), and the eastern area known as the Jigjiga Rangeland Development Unit (JIRDU).

4. The fourth Livestock Development project attempted to organize service cooperatives as an entry to a participatory approach. The programme was incorporated in the Southern Rangeland Development Unit (SORDU) and focused on a partnership with Borana social organizations by reorganizing the Borana traditional institutions into service cooperatives. The pilot programme was started in 1988 and ended in 1993.

5. The Southeast or Southeast Rangelands Project (SERP) was initiated in Somali region. The project began in 1990 and was based on the experience and lessons of various pilot projects. It adapted an integrated approach, which combined community based participatory extension and institutional development, land use and range management, animal production and health, livestock marketing and infrastructure development.

These projects did not yield the desired results for a number of reasons.

- Too much emphasis was placed on the technical and technological aspects of the projects while neglecting the socio-cultural and ecological aspects of pastoral production systems.
- The projects did not integrate local participation and knowledge into their design.
- Little attention was paid to other “soft components” like institutional development and capacity building.
The new pastoral extension approach

The failure of earlier projects has inspired a new approach. Based on lessons learned, the Pastoral Unit of the Ministry of Agriculture (MoA) drafted a pastoral and agro-pastoral extension strategy in 1999, which aimed to:

- Improve livestock quality by improving water points, forage production and breeds, expanding animal health services and developing market infrastructure.
- Integrate crop production and other agricultural activities where feasible side by side with livestock production through the introduction of small-scale irrigation.
- Provide appropriate infrastructure and social services including small-scale irrigation and drinking water.
- Tailor research and extension programs to the needs of dryland agriculture and livestock development.
- Put in place regulatory and quality assurance measures.

Under the new delivery system, institutions were established at various levels. The three most important for our purposes are the Kebele Extension Team, Community Development Teams and Community Animal Health Workers (CAHWs).

Kebele extension teams

Each pastoralist kebele has a team of three extension development agents, responsible for Crop Production, Natural Resources Management and Livestock Production. They have the following roles and responsibilities:

- Train trainers to form the community development team.
- Introduce new technologies.
- Provide continued advice and backstopping support.
- Link pastoralist communities with research institutions and provide feedback on the adaptation process.
- Prepare reports to government and act as the link between the community and government.

The extension team members face many challenges. Many of them carry a highland or agricultural development bias and some are politically motivated hence lose the trust of pastoralists; others are often absent from their
workstations or are ineffective. Due to poor pay and a lack of basic social services in rural areas, they frequently change their professions and move to towns.

Community development teams

The framework for community development teams was designed at the Ministry of Agriculture and is already being planned and practiced to a certain extent in Oromia. Each village (Olla) has its own development team of up to ten members. Team members must be:

- Part of a pastoralist community.
- Hard working and accepted by community members.
- Able to mobilize and motivate the community.
- Knowledgeable about their environment.

The community development teams have a duty to:

- Identify the needs of the community and set priorities.
- Act as a bridge between communities and livestock development agencies.
- Select sites for development activities.
- Develop work plans with pastoralist training centres.
- Coordinate activities and safety-net activities.
• Mobilize and organize the community to clear weeds and bush from rangeland.
• Prepare oral and written reports and submit or discuss them with development agents.

Animal health services

Indigenous veterinary practices

Indigenous veterinary knowledge and practice is passed on from parents to children either by word of mouth or learning by doing and teaching by showing. It involves prescribing medicines from plant sources, the practice of rituals and therapy. There are many individuals who have specialized knowledge and skills like those who set broken bones, assist in delivery and perform castrations. Most livestock keepers treat their own animals against common diseases using common herbs and treatments. They prepare concoctions from plants and administer infusions and decoctions. These good old practices serve a life saving purpose in pastoralist areas away from the reach of modern drugs or where veterinary services are not available. Care however must be taken not to overdose or prescribe wrong mixtures and risk the lives of animals.

Community Animal Health Workers

Community Animal Health Workers (CAHWs) are mainly trained by NGOs. They are linked to the Woreda Animal Health Assistant (a diploma graduate) who sells livestock drugs and provides technical services. To be selected, a CAHW must be a member of and live in the community s/he wishes to represent. The member must own animals and be accepted by the community.

The role of CAHWs is to:
• Treat major diseases.
• Vaccinate animals and assist during mass vaccinations.
• Undertake de-worming, hoof trimming and castration services.
• Report on disease outbreaks and prepare reports.
Animal health services are provided through indigenous and formal government systems. The government provides services through trained Community Animal Health Workers (CAHWs) and government veterinary personnel based at woreda and to a lesser extent kebele levels. Unfortunately they are not very mobile and cannot reach pastoralists in the more remote areas. They are supposed to be mobile and not use transport of any kind.

These government services are currently largely preventive and particularly focus on vaccination programs.

**Range and natural resources management**

Range and natural resource management extension packages include:

- Identifying and delineating depleted rangelands and promoting traditional rangeland management systems.
- Watershed management.
- Control of unwanted tree and weed species to enhance rangeland
productivity and develop ecologically sound tree species in forest development. Introduction of agro forestry; development of forest products as well as the protection and development of wildlife.

- Conducting research and assessment on termite control.
- Practicing prescribed burning to increase production and productivity.
- Enhancing different physical and biological soil and water conservation methods, promoting water harvesting techniques and irrigated forage development.

Livestock Trade

The livestock trade is the major source of income and wealth to pastoralists. Livestock is considered a secure bank and most pastoralists sell livestock only when they are in great need. There are different ways of buying and selling livestock: some pastoralists use barter systems among themselves while others buy especially for breeding from fellow pastoralists at homesteads.

While the government acknowledges the importance of the livestock trade to the national economy, little is done to develop market services. Most pastoralist areas are characterized by poor infrastructure including inaccessible roads and underdeveloped markets. There is little market information and few means of communicating what information there is. Pastoralists have to travel long distances to major markets and in the process their livestock can lose weight, die of diseases or be attacked by wild animals.

Types of markets

Livestock markets are commonly classified as bush, primary, secondary, terminal and export markets. Livestock is also sold at homesteads and ranches, open markets, national or regional capitals, informal cross border and international formal export markets.

Homestead markets

Pastoralists who want to stock or breed livestock move across homesteads to buy animals that they know have good origins and have been well looked after. Some traders and intermediaries also use this method. There is little
or no risk for either buyers or sellers. The pastoralists do not have to pay for transport or middlemen and the buyers do not risk buying stolen animals. The disadvantage of this method is that pastoralists may sell their livestock too cheaply since they cannot compare prices. For buyers, the poor road network is the main problem.

**Local markets**

At local markets pastoralists congregate to exchange or buy and sell livestock for breeding and slaughter purposes either in barter or cash. The exchange is made between stockowners or with informal traders and middlemen. Because local markets are small and isolated, it is difficult to compare prices hence middlemen may be able to buy cheaply. The advantage for the pastoralists is that they do not have to travel far or pay transport costs. Because these markets only serve small community needs, the choice for outsiders is limited but there may be bargains available. There is no formal taxation so the government makes no revenue.

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**South Omo Zone pastoralist groups local markets**

In South Omo, livestock markets are common. There are local markets in Kizo, Minogelty and Chelbi among other places. Traders come from highland areas such as Basketo, Konso, Derashe, Jinka and Arbaminch with heifers, sorghum and maize, cloth, ornaments, guns and bullets to barter with the pastoralists for bulls. Like most pastoralists, the South Omo pastoralists like to have more female cattle than males to ensure that their herds continue to grow. Highland traders can thus barter one heifer for three or more oxen. They also barter guns with the pastoralists; this can encourage ethnic conflict and livestock theft.
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The South Omo pastoralists barter goats for maize and sorghum and coffee husks in Hamer. In 2008, the Hamer bartered one goat for 100 kilograms of sorghum but rates in the region change depending on the remoteness of the market.

Primary markets

Primary markets are the first point at which livestock enters the formal economy; they are larger than local markets. Primary markets are mostly found along stock routes and attract all kinds of purchasers. To use these markets, pastoralists have to spend money on transport or if they trek their livestock to market, they take the risk of losing animals on the way.

Primary markets are held once or twice a week away from pastoralist settlements. They provide a wider opportunity to sell, buy or exchange animals. Traders buy the animals and transport them to major cities. The disadvantages with these markets are the risk of animals contracting diseases and the poor prices paid during dry season and droughts when there are many animals for sale. If stolen animals are brought to market, disputes may break out.
Secondary markets

Secondary markets are the largest markets situated on stock routes leading to terminal markets. They are held in large regional towns and are dominated by traders and wealthier, well-connected pastoralists. Here local traders and the larger traders, who trek or truck onto terminal markets, buy stock. Prices are higher than in smaller markets but controls are more stringent. Only healthy animals can survive the long-distance treks needed to reach these markets. Secondary markets have water services and sometimes fodder. Transactions at these markets are taxed.

Terminal markets

Terminal markets are located outside pastoralist areas. They include markets in towns and cities and industrial and coffee growing areas. In these markets the buyers are mostly butchers and transactions are taxed.
Cross border markets

Cross border markets are informal and governments do not collect taxes from them. There are few external traders and locally recruited traders act on behalf of bigger traders to buy the livestock. At such markets, bargaining is less intense since the buyer is often a member of the same clan as the seller. Cross border trade is extremely important in Ethiopia. Attempts are often made by government to stop cross border trade but since there are few alternatives, they are seldom successful.

Export markets

Livestock is also sold through formal export channels. During times of drought, animals become thin and ill and fail to meet high export standards. Export markets (including Moyale, Chinaksen, Turmi, Nazareth and Addis Ababa) suffer from unreliable transport, restrictive export and import policies and misunderstood breed preferences. Middle Eastern countries are the main export point for livestock from Ethiopia. At times disease outbreaks negatively affect the export itself and the prices received.

Market transactions and pricing

Livestock prices like all other prices are affected by supply and demand. Thus during drought periods the quality of livestock deteriorates, the quantity for sale increases and prices shrink. This always happens just when pastoralists need a boost. Simultaneously the need to sell livestock increases because pastoralists need to buy grain and other food items. Consequently grain prices rise as well.

Livestock prices rise during the Ethiopian christian celebrations such as Christmas, Easter, New Year, Meskel, Kibela and Filsetta. During Muslim holidays like Id Al Fatir (Ramadan), Id Al Adaha and Mewlid prices rise within the country. Cross border livestock trade also increases as there are lucrative markets in the Middle East during these periods. Careful breeding that produces animals at the right times of year thus results in favourable prices for pastoralists.

Local prices are negatively affected when bans are imposed (because of disease or other reasons) by livestock importing countries in the Middle East. Prices
are also affected by poor infrastructure, insecurity, government regulations that block livestock passage, flooding, underdeveloped marketing chains and lack of market information.

**Market information**

Information about prices and alternative markets is hardly available in pastoral areas. Information about the prices of different types of livestock is kept private and official sources are limited.

Some NGOs and government offices operating in these areas collect prices for different types of animals, grain and fuel wood. However, the dissemination is limited as is their market coverage. Moreover neither farmers nor livestock traders use this information. This makes market search by individual traders difficult. Market search by pastoralists and traders involves negotiation and in most cases is facilitated by brokers.
Livestock pricing

Experience is the best way to judge the price of livestock but there are other factors involved:

- **Physical appearance**: Animals with larger horns, bigger humps, and brighter colours attract better prices.
- **Body parts**: The fat and muscle tone of an animal is determined by feeling the hump, rump, loins and other critical points. Buyers decide whether they want animals that are lean and hardy or those that are fat.
- **Age, sex, and status of the animal**: Livestock experts determine an animal’s age by inspecting its teeth. In the livestock market, castrated males fetch more than young bulls.
- **Animal origin**: Animals from the highlands are priced higher than those from the lowlands. This is because they are typically better cared for in shelters, and may have been given more nutritious fodder. These husbandry practices produce improved quality of meat.
- **Colour**: Animals with different colours fetch better prices at different times of year when they are used for festivities or rituals.

Transaction costs

Market information about prices and alternative markets is inadequate in pastoralist areas. Information about the price of different types of livestock is often kept private and official sources are limited.
Market searches for pastoralists and traders involve negotiations and in most cases middlemen, locally known as *delala*, facilitate the process. A middleman has to be trustworthy and cooperative and make sure that his clients get the best service. The middleman’s role is to match the buyer and seller and to ensure the legitimacy of the sale. Livestock may be paid for in cash, in credit, or barter. Payment with credit earns more than on-the-spot cash but it involves a risk of delayed payment or default. Traders incur additional costs when moving livestock either on the hoof or using trucks. Most of the cross border trade is by trekking through shortcuts until the animals are across the border at which point they are loaded onto trucks.

Some other transaction costs include:

- Payments to trekkers, truck and loading costs.
- Feeding costs on trek routes.
- Animal death due to disease, accidents and stress.
- Costs of wildlife attacks.
- Often exorbitant informal taxation costs.
- Losses caused by untrustworthy middlemen.
- Cost of stolen animals.
- Theft of cash through pick-pocketing in towns or cash and livestock by bandits on the road.

**Stock routes and livestock transport**

Transporting livestock to market involves choosing the mode of transport or the trekking route, licensing, quarantine measures and permits. Livestock traders who trek their animals use short cuts and routes where they can find water and grazing. To cut costs, they may bypass licensing, taxation, quarantine regulations and customs checkpoints, where extortion is rampant. There are many risks associated with doing this but many pastoralists hire people who know the routes well and have established contacts along them, to take the livestock to the market.

Trucking animals to towns gets the animals to the market faster but can be expensive and has its own risks. Some livestock owners organize transport collectively. By going through checkpoints at night, some traders manage to avoid complying with regulations. Bad roads and over-crowding in the lorries means animals often get trampled and traders must be ready to bear such losses.
Animal identification in transit

Branding involves marking an animal using different coloured dyes or by scarring. It is done to separate animals that have been sold in a holding pen or enclosure from those still awaiting sale. It is also used to separate the animals of one trader from another when several traders transport their animals jointly. Owners also brand their trade animals to separate animals of different grades and to keep track of them during trucking or trekking. Various clan/ethnic groups brand their livestock with traditional marks. Some nick their animals’ ears and skins in a particular way.
Challenges and the way forward

Supplementary livelihoods and credit

Supplementary livelihoods such as handcraft production are an important source of income, especially for women, yet pastoralists get limited benefit from them. The major reasons for this relate to a lack of supporting systems. Supplementary livelihoods are constrained by a lack of effective marketing, a lack of storage and production places and shortage of finance especially during drought, and lack of know-how on improved production skills. Also, savings and credit cooperatives rarely meet the needs of pastoralists or ex-pastoralists: they often fail to complement traditional institutions, they lack transparency and people do not feel a strong sense of ownership since they are often associated with the government. Key recommendations to include:

- Savings and credit systems should be transparent and accountable and should complement traditional systems.
- Provide training to improve business skills in pastoralist communities: literacy, numeracy, business planning and management skills courses are all needed.

Train and supply small-scale income generation associations to complement pastoral production systems. Suitable activities include fodder production, sheep and goat fattening, milk processing, fruits and vegetable marketing, skin and hides, handicrafts, incense and gum collection and marketing.

Advice for lenders

Conduct quality analysis: Before starting a scheme, confirm whether credit is the basic input that is lacking; Critically evaluate each group of borrowers and assess their needs; Analyse the viability of each proposal, strictly assessing the risks involved. Realistically consider the risk of drought and its effect on repayment.

Use traditional institutions: Study local credit mechanisms that are still functioning, and build on them; Identify existing social institutions that can provide peer pressure to ensure repayment.

Be professional: Account carefully for capital flows; Change borrowers’ attitudes towards the scheme; Document all transactions; Consider separating social development efforts from the running of a savings-and-credit scheme (combined projects can be confusing).
Plan ahead: Invest a portion of the income earned from loans into a risk management or reserve fund.

Be realistic and adaptable: Use early warning system information - consider when to stop (and restart) lending during the drought cycle, or what changes to make in the repayment schedule; Plan how to deal with drought when many defaults can be expected. Plan how to deal with defaulters in such situations.

Source: IIRR (2002)

Advice for borrowers

Recipients should form a voluntary membership group, that i) is willing to work together and individually; ii) is committed to pay the loan back iii) know each other very well.

Ensure borrowers have a minimum savings of 10% of the requested loan. Agree a repayment plan and document all transactions.

Set up a monitoring and evaluation committee that meets weekly to check that the loan is spent wisely and repayment is on schedule.

Extension services

Extension services can play a crucial role in development but their success is constrained by a variety of factors including lack of participation. Similarly, Community Animal Health Workers (CAHWs) are resources but simple problems are stopping them from fulfilling their full potential. Key recommendations include:

- Extension programmes aimed at improving the wellbeing of pastoralists must involve the pastoralists in all stages of planning, monitoring and evaluation.
- Extension programmes should integrate livestock, crop cultivation and natural resource management.
- Government should strengthen mobile animal and human social services so that they serve mobile pastoralists without forcing them to settle.
- CAHWs – like DAs and Community Development teams – need to be incentivised and remunerated in ways that are supported by pastoralist community members. Crucially, CAHWs should be linked with drug vendors.
Training centres should look at pastoralism as a system and integrate indigenous and traditional knowledge into their curricula. The skills of pastoralist extension agents and Community Development teams should be continuously updated.

Livestock trade

Good livestock trade and marketing is essential for making the most out of pastoral lands. Currently livestock marketing is hindered by a lack of infrastructure in pastoralist areas, inadequate livestock marketing cooperatives, livestock disease, inadequate national policies, poor technical knowledge, insecurity and unpredictable climate. Illegal taxation greatly adds to the cost of doing business.

Specific recommendations include:

- **Improve infrastructure**: Improve roads, transit facilities and marketing communication to reduce the costs of transport and marketing. Use improved market infrastructure to convert unofficial trade into official trade. Provide slaughterhouses and quarantine facilities to promote legalised cross border trade.

- **Provide training**: Pastoralists need assistance to meet the standards of live and slaughtered export markets; improvements in literacy would help improve productivity and marketing and use of information communication technologies (ICTs) to get market information. Technical staff and funds are needed for these training projects.

- **Improve access to credit**: Provide micro-financing schemes to help livestock traders build capital. Form livestock marketing groups and cooperatives to build capital in the pastoralist systems.

- **Develop marketing linkages**: Governments should help link local markets systematically to national, regional and export markets. Provision of market information outlets in towns in pastoralist areas will help to provide a wider view.
• **Cut the red tape:** Remove exorbitant, repeated and unrealistic taxation. Reduce taxes during the drought and emergency times. Facilitate the transportation of animals by simplifying the need for permits and deal with related corruption.

• **Improve security:** Improve security conditions through the involvement of community local administration and officials from neighbouring countries. Consider the value of providing armed escorts to protect drovers and their animals. Governments could also consider deploying the army and police to patrol problematic areas, as in parts of eastern Ethiopia.

• **Improve quarantine service** and livestock disease control mechanisms.

• **Change the policy framework:** lack of proper policies to support livestock producers and traders is another challenge that hinders the development of the livestock sector.

• **Attend to corruption:** regulations to prevent grabbing of holding grounds and other infrastructure at livestock markets also need to be put in place.

In summary, greater support for alternative livelihoods combined with stronger marketing and processing support for pastoralists will ensure pastoral lands can be used most effectively.

Chapter Six looks at three issues that must be taken into account during all discussion of land use and land tenure: the role of women and how they are affected by these changes; the potential for conflict that can be averted by intelligent planning; and the risk of HIV/AIDS continuing to spread because of the radical changes that have affected pastoralist communities.
Chapter Six

Cross Cutting Issues

Changes in pastoralist land tenure have already caused pastoralists to make major adjustments to their lives. These changes in land use may restrict pastoralist mobility and may increase pastoralist interaction with outsiders due to privatization and the expansion of agriculture. Changes in land use can directly be related with the occurrences of conflicts. Conflict over borders and resources has increased manifold. Plans to alleviate existing conflicts and to avoid them in the future must be made alongside any changes in land tenure. The plight of women must also be considered; the fact that cultivation and trade are despised by pastoralist men means that women’s work load which is already heavy just gets heavier.

Conflict

Conflicts arise when people and groups dispute access to, control of and use of the land’s natural resources. They often emerge because people have varying views of what they want from resources such as rangeland, forest and water or wish to manage them in different ways. When these interests and needs collide, or when the priorities of some user groups are not considered, conflicts inevitably arise. Unfortunately, many African countries, including Ethiopia, are experiencing conflicts that have resulted in social, economic, political and ecological crises.

Natural resource based conflict

Most conflicts in pastoralist areas are due to disputes over natural resources such as:

- **Water.** After the overflow and retreat of a river to its main course, some pastoralist groups start to farm on the riverbanks; others settle and block access to the river. The concentration of livestock near rivers often leads to confrontation between rival groups and conflict among them. This has been the case between the Nyangatom and Hamer on the Omo River and also the Afar and the Kereyu near the Kesem River and the Abdella Tolomogge and Awilhan along the Wabi-Shebele River. Disagreements among different communities also arise over the use of wells, dams and ponds.
• **Wet and dry season rangeland.** The movement of livestock to common grazing lands intensifies during the rains and can often trigger conflict. For example, confrontation between the Dasenech and Nyangatom about the use of grass and water usually occurs near Mount Kuraz during the wet season. This is also the case in the upper middleAwash valley where the Afar and the Kereyu sometimes clash. Most livestock raiding occurs during the rainy season when water is easily available for human and livestock consumption. In most cases mobility during the dry season is the main cause of conflict and usually when it is dry, the tendency to move to riverbanks for both grass and water accentuates this.

Disputes between different communities may also arise because of misunderstanding about regional boundaries, the lack of a functional conflict resolution system and the infiltration of arms into the region. To develop effective strategies and polices for conflict prevention and transformation, it is important to understand the root causes, their dynamics and the behaviour of actors involved. The case studies below may help in understanding the multifaceted and diverse issues surrounding conflict in pastoralist areas.
Pastoralism and Land: Land Tenure, Administration and Use in Pastoral Areas of Ethiopia

Conflict over national parks

National parks provide good pasture for livestock but most of them forbid human settlement or grazing. This approach has resulted in ever-growing conflict between pastoralists and parks management over the past three decades. Pastoralists encroach upon parks with their cattle particularly in periods of drought and hardship. The Kereyu, Afar, Ittu, Hamer, Kara, Mursi

Conflicts between Afar and Oromo groups in Amhara Region

Cheffa plain in Oromia zone of Amhara regional state, Oromia Special Zone, serves as a dry season refuge for Afar and Oromo pastoralists. The coming together of different groups makes it a conflict hot spot. Conflict usually arises when the Afar claim to have inadequate access to pasture, when herds are stolen or when cattle damage the Oromo crops cultivated around Cheffa plain. The Oromo bring their herds to the Afar side when the valley becomes swampy during the wet season. The provoked Afar prepare themselves to revenge the raid. Consequently, individuals from the Afar group raid the Oromo herd or they deny the Oromo access resulting in violent conflict.

Conflicts among the Nuer of Gambella

Conflict among the various Nuer clans is common. There are three tribes (Gaajak, Gaajok and Gaaguang), which belong to the Jikany group of the Nuer of Gambella regional state. The Gaajak tribe reside in five sections close to the Baro basin.

The first conflict happened in 1950 between the Wau and Nyajani section and took place in Jom (Southern Sudan). The Nyajani inhabit the most marginal part of the rangeland; it is poorly watered with a shortage of dry-season grazing lands. Of all the Gaajak sections, it is the only one without direct access to the Baro River. The areas between the Alwero, Kongdekwec and Makuey rivers form the Nyajani’s main resource reserve area during the dry season. An artificial dam constructed in 1986 further complicated the matters: it disrupted the traditional use of resources as well as reducing the amount of water flowing from the Alwero River to Makuey.

Reacting to this, the Nyajani have moved from Makuey to the Baro. Their Southward expansion towards the Gilo River has brought them into conflict with the Jor Anywaa and their expansion to the East for access to the Baro River made them collide, first with the Wau and recently with the Thiang. It is no coincidence that one of the major sites of confrontation between the Wau and Nyajani is around the Duyar canal which taps an overflow of water from the Baro River to Wau crop farming areas. At the height of the conflict with the Wau the Nyajani occupied the Duyar canal after displacing the Wau villagers to Lare and Toc in southern Sudan.
and Bena people often come into conflict with park authorities by grazing in parks and sometimes escalate the conflict by hunting for game meat.

Pastoralists around the national parks argue that the land taken for the national parks was theirs in the first place and constituted the main and best pasture for their livestock. They also say that the parks offer no benefits in terms of development. They insist that they should benefit from park revenues or at least be allowed to use pasture and water within the parks.

**Conflicts among pastoralists over political and administrative boundaries**

Conflict may arise if pastoralist groups residing in borders areas claim land for either grazing or cultivation on the basis of ethnic claims. For example, the Afars and Issas form two ethnic groups inhabiting the dry lands of northeastern Ethiopia, which is today called the Afar Regional State. An important factor that encourages war between Afar and Issa has been the westward movement of the Issa from Shinille zone of Somali region into Afar lands in zone three and the competing and disputed claims over grazing land and access to water resources.

Another inter ethnic conflict issue is the conflict between the Borana and the Garri who inhabit southern Ethiopia. The conflict is linked to inter-regional state border conflict and the frequent clashes led the authorities to establish peace committees. Peace remains elusive. Cross border raids continued until recently and the conflict continues. The local conflicts and frontier violence has begun to affect communities in northern Kenya and thus the relations between Kenya and Ethiopia. This development has resulted in a call for joint interventions by the two governments.

**Conflict mitigation**

Conflicts in pastoralist areas have been resolved by local institutions for centuries. Some specific cases showing how traditional systems can be used to ease conflict are detailed below.
Mitigating intra-clan conflicts with in Kereyu

Kereyu clans fight with each other mainly over pasture and water. Using grazing without permission is a key source of conflict. Usually, the conflicts are resolved before they escalate to killings because of the intervention of traditional institutions. When conflicts arise, clan leaders (daminas) address the issue quickly. Speedy action is an important step to avoid retaliation. Elders invite leaders from neutral clans to examine the root of the conflict and propose compensation terms. The discussions are very elaborate, ensuring that everything is settled and nothing, which may cause problems later on, is left out. Lies are considered taboo during this peace making process. Once compensation is made and apologies are accepted, peace is restored completely.

Conflict between the Tsemaco and Maale

The Maale believe that the Tsemaco have good breeding cattle and often raid their cattle camps. Similarly, the Tsemaco believe that Maale cattle are good breeding animals and so raid the Maale when they are in need. If the raiding also involved the abduction of girls, as it often does, then the other group retaliates in the same way. Elders from both sides seek resolution and if the case cannot be resolved at that level then it is referred to the clan fathers, the Bogoliko and the Godatti. The Bogoliko and the Godatti have the power to curse offenders and can also bless fighters before they go raiding. When peace is negotiated the offenders are asked to slaughter sheep or goats or even cattle for the donza (elders or clan fathers). Usually the peace ceremony is conducted during the dry season when both groups move towards a common river where they water their animals.

Bena and Maale conflict resolution

Usually conflict occurs between the Bena and Maale groups at their common border where livestock raiding with abduction is common. Young men may spot a girl and if they know that the girl is going to be married to one of her own clan, the other tribe may abduct the girl along with her family’s livestock or without. The other group will either retaliate or take the case to the elders. If the case cannot be resolved then the case will be passed on to relevant government department. Usually the government sends it back and encourages peace resolution through traditional mechanisms. The person who has initiated the raid and abduction will be asked to give compensation. Even if the girl is willing to stay with the person who abducted her, he has to compensate the person who was to marry her.
Suggestions to actors involved in peace processes

The role of non-state actors (NSAs) in conflict resolution has been increasing and can be useful but there are guidelines NSAs should follow:

- **Strengthen traditional institutions.** NSAs should bolster and work with local institutions that have socially accepted roles, responsibilities and capabilities rather than creating parallel institutions. They should start by building on indigenous knowledge and experiences and share their experiences and practices from elsewhere.

- **Play a facilitation role.** NSAs should never take a leading role. The NSA’s role should be limited to facilitation and providing technical, financial and material support. Local bodies should play the leading role in conflict management and peace building processes. This includes managing disputes and reconciling conflicting parties, making decisions, ensuring security and providing protection.

- **Ensure that the process is socially inclusive and participatory.** Elders, clan leaders, women and youths should take part in peace building initiatives as all have a stake in the process. Stakeholders should participate in the planning, implementation and review process and get regular feedback on progress through the respective peace committees. The communities should be empowered to mobilize themselves and come to self-initiated solutions for ensuring sustainable changes. Working with others in coordination and partnership improves effectiveness.

- **Promote complementarity and coherence.** Complementing local efforts and activities should be consistent, predictable and acceptable by local culture, norms and traditions.

- **Be impartial in relation to actors and issues.** Everywhere, every time the facilitating organization should maintain its neutrality, organizational reputation, trust and credibility.
Gender

Among pastoralist communities, customary laws and regulations are arranged and regulated so as to manage and sustain the pastoralist system. Both women and men are governed by distinct roles and responsibilities regulated by well-adapted and respected sets of rules described and reinforced by social institutions. Women and men, boys and girls, the young and elderly have clear knowledge and understanding of their roles in society. But, there are clear imbalances between the sexes.

Deep-rooted gender differentiation among pastoralists results in a skewing of power relationships. This has affected women’s opportunities, selfconfidence and selfesteem. Divisions of labour and decision-making are defined along gender lines. In general terms, pastoralist women are double discriminated against; as pastoralist and as women. In times of natural disaster, such as drought, and in human and animal health crises, women are highly vulnerable. Additionally, the effects of environmental degradation, including water as well as fuel-wood shortages are likely to affect women more than men. Changes in land use and tenure have particularly negative effects on women as they are expected to do most of the new livelihoods, such as cultivating, handicrafts, weeding and petty trade. This in addition to their other duties.
Pastoralist labour division

Pastoralist labour is carefully organized and divided by age and gender at individual, family, clan and community levels. Wider social groupings provide the framework within which certain economic activities are organized and implemented. These include managing rangelands, natural resources, mobility and conflict resolution as well as administration of the traditional social institutions.

Productive activities are related to production of livestock and can be performed daily (milking, herding, etc), seasonally (excavation of wells, migration, etc) or occasionally (veterinary care). Pastoralist women and girls tend to lactating animals and small ruminants around the homesteads, fetch water, seek and carry forage for home feeding and manage the health of nursing calves. Women also process and market dairy products, make and sell mats and engage in petty trade. They work with men during herding, watering, marketing dairy products and constructing corrals. Among pastoralist societies involved in cultivation, the task of crop farming is an increasing burden and land use patterns change. It is also mainly left to women.

Reproductive roles are domestic activities and are considered the exclusive responsibilities of women and girls. They involve bearing and rearing children; processing and preparing food; building and maintaining shelters; caring for sick family members; fetching water and gathering firewood; milking and managing milking vessels. Such activities are tedious, recurring and time consuming, particularly in the dry season but they are not considered to have equal value as productive work. Lack of proper land use and management strategies and restricted access to land with the increasing enclosure have made the women’s tasks of collecting firewood and fetching water more time consuming by increasing the distances they have to walk.
Women play a lead role in responding to environmental hazards. Among other things, they make and store hay and carry on home based forage feeding for the young animals and small ruminants kept around the household. They also collect wild fruit, roots and herbs to complement the daily food supply. This requires knowledge, skill and understanding to know when foods are ripe, whether they are safe to eat and where they can be found.

**Community tasks** involve managing common property resources, sustaining social capital and carrying through risk avoidance strategies. Pastoralist women engage in range management in addition to their reproductive roles. They play critical roles during mobility in caring for the ruminants and milking cows that remain at the homestead. They move with livestock if the whole family travels, construct huts and manage water collection and forest usage. Additionally, women are involved in veterinary care, harvesting and processing wild foods. In organizing cultural ceremonies, such as the naming of newborn babies, weddings, funerals and religious feasts, both men and women participate. Here also there is a division of labour where men play the directing role, while women are in charge of catering which is a continuation of their role at home.
Access to, and control of resources

Among pastoralists, there is no gender differentiation in accessing communal natural resources. However, the power to control the resources is vested in men; there is deep concern that this discriminatory status quo will carry over into any changes in land tenure. In most pastoralist societies, for instance in Borana, though both women and men have the responsibility for constructing and maintaining water schemes, men exercise control and overall management over them. Women earn money and control the proceeds from dairy products, fuel wood, handcrafts and petty trading (in some cases), while the extent to which they control earnings from small livestock differs among pastoral societies.

Men control the proceeds from sales of large stock (such as cattle and camels), though the process involves consultation with family members before a sale is made. A study conducted by Oxfam (2004) in Harshin woreda, Somali Region indicates the existence of equal access to resources with gender variations on the type of resources, but men enjoy 73 percent control of the resources while women have only 27 percent.
Influence of social factors

Discriminatory traditional customs determine rights over the control of resources, women’s rights to property ownership, inheritance of common properties and control over fundamental assets. Among nearly all pastoralist groups, customary laws and religious beliefs reinforce women’s ‘loss of clan identity’ when they marry and their exclusion from kinship hierarchies. Consequently, women become a sort of ‘social property’ of their husband’s clan, which in turn impacts their customary legal status and rights to property and restricts their influence on community strategic decisions.

Discriminatory practices often lead to gender-based violence (SGBV). As a result, the physical and psychological wellbeing of women is affected. Pastoralists often practice female genital mutilation (FGM). Among the different practices of FGM, infibulation is the harshest of all and is mainly practiced by pastoralists of Afar and Somali regions. This is a painful operation that can involve removing the clitoral hood using a knife or razor blade and suturing together of the labia using acacia thorns or threads and tying up of the girl’s legs.

The long healing period makes girls vulnerable and women continue to suffer from infection and repeated cutting and stitching during childbirth. Additionally, instruments used for the operation are normally shared among the victims, leading to the risk of infectious diseases like HIV/AIDS. Early marriage is also a problem in pastoral areas. It results in fistula that can make women social outcasts, unable to engage in production activities. Increasingly, common violence like wife battering and marriage by abduction affect women’s physical and mental health.
Gender roles in decision-making

Pastoralist women have limited roles in decision-making, almost no participation in politics and are assigned secondary roles in social affairs. This comes as a result of traditional practices that have disempowered them. Women play an important role in natural resource management and do much of the work related to livestock but they are forbidden from participating in clan meetings and collective decision making on local resource management. Consequently women and girls have limited influence on public affairs except by indirect means. They do not have a voice to air concerns or express their views, opinions, wishes and desires.

Economic roles among pastoralists

In most pastoralist societies customary rules tend to limit women’s inheritance rights - an important means of acquiring assets. Gender differentiation also exists during reciprocation, when men receive valuable animals (cattle and camels) and women predominantly obtain small ruminants. Women are not entitled to livestock inheritance from their parents or husbands or after divorce unless they have sons. Among the Maale in South Omo, when a man dies without having a son all his livestock are slaughtered one by one and eaten by his clan members then the crops on his farm are destroyed, leaving his wife and daughters destitute.

Women have limited access to external information; low levels of skills and education; time scarcity due to the burden of household chores and inappropriate technology. This means that women do not play a significant role as they should, in formal or informal business sectors. However, they do play a vital role in supporting their families.

HIV and AIDS

HIV and AIDS is a major public health and development problem in Ethiopia. As a result of geographic and socio-economic marginalization most pastoralists have a low level of understanding of HIV/AIDS; what it is, how it spreads and what to do if infected. There is inadequate information about the disease in pastoralist areas and many people are illiterate so they can not read posters warning them about its dangers. Many believe that the disease is a problem only in towns, but as a result of changing patterns in land use and livelihoods,
Pastoralists are increasingly affected by the pandemic. The Federal HIV/AIDS Prevention and Control Office (HAPCO) indicates that the national HIV prevalence is 7.7 percent in urban areas and 0.9 percent in rural areas (2007). As the two come ever closer, rural rates are expected to rise.

Most of the factors that contribute to the expansion of HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted infections (STIs) into the pastoralist world are linked to changes in land use. These factors, explored below, include the introduction of farms, road construction, the demobilization of soldiers, tourism and rural-urban interactions.

**Settlement and cultivation**

HIV/AIDS transmission cannot be directly attributed to settlement and sedentarization, but factors such as mechanization, opportunistic crop farming, and resettlement undoubtedly play a significant role in exacerbating the pandemic.

**Road construction**

The presence of labourers and temporary workers, living away from home, tends everywhere to increase the incidence of Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs). This has been observed in pastoralist areas across the world and in Ethiopia itself. Projects like roads, dams, and irrigation contribute to the prevalence of HIV/AIDS by bringing in many workers with diverse backgrounds. The completion of an all-weather road to the South Omo region in the early 1980s brought many people to the area from other parts of Ethiopia. Along with them came urbanization, liquor retailing, commercial sex and the spread of STIs, including HIV/AIDS.

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**Infected on first encounter**

“I have been working as a daily labourer on one of the road projects. I met my current husband there. We didn’t undergo HIV testing when we got married. But I can assure you that he was the first man I had sex with. After a year, he told me that he had divorced and that his ex-wife had died of prolonged illness. Finally, when I miscarried twice, I was tested for HIV/AIDS and found to be positive. This is true for many of my friends. Most of the members of our association, especially women, have sexual contact with construction workers. Our families complained to the construction companies who then moved the campsite. We were fed up of the mess with construction workers”.

*Woman member of PLWHA association, Jinka*
Currently, thousands of kilometres of roads have been constructed or are under construction in pastoralist areas. The construction firms employ thousands of workers.

**Tourism**

The conversion of rangelands into national parks has brought HIV/AIDS to South Omo by attracting tourists and accompanying crew. The combination of national parks and cultural diversity make pastoralist areas a favourite tourist destination. Although it is not easy to confirm, there are many reports that community members have sex with tourists and the local teams that travel with them. Communities in South Omo for example, associate condoms with tourists. It is estimated that more than 20,000 tourists visit the Omo Valley each year. There are reports of pastoralist women lured into sexual relationships with tourists in exchange for goods. In some pastoralist communities of South Omo, poverty is cited as a reason why locals engage in sexual relationships with visitors. Local officials in these areas work to raise the awareness of communities about HIV/AIDS and warn them not to engage in any kind of sexual relationship with tourists.
The influence of tourism in Jinka

“The influx of girls to this town is not just seasonal. Most of the local guides are pimps. There is good business throughout the year. Most of the women have worked in other towns and the smart ones do good business in the town. Some of them are not employed in bars or restaurants, but their physical and telephone addresses are known. Most tourists are interested in local women. You will find more Commercial Sex Workers (CSWs) in smaller towns like Dimeka. If there was no business, they would not have stayed in such places. You know, there was one tourist who came back after a year just to have a child from a local boy. She succeeded!”

Local tour guide, age 29, Jinka.

A greater problem than the tourists are the temporary workers who facilitate their visits. With the tourists come guards, cooks, translators and drivers from elsewhere who can be transmitters of HIV/AIDS. One tour manager disclosed that it is common to lose a driver, a guide or a crew-member each year.
Demobilization of soldiers

The defence forces are one of the highest risk groups for HIV/AIDS. The demobilization of soldiers that followed the demise of the derg regime and the end of the war with Eritrea was followed by the return of thousands of ex-soldiers to their homes, where they were given land by the government. Some studies indicated that there are instances in which soldiers who test positive for HIV are sent home and informed they were not physically fit for service without being told of their HIV status.

Ignorance and the spread of HIV/AIDS

“I am telling you about one of my early clients of ART (Anti-Retro Viral Therapy) who was a demobilized soldier. He has been outside the area for long period of time. Before he married he didn’t undergo VCT (Voluntary Counselling and Testing). He came with money, bought livestock and married other women. Now all of them are HIV positive”.

Health worker, Key Afer HC

Increasing rural-urban interaction

The increasing interaction between urban and rural settings is exposing pastoralists to new risks. Pastoralists have often used towns as an additional source of income – mostly by performing menial jobs. Now the expansion in pastoralist communities is forcing pastoralists to move to towns to look for jobs or seek famine relief. Young camel herders from some pastoralist areas trek long distances grazing their camels and visit towns to sell milk and buy commodities. When there, they sometimes have sex with commercial sex workers. Pastoralist youths also go to towns to attend school or pass time by chewing chat. More vulnerable in towns without their traditional support mechanism, their vulnerability to HIV/AIDS is significantly increased.
Challenges and the way forward

Conflict resolution recommendations

Where changes in land use and development programmes involve all stakeholders from the beginning, potential problems are more likely to be identified and resolved rather than left to spiral into violent conflict. Some projects will directly address the conflict. Others will need to be sensitive to the effect they could have on conflict, for example, well designed support and facilitation of supplementary livelihoods for pastoralist groups can help reduce both poverty and conflict. Badly designed assistance can exacerbate conflict. Specific recommendations are:

- **Conflict sensitivity:** All interventions, especially changes in land use, should be designed and implemented only once careful consideration has been given to their potential impact on conflict. Wide ranging consultations might be needed, for example, the inclusion of women and children in discussions about the establishments of enclosures can help prevent future conflict over the collection of firewood and grass, often the task of women and children.

- **Maximise mutual benefit:** Interventions should be based on maximising mutual benefit – especially in boundary areas. This might include establishing and facilitating common market centres where different people can meet in peace or the establishment of community based security within and between ethnic groups.

- **Compensation strategies:** Where people have already been negatively affected by changes in land use it is important to compensate them fairly for loss of lands – this might include financial compensation, establishing outgrowers schemes, partnership agreements (for example, sharing of national park revenues) or provision of services or trading opportunities. Whichever form of compensation is appropriate it needs to be well studied and planned and transparently implemented.

- **Conflict resolution mechanisms:** Traditional conflict management mechanisms should be strengthened. Where the involvement of state institutions is necessary, their conflict resolution strategies should complement not contradict the community based approaches.
Gender recommendations

The realization of gender equality and women’s empowerment in pastoralist areas remains a challenge and will take a combination of time and effort, from women and men to achieve. The following things should be encouraged: female ownership of economic resources, their right to property ownership; access to skill development and information; access to alternative means of income; fair resource and benefit sharing; inheritance rights; equal participation in leadership and decision-making; and, equal control over economic and natural resources. This will empower women to think and act freely, exercise choice, and fulfil their potential as full and equal members of their society. A catalyst for all these things is education.

Women and girls should be helped to access education, which is central to alleviating poverty. Their education is key to enhancing their social status for it improves their resource control and decision-making power at various levels in addition to promoting diversified livelihoods.

HIV and AIDS recommendations

The pastoralist communities, especially those conventionally known to be remote are no longer isolated and are not exceptional. HIV/AIDS and STIs are affecting these communities just as they do in all other parts of the country. Thus, health development practices, policies and strategies should recognize the importance of land tenure and its dynamics as an essential factor affecting health and wellbeing. Basic health and education such as the mobile health and education package should be more widely accessible and should incorporate HIV and AIDS issues.
About the contributors

Abiyot Tilahun Eshete
Expert NGOs Coordinating Expert,
South Omo Zone Finance and Economic
PO Box 43, Jinka, Ethiopia.
Tel: +251 912076073, 910462231
Email: abiyotma@yahoo.com

Abiyot holds an MA in Development Studies. His experience includes teaching, consultancy service coordinator, NGO coordinating expert and local development expert. He specializes in Rural Livelihood and Development.

Ahmed Alkadir Mohammed
Business Development Advisor/Consultant
Self Represented
PO Box 2372 Code 1250, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
Tel: +251 913102143, 116298211
Fax: +251 116297845
Email: alkadir91@hotmail.com

Ahmed holds M.A in Humanitarian Assistance. He has an experience/exposure of humanitarian Response, Disaster Risk Reduction, Advocacy, Rural, Pastoral and Urban livelihoods, M&Es and investment promotion, training, organizational chart, salary design, human, financial and logistics management, marketing and accounting, exhibition and trade fair organization.

Aika Bedane
PA-Justice and Security Head,
Pastoralist
Keyafer Weyto, Ethiopia.
Tel: +251 916057294

Aika is a 8th grader and is a representative of Tsemaco pastoral community. She is a pastoralist and community mobilize.

Aileen Ogolla
Regional Communication Manager,
International Institute of Rural Reconstruction, Africa Regional Center
PO Box 66873-00800, Nairobi, Kenya
Tel: + 254 722 230168, 20 444 2610
Fax: + 254 20444 8814
Email: aileen@iirr-africa.org
Url: www.iirr.org
Aileen holds an MA in communication. She has worked in various communication and public relations capacities. She is currently employed as a communications manager at IIRR.

**Alemmaya Mulugeta**  
Senior Researcher.  
Swiss Peace  
PO Box 8707, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.  
Tel: +251 911677842  
Email: allemmaya_mu2002@yahoo.com

Alemmaya Mulugeta holds a Ph.D in Social Anthropology from University of Basel. Her experience is mainly on pastoralism, conflict transformation, environment conflict. She also provides consultancy services in the area of institutions, qualitative methods applications and studies on lowlands in the Horn of Africa.

**Alemu Tessema Haile**  
Overall Project Coordinator  
Nutrition Plus Holistic Home Care  
PO Box 54313, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.  
Tel: +251 911679919/0112 794830  
Email: yonasof@yahoo.com

Alemu Tessema holds a BA and MA from Addis Ababa University in Business and Gender Studies respectively. His experience includes: teaching at high school and college, micro finance, NGO project coordinator, finance and administration, consultancy services on preparing and translating text books and training manuals, resource person in the international workshop organized by Women World Banking in establishing Micro finance network in Africa, resource person in training particularly on Gender and development issues. He conducts training on Microfinance and micro credit.

**Ali Abdela**  
Pastoralist in Afar Region  
Afar Region, Zone 2, Berchale Woreda, Afar  
Tel: +251 911 434299

Ali is a pastoralist residing in Afar Region Ethiopia. He is pastoralist and self employed.

**Ayele Gebre-Mariam**  
Program Manager,  
The Development Fund  
PO Box1779 Code 1110, Addis Ababa Ethiopia.  
Tel: +251 116477253/54,  
Fax: +251 116477260  
Email: dfprogram@ethionet.et
Ayele holds a ‘magister’ degree in social anthropology from the University of Bergen, Norway. His work experience includes research, planning, review, monitoring and evaluation of integrated rural development projects among crop farming, agro-pastoralist and pastoralist communities for ILRI, FAO, IGAD, UNDP, NORAD, NEI, WFP, RNE AA, International consulting firms and NGOs. He has written numerous working papers and articles in international publications on sociological and socio-economic aspects of livestock marketing, sustainable livelihoods, economic diversification, land tenure, conflict management and resolution particularly on pastoralist, agro-pastoralist and highland production systems. Ayele is a program manager for the Development Fund, Ethiopia Office.

**Bezunesh Seboka**  
Secretary/Cashier,  
IIRR  
P.O.Box 7931 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.  
Tel: +251 911186166, 11 3212864  
Email: bezuyesb@yahoo.com

**Daniel Temesgen**  
Policy Research and Advocacy Officer,  
Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia  
PO Box 364, Code 1250 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.  
Tel: +251 11 6628343/44  
Email: daniel_temesgen2002@yahoo.com  
Fax: +251 11 662 83 45

He holds a PhD in Agricultural Extension specialized in Entrepreneurship development. He has experience as university lecturer, researcher, and community development specialist in government and non-governmental organization for about 12 years.

**Dawit Seyum**  
Country Programme Development Coordinator,  
AMREF  
PO Box 20855 Code 1000, Addis Ababa Ethiopia.  
Tel: +251 911639458  
Email: dawitseyum@gmail.com/dawits@amref.org

Dawit is a Programme Development Coordinator in AMREF Ethiopia. He hold BA Degree in Sociology and Social Administration, MA in Development studies and Diploma from Addis Ababa University. he has a number of publications in health development, environment and natural resource management. His experience includes teaching, programme design and monitoring and evaluation of health programmes.
Dawit Tilahun
Artist
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
Tel: +251 911660005

Dawit is a freelance artist with an advance diploma in fine arts from Addis Ababa University. He illustrates for various international organizations and exhibits art in museums in Addis Ababa and Axum.

Dubale Admasu Tessema
Pastoralist and Livestock Programs Coordinator,
USAID
PO Box 1014, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
Tel: +251 911 991773,
Fax: +251 11 5510043
Email: dubalead@yahoo.com

Dubale holds MSc in International Natural Resources Development. His experience includes community development in mixed farming and pastoral production systems, project/program design, management and evaluation. Dubale specializes in Natural Resource Management in pastoral areas.

Ebisa Gashu Wako
Project Officer,
Action for Development Local NGO
PO Box c/o Yabello post office code 33/17, Yabello, Ethiopia
Tel: +251 910012910, 0464460655
Fax: +251 464460231
Email: afdboran@ethionet.et

Ebisa Gashu holds a BA in Community Development and Leadership. He has nine years’ experience working with NGOs. He works as focal person on the component of conflict management and good governance and conducts training for community and line department offices.

Fikre Zerfu Takele
Researcher on Range Management and Forage,
Somali Region Pastoral and Agro-pastoral Research Institute
PO Box 398, Jijiga, Ethiopia
Tel: +251 911955287/ 911935031 Off. +251 257753723
Fax: +251 7753122
Email: fikrak06@yahoo.com

Fikre has MSc in Environmental Science. His experience includes teaching and research at the Jijiga University and the Somali Region Pastoral and agro-Pastoral Research Institute (SORPARI).
Firew Kefyalew Mekonnen
Country Director (Ethiopia)
International Institute of Rural Reconstruction (IIRR)
PO Box 7931, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
Tel: +251 113272864
Fax: +251 113212994
Email: firew.kefyalew@iirr.com
Url: www.iirr.org

Firew holds an M.A in educational psychology and is also a certified organization development consultant. His experiences include teaching, organization development, staff development, and program development in different countries.

Fitsum Wubeshet Gebre-Michael
Artist
PO Box 101392, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
Tel: +251 913421193
Email: fitsumwubeshet@yahoo.com

Fitsum holds a diploma in fine arts. He is experienced in contemporary painting, illustrations and cartoon drawing. His work has been exhibited in various solo and group forums. He works as illustrator and cartoonist in local newspapers and magazines and in different books, posters and leaflets.

Getu Wolde
Natural Resources Administration and Utilization Expert,
South Omo Zone Agricultural Pastoral Main Department
PO Box 52 Jinka South Omo Zone, Jinka, Ethiopia.
Tel: +251 913259501, 0467750282 Res., 0467750936 Off.
Fax: +251 467750019
Email: get.wolde@yahoo.com

He holds BSc in forestry and natural resources. He has worked in different capacities including; forest development and conservation technician, community forestry and conservation expert among others, a cumulative experience of 25 years in government organization. He is currently working as a Natural Resources Administration and Utilization expert.

Gezahegn Yilma Dejenu
Chelp Administrator’s Public Relationship Counselor
South Omo Zone Malle Woreda Administration Office
Tel: +251 913309496,

Gezahegn born in Maale woreda, holds a teaching diploma from Arbaminch Teachers Training Institute in 1989. He is currently a councillor in Maale woreda.
Girma Amare
Early Warning Rapid Response and Food Security expert,
Ministry of Agriculture, South Omo
P.O Box 52 Jinka, Ethiopia
Tel: +251 467750181 Res./ +251 911009455, 0467750125 Off.
Fax: +251 44467750116

Girma holds BSc in Plant Science. He is a marketing, extension and crop production and protection expert. He has experience in disaster assessment and pastoralist development activities.

Haji Mussa Gurro
Pastoralist
PO Box 1014, Matahara, East Shoa, Hari Kersa Keble, Oromia Ethiopia
Tel: +251 911360380

Mussa is a pastoralist residing in Kereyu.

Hassen Mohamed Hassen
Chair Person,
Afar Pastoralist Council
Logia, Afar, Ethiopia
Tel: +251 913884558

Hassen is a pastoralist and chairperson of the Afar Region Pastoralist council. He has participated in several meetings locally and in neighbouring Kenya.

Honey Hassen Mohammed
Good Governance & Conflict Resolution Officer
Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia (PFE)
P.O.Box 364 Code 1256, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
Tel: +251 251 116628344, 116637956,911001442
Fax: +251 11 6628345
Email: honey@pfe-ethiopia.org, honey_hassen@yahoo.com

Honey holds a BSc in Agricultural Economics and is now studying for an MSc in Rural Development. Her experience includes project management with NGOs, Capacity Building and Strengthening Self help, and good-governance in pastoral and agro-pastoral development issues. She specializes in gender mainstreaming, gender planning and analysis, as well as in the preparation of gender guidelines.
Isaac Bekalo
President | Regional Director for Africa
International Institute of Rural Reconstruction
P O Box 6687-00800 Nairobi, Kenya
Tel +254 20 4440991, +254 20 4442610, Fax: +25420 4448184
Email: admin@iirr.org

Isaac holds a PhD in organization development and planning. His work experience includes teaching, curriculum design and organizational development. He has provided consultancy services on strategic planning, participatory monitoring and evaluation, project design and proposal writing. Isaac specializes in participatory development approaches and organizational development. Isaac is the President of IIRR and the Regional Director for Africa.

Kindie Gebeyehu Reta
Lecturer,
Jijiga University
PO Box 1020, Jijiga Ethiopia.
Tel: +251 12015224, +251 25 7754071
Fax: +251 257755976/47
Email: kindieg@yahoo.com

Kindie holds a MA in Geography and Environmental studies. He has worked as a teacher and as school Director. He has several leadership roles in Jijiga town.

Lilibeth T. Sulit - Villela
Publications Associate
Regional Center for Asia
International Institute of Rural Reconstruction
Y.C. James Yen, Center, Biga, Silang, Cavite 4118 Philippines
Tel: +63 46 414 3216
Email: lilibeth.sulit-villela@iirr.org

Lilibeth is the Publications Associate of IIRR’s Regional Center for Asia concentrating on desktop publishing and graphic design. She has a Bachelors Degree in Commerce, Major in Management from the University of Perpetual Help System – Laguna, Philippines.

Mebratu Kifle Belayneh
Networking and Partnership Building Officer,
Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia
PO Box 364, Code 1250 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
Tel: +251 11 6628343/44, 911391338
Fax: +251 11 6628345
Email: mebratu@pfe_ethiopia.org/hilimk@yahoo.com
Mebratu holds an MSc degree in Agriculture (Agricultural Economics). Has work experience in agricultural extension, in land use planning as socio-economist, in rural land administration for GO, and in coordinating field offices and in networking and partnership building for NGOs.

Mengistu Edo Koricha
Regional Education Advisor
IIRR
Nairobi, Kenya
Tel: +251 725-837227
Email: mengistu.koricha@iirr.org

Mengistu holds an MA in curriculum and instruction. His experience includes, teaching, curriculum development, educational planning, monitoring and Evaluation and Training. He provides service in education policy and strategy development, project management and action research. He specializes in Alternative Basic Education, teachers professional development and participatory planning.

Mengistu Woube
Executive Director,
Biodifood Association
PO Box 150431, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
Tel: +251 911225349

Mitiku Tiksa
MSC in Sustainable use of Dryland Biodiversity
Private Consultant an affiliate of SOS Sahel Ethiopia
PO Box SOS Sahel Ethiopia 3262, Addis Ababa Ethiopia.
Tel: +251 11 434761
Email: mititiksa@yahoo.com

Mitiku specialized in pastoralist natural resource management. He holds an MSc in Sustainable Use of Dryland Bio-Diversity. BSc in Biology and trainings in research resource governance and participatory approaches in development.

Muktar Abshir Osman
Senior Expert
LENRDB
Jijiga, Ethiopia
Tel: +251915744524,
Email: muktar.abshir@yahoo.com

Muktar has holds a BSc in agriculture. He has 10 years of experience including working in pastoral institutions.
Nur Abdi Mohammed
Executive Director
Pastoralist Welfare Organization
PO Box 21896/1000, Addis Ababa Ethiopia.
Tel: +251 116626407
Fax: +251 116639167
Email: pworg@ethionet.et, pastoralist_walfare@hotmail.com

Nur holds MA in Regional and Local Development studies. His experience includes working with the government, NGOs and pastoralist communities. He has rich experience in writing project proposals, participatory development approaches like PRA, PLA and CDD.

Nura Dida
Chairman,
Oromia Pastoralist Council
Tel: +251 911 81 43 29

Obbo Nura is one of the activists regarding the upholding of the Borana Pastoralists. He is a pastoralist and currently the chairperson for the Oromia Pastoralist Council.

Olkeba Botie
Land Administration and Use Performer,
OPADC
PO Box 20120, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
Tel: +251 911 56 69 56
Fax: +251 11 4672005

Olkeba holds an MSc in forestry. In recent years, he is working on pastoral area range land management, land administration and land use and natural resource programs in addition he is participating in different programs and issues related to pastoralism and pastoral community.

Paul Karaimu
Knowledge and Documentation Coordinator,
International Institute of Rural Reconstruction
PO Box 66873-00800, Nairobi Kenya.
Tel: +254 20 4442610, 4440991
Fax: +254 20 4448814
Email: admin@iirr-africa.org

Paul holds a BA in Communications and a certificate in Electronic publishing. He has experience in writing, editing and computer aided design. He has previously worked as an editor for a book publisher and as a writer/editor for a magazine in Kenya.
Seid Mohammed Ali
Research and Publication Officer,
Jijiga University
PO Box 1020, Jijiga, Ethiopia.
Tel: +251 911820806
Fax: +251 257755976/5947
Email: lagagula514@yahoo.com

He holds MSC in tropical ecology and management of natural resources. He has experience in academic and research institution. He also taught range ecology, range management and research method. Currently, he is serving as research and publication officer in Jijiga University. Besides, he is serving as a researcher in Somali regional pastoral and agro-pastoral research institute.

Seifu Lemma
South Omo Pastoralist field Vet
South Omo Zone Pastoral Agriculture Rural Development Department
PO Box 39, Jinka.
Tel: +251 467750125, 911055134, 467750214 Res.
Fax: +251 467750019
Email: seifulemma@yahoo.com

Seifu has a Doctorate in Veterinary Medicine. He works in the South Omo zone in pastoral department as field veterinarian. He has 17 years of working experience in pastoral community and has published research papers in different topics. He has participated in several international meetings.

Shirega Minuye Share
Researcher,
Professional Support for Research and Development Organization
PO Box 24369 Code 1000
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
Tel: +251 911 658102
Email: mshirega@yahoo.com

Shirega is an economist by profession. His experience includes research experiences for 14 years in government, non-government and private organizations. He provides training, consultancy services and advising business in social, agricultural, trade, gender and policy issues.

Simret Yemane
Executive Secretary, EPA
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
Tel: +251 911458826
Fax: +251 11 646 48 76
Email: simet12@yahoo.com
Simret holds Diploma in Office Management and she is now studying BA in Development Management.

**Solomon Desta**  
Regional Coordinator  
GL-CRSP PARIMA/USU  
PO Box 5689, Addis Ababa Ethiopia.  
Tel: +251 911 935508  
Fax: +251 11 6172001  
Email: s.desta@cgiar.org

Solomon holds PhD in Range Science and MSc in Agricultural Economics. He has an interest in Pastoral Research and Development. He has worked in pastoral areas in East Africa for three decades. He promotes participatory action research in participatory development to improve pastoral welfare. Solomon champions participatory research in development approach. He also specializes in managing risks in pastoral areas-doing research in marketing and livelihood, system trend and dynamic in pastoral area.

**Sora Adi**  
Advisor,  
Handhura Holding PLC  
PO Box 9877, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.  
Tel: +251 911640183  
Email: soraadi@ethionnet.et

Sora holds an MSc degree in Animal Sciences from New Mexico State University (USA). He has been working in different capacities with the Ministry of Agriculture as animal production and Range Management specialist for 32 years. He has conducted several consultancy works for UNICEF, FAO, ARDCO, Ethiopian Basin Studies. He was key in the establishment of the Meat Development Agency of the Country. He has promoted Dairying and Fattening projects. Later he became advisor and consultant for companies that deal with livestock enterprises. He now specializes in Pastoral Development activities. He established a local NGO called Gayo Pastoral Development Initiative for the Borana pastoralist and works as a freelance consultant.

**Tadesse Bekele Lutta**  
Researcher II,  
Ethiopian Institute of Agricultural Research  
PO Box 2003, EIAR, HRC Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.  
Tel: +251 11237030, +251 112370304  
Fax: +251 11 2370377  
Email: tadesselutta@yahoo.com

Tadesse holds MSc in Ruminant Nutrition. His experience includes research in Dairy and Animal science based at Holetta, Ethiopia. He plans, designs, executives and writes research projects in Animal Science and Dairy. He has authorized and co-authored different conference and journal articles in Dairy and Animal Science.
Pastoralism and Land: Land Tenure, Administration and Use in Pastoral Areas of Ethiopia

Taffese Mesfin Metekia
PFE-Board Member,
PFE/Freelance Consultant
PO Box 3356 code 1250, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
Tel: +251 911771792
Email: tafesse_m@yahoo.com

Tafesse holds BVSc/FRVC in veterinary pathology. His experience includes pastoral development, indigenous veterinary research and is a freelance consultant in pastoral development.

Teshome Estifanos
Land use/ Land Administration Specialist,
PO Box 6028, Addis Ababa.
Tel: +251 116261831

Teshome holds MSc in Resource Assessment for Development planning and BA degree in Geography. He has 32 years of an extensive experience in land Administration, land use planning and land Evaluation and EIA. He has attended a number of conferences in Europe, Asia and Africa. Currently, he is a freelance consultant on land use planning, land administration, land evaluation EIA and capacity building.

Tezera Getahun Tiruneh
Executive Director
Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia
PO Box 364, Code 1250, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
Tel: +251 116628343/44
Fax: +251 11 662 83 45
Email: tezerag@yahoo.co.uk/ tezera@pfe-ethiopia.org

Tezera holds MSc in Agriculture (Animal Production-Camel Husbandry and Production). His experiences in development works in NGO and GOs, advocacy and lobby on pastoralism, CSOs, and marginalized social groups. He has experience of project/program design, implementation and M&E. He is a social activist by training and involved in NGO leadership.

Wendessen Gulelat
Program Manager,
Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia
PO Box 364 Code 1250, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
Tel: +251 911861904
Fax: +251 11 6628345
Email: wendessengulelat@yahoo.com

Wendessen holds a BSc degree in Agricultural Economics and MSc degree in natural resource management. His experience includes development planning/management and Community Development specific to pastoral areas. He has more than 12 years of experience of working in Afar areas. He has also good experience of advocacy, capacity building and program coordination.
Yimer Mengesha
Senior Soil Expert
Oromia Water Works Design and Supervision Enterprise
PO Box 870/1250
Tel: +251 913177701
Fax: +251 115158206

He holds MSc in Soil science and Agri-chemistry. His vast experience includes soil survey activities and land use. He serves as a senior soil survey expert in Oromia special zone land use planning project.

Yohannes Gebremichael
Lecturer,
Addis Ababa University
PO Box 33569, Addis Ababa Ethiopia.
Tel: +251 911431815
Email: yohannesemichael@yahoo.com

Yohannes is an assistant professor in the Department of geography and environmental studies at Addis Ababa University. He has carried out extensive work on natural resource management and socio-economic issues in both in the highlands and pastoral areas. He is interested in natural resource management, indigenous knowledge, local innovation, endogenous development, food security and socio-cultural issues.

Yosef Feye
Senior Range and Livestock Expert
Water Works Design and Supervision Enterprise
PO Box 870/1250, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
Tel: +251 1911373308, 5158825
Fax: +251115158206
Email: rangeecology@yahoo.com

Has an MSC in Range Ecology & management. He participated in project formulation and implementation on small scale fresh water fish farming and poultry farming in collaboration with different non-governmental organizations while working with the Ministry of Agriculture. He has taught in institutions of higher learning. He is currently, working in Oromia water works design and supervision enterprise and involved in land suitability, evaluation and land use planning studies for pastoral and non-pastoral areas in Oromiya and Somali region.
Zerihun Lemma Damenu
Capacity Development Outreach Coordinator,
International Rural Reconstruction
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
Tel: +251 113212864, 911130300
Email: Zerihun.Lemma@iirr.com

Zerihun holds an MA degree in Curriculum and Instruction in 1992 from the Addis Ababa University. His experience includes producing training and education materials, facilitating workshops, workshops and trainings. He is skilled in proposal writings, project development and strategic plans preparation. He also has long experience in programs and projects management within the Government and NGOs sectors.
Resources

Resource Organizations

Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, Natural Resources Development Conservation and Utilization
P.O.Box 62347
Tel 251-115 507003
Fax 251-115 519965

Ethiopia Land Administration Program (ELAP)
Tel 251-(0) 11-550-2580, 251- (0) 11 550 1532
Fax 251 550 – 2742

Forum for Social Studies (FSS)
P. Box 25864 Code 1000
Fax +251 111 572979
Tel: +251 111 572990
Email: fss@ethionet.et

Institute of Development Studies, Addis Ababa University
P.O.Box, 1176
Tel +251 11 1 23 97 21
E-mail. mulufy@idr.aau.edu.et

Sustainable Land Use Forum
P.O. Box 11939
Tel+251115157656
Fax +251115159837
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