"Raising Voice - Securing a Livelihood"

The role of diverse voices in developing secure livelihoods in pastoralist areas of Ethiopia - A Summary Paper

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We are extremely grateful to the research team for the work they have done to bring to life the diversity and stature of pastoralist people's lives. Our particular thanks are due to the women and men of the three woredas who shared their understandings of their livelihood contexts and the changes that had happened to them. It is their descriptions that shape this study and it is for them that it is written. We have tried to be faithful in our representation of their views, but the interpretation is, of course, solely the authors' responsibility.

CONTENTS

The context

Voice - the capacity to speak, be heard and be connected – has long been recognised as a fundamental aspect of a secure livelihood (DFID 2009, Hobley 2004). This study focuses on the changing and diverse ways that pastoralists in Ethiopia use voice in efforts to develop secure livelihoods. While historically there had been little or no pastoralist representation within state structures, there has recently been a marked increase in levels of engagement between pastoralists and government. Decentralisation has created openings for diverse people to be involved in influencing decisions at a local level. New relationships, alliances and networks have provided opportunities for pastoralists to raise their voices and make claims for a more secure livelihood. Policies and programmes that once took scant account of pastoralist livelihood and mobility characteristics (Markakis 2004; Mussa 2004) may now be open to influence.

Precisely who is raising voice within these changing relationships, and with what effect, has hitherto been unclear. There is not much evidence as to whose voice is being heard and how these different voices are being responded to by leaders within the pastoralist community, or by the government and other development actors. In part this reflects the political and administrative context in Ethiopia. The political system is hierarchical, and public spaces in which citizens articulate opinions and make claims are tightly controlled. Debate and discussion is directed towards reaching a consensus on goals to be achieved (Vaughan and Tronvoll 2003). Understanding the ways that different people make claims and have influence, or how institutions and processes are responsive to social diversity, has not been a priority.

Policies and programmes in pastoralist areas have tended to assume a degree of homogeneity which does not exist in reality. Data on which interventions are based may be disaggregated by gender and location (region, urban/rural) but do little to illuminate the extent of diversity, connection and disconnection within and between pastoralist households and communities. Some recent attempts have been made to disaggregate information by poverty levels and livelihood patterns (see for example SCUK 2008; WIBD 2005a, 2005b), but it is increasingly acknowledged that government and non-government development agencies do not understand the diversity and dynamics of pastoralist communities (Little et al 2008, Desta et al 2008).

We report here the main observations emerging from an innovative study commissioned by DFID-Ethiopia to look more critically at voice, diversity and connection in Ethiopian pastoralism. The aim is to contribute to, and broaden, the current debate around whose voice is respected, heard and

Box 2: The Democracy Growth and Peace for Pastoralists Project

DFID's DGPP project ran between 2001 and 2009. The first three phases of the project were called the Pastoralist Communication Initiative and the fourth and final phase the Democracy, Growth and Peace for Pastoralists Project. It offered opportunities for pastoralists to meet, analyse, debate and negotiate with one another and with authorities. It contributed to efforts to generate new knowledge and organisation; change attitudes and understandings in and about pastoralist societies and develop cooperative initiatives with government and other bodies. The focus was on supporting understandings between different groups with a view to negotiating a better deal for pastoralists. The initiative differed from most other externally initiated development activities in that it focused on generating dialogue and developing accountable relationships of benefit to ordinary pastoralists. Building on the work of the project, the study team worked with and through the connections, networks, knowledge and trust gained over the seven years of the project's life to collect data and convene discussions around the role of voice in securing pastoralist livelihoods.

1. **Pastoralist livelihood security is characterised by "competence": the capacities, capabilities, voice and agency required to build up and manage assets; make demands, secure and give support, adapt to changing conditions and maintain well-being.**

2. **Voice is a key part of competence and livelihood security. Channels for voice that can generate respect, response and accountability from those in power are diverse: shaped by location, clan, gender, age and status.**

3. **Responsive systems for providing support and services, settling disputes and dispensing justice are at risk of becoming more discriminatory for poorer and marginal groups within pastoralist communities.**

4. **Pastoralist elites and the state are engaged in a long game of repositioning and transforming pastoralist-state engagement. Results so far suggest that opening up space for pastoralist-state engagement is both possible and essential if marginalised voices are to be heard and acted upon.**

5. **Issues of voice and equitable governance cannot be tackled through 'projectised' presence and inputs alone.**

acted upon; and how effective this is in protecting and strengthening livelihood security. "Raising Voice - Securing a Livelihood" is a qualitative and participatory exploration of what supports and what stops pastoralist men and women, including the poor, from speaking out and negotiating with their leaders, state officials and others in Ethiopia's arid lowlands. This brief report is a summary of a comprehensive research paper which will be published in the autumn of 2009 by the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, UK.

The research looked at three woredas (districts) which between them capture a diversity of pastoralist livelihood patterns, natural environments and external intervention packages. These were Dillo, a new woreda in Borana Zone, Oromia National Regional State, where services and infrastructure are making their mark on an exclusively pastoralist area; Gawane, an older woreda lying along the River Awash in Afar National Regional State, one of the traditional administrative areas of the Afar affected by investments in cotton farming and difficulties of a long-running conflict; and Sabba Boru, a new and remote woreda in Guji Zone, Oromia National Regional State, where services are extremely few and the livelihood is a mix of pastoralism and agro-pastoralism. In each woreda the study team met people in remote hamlets and encampments and in kebele centres both near and far from the woreda centre. The analysis consolidates what we learned in these three woredas without attempting to make specific statements about each one.

The study makes a contribution to the active process that Ethiopia's pastoralists have been pursuing for more than a decade: securing livelihoods through dialogue. The point is to explore with, and through, the voices of pastoralists themselves who the powerful and powerless are, and how they engage with each other and the state in shaping livelihood security. The findings from this study are inevitably preliminary. However, they point to a need for more nuanced engagement in Ethiopia's pastoralist areas with voice, social diversity and the connections between people. This brief report describes the five major findings:

Box 1: Voice and response - what do we mean in the pastoralist context?

Voice is shorthand for the dialogue, communication and negotiation within which people engage with one another. Those who have voice negotiate a range of different matters for the benefit of themselves and their communities. People with voice are able to come to understandings with others about what needs to be done and how. They influence how issues, such as 'pastoralism' or 'economic growth', are understood and acted upon. They make successful claims for benefits, goods and services. They influence ways in which people are treated, levels and types of investment, design and delivery of projects, details of policies, accountability of leaders, and the definition and implementation of law. Individuals speaking out on matters of public concern express ideas that may have widespread or deep rooted currency. People of all social groups, including the poorest and most marginal, can have voice; they can be listened to and feel their views are being satisfactorily represented by, or acted upon, by others.

Response refers to ways in which people and institutions recognise, engage with and act upon claims raised, including by the poorest and least powerful people. Processes and channels of response are more or less systematic and predictable and they reflect, and are highly dependent on, ever changing webs of relations, all of which are continuously negotiated. Response is differentiated and depends on the relationships between those asking for response and those responding. Response can be used as a mechanism for control or punishment where its use or non-use can lead, for example in the case of public resources, to their provision, withdrawal or non-provision.

Study
Finding 1: <u>Competence</u>

Pastoralist livelihood security is characterised by "competence": the capacities, capabilities, voice and agency required to build up and manage assets, make demands, secure and give support, adapt to changing conditions and maintain well-being.

M en and women across different social groups and all the study sites relate livelihood security to having the skills and capacities necessary to manage a herd and live as a pastoralist. Used to living in dryland environments, pastoralists have systems, networks and institutions which enable the majority to function effectively in a highly unpredictable environment. For a secure pastoralist livelihood, the size of the asset base – the herd size and access to grazing and water – is only a part of the story. Agency is also crucial. It is a person's ability to make informed and resolute choices and feel confident in his or her actions. Agency is created and recreated through the accumulation of knowledge, skills, a network of reciprocal relationships, (relatives, trading partners, officials and neighbours) and the raising of voice – having the power to actively connect with and engage in those networks. The more a
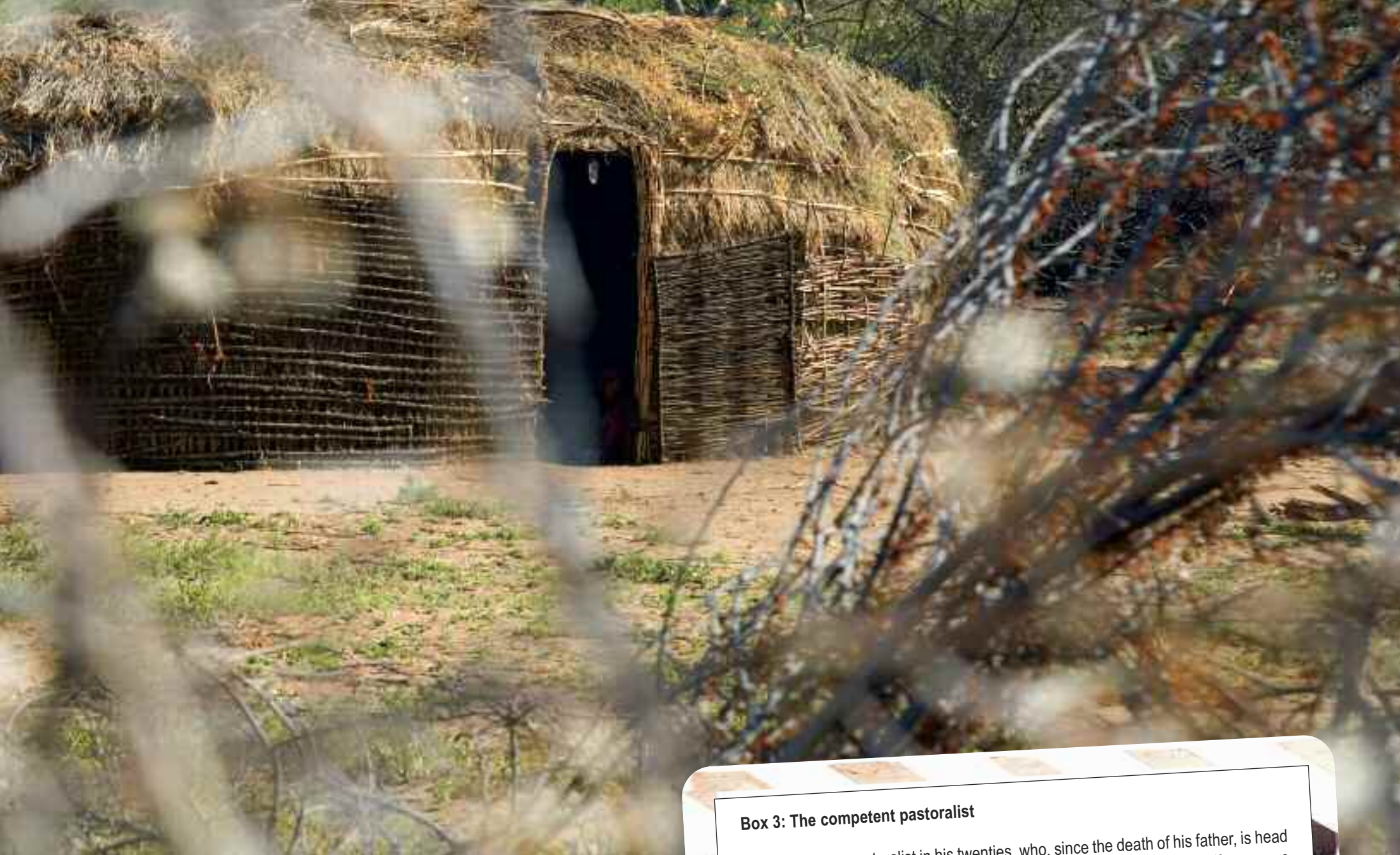
person can demonstrate these characteristics the more he or she is acknowledged as a functional or competent pastoralist.

Competence is a dynamic concept and one which fits with pastoralists' own perception of being able to manage risk and do well. It highlights the high degree of heterogeneity and diversity between social groups. Individuals are not characterised as simply competent or non-competent. Distinctions are made because of behaviour, because of age and because of environmental and other conditions. It is useful to think of competence as being like a state of health which individuals, households and whole clans have, nurture and sometimes lose. It involves a set of interrelated capacities: talent, skill, physical capacity, material assets, environmental conditions, moral and social behaviour, relationships and kin, persistence and courage. Determining the extent of competence are conditions within a household – the age and gender of the members, the number of dependents, health and education status – and influences from outside – rain, clan networks and the actions of government and other agencies.

Box 3: The competent pastoralist

Molu is a young pastoralist in his twenties, who, since the death of his father, is head of the family of six; his mother was the second wife. He has yet to marry. Fifteen years ago, because of a prolonged drought, his family lost its wealth - all but two cows of their livestock died and their other assets were used up. The consequences were devastating. As first-born he should have been ritually named and invested into the clan at a special feast. Too poor to do so, the family moved to the edge of the nearest town. They worked as day labourers and sold the two cows in order to buy a donkey cart. His father asked for help from the clan and they were helped to build a house by an elder who provided water, poles and other things. The family became farmers and bought six cows. As first-born he was sent to school and remained there until class 6. After a few years and with more clan support they bought some goats and sheep. Last year, after the opening of the new woreda at Dillo, they moved back to their old homeland. Today, Molu and his family have 16 cows and a total of 23 goats and sheep. They live on the milk and also on cereals from the farm. The young children are all at school and his brother has started to work in the woreda office. While the herd is still small it is growing by the year. Molu also buys and sells salt and is involved in salt mining. He takes his family responsibilities seriously and this year sold two bulls in order to pay for medicine for his sick sister. Molu is optimistic for the future. He is committed to a pastoralist way of life and embedded within the clan, having built back the herd and the family livelihood from nothing with their support.

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Box 4: Losing competence and declining into chronic poverty

Bona, a Guji, lives in a remote hamlet in Sabba Boru with his wife and children. He has little to support his family. The high level of poverty in the woreda means that clan support is almost non-existent. The woreda is a very new one and services have yet to be fully established. "We are selling our animals to purchase grain. In the past we used to grow our own maize to supplement our livestock production during times of stress. Due to the rain shortage we can't grow maize. I got ten animals from my parents years ago to establish my own family. Now I am left with only two animals. Two animals can't be an asset for the family."

We suggest here a simplified typology of four dynamic categories through which households and individuals move at different times. Table 1 summarises the distinguishing characteristics of each of these categories.

The data suggests a number of interesting issues. **First**, the unpredictability of the ecosystem exposes all social groups to loss. In such high risk environments, there are expectations of large fluctuations of wealth for

any household (Devereux, 2006). It is competence that safeguards people against destitution. As Figure 1 indicates, the notion of competence cannot be directly correlated to wealth or poverty. Losing material competence does not necessarily lead directly to poverty and then to destitution, because elements of competence remain and others can be rebuilt. But a decline in agency indicates contracting relationships and increasing disengagement from the networks of power and influence which help to overcome poverty. Life events matter: when livestock are raided on large scale, for example, or when a severe drought happens across all the lowlands, the event can lead to many households losing all their assets overnight and rebuilding taking a long time. Insidious processes also matter: when the rangeland is no longer managed to maximise pasture, when a husband takes to *chaat* or alcohol, when a long running conflict closes off water sources and grazing, households become increasingly stressed.

It is in these situations that competence is a strong indicator of resilience. The more competent a pastoralist, the more likely it is that he or she can maintain livelihood security.

Table 1: Competence and poverty dynamics in pastoralist communities

Pastoral Competence	Poverty status	Characteristics
High Competence	Thriving	Agency: strong networks, high levels of visibility in clan and government arenas at all levels, respected for speaking well, good access to information, connections to rural and urban arenas, considered to have wisdom. Assets: • Natural: herd size viable with enough for surplus production, diverse livestock holding. • Financial: highly diverse income sources, member of saving groups, access to paid employment in urban and rural areas, remittances, mobile and active in pastoralist system. • Human: good health, educated; children in school (boys and increasingly girls). Resilience levels: living in and with an unpredictable environment (drought, bush encroachment, reduced rangelands and weak markets) but with high levels of skill, clan support, family networks, savings and livelihood alternatives, supports clan members through social transfers, advice and advocacy. Life-cycle stage: older male in leadership position, young married male with small family, married woman with some education in stable relationship with small number of dependents, young educated man.
Functional competence	Managing Above and just below poverty line	Agency: respected within the clan system, but not necessarily in elder or leadership position, some or all members of family mobile, engages with government at kebele and woreda but limited power to secure meaningful response from government officials and service deliverers; a degree of self organisation in groups, working within the pastoralist system. Skilled, knowledgeable and supported. Assets: • Natural: limited number of livestock at level of viability, can sell milk, but stock vulnerable to depletion. • Financial: some access to paid employment, limited remittance income, member of savings groups and/or NGO projects. • Human: skilled and knowledgeable within pastoralist system, increasing access to healthcare and formal education for some members of immediate family (usually boys). • Resilience levels: as with high competence though facing multiple vulnerabilities, having some assets (savings, family and clan networks, food aid support etc.). Life-cycle stage: productive age for both men and women (16 – 40) with growing number of dependents (elderly, children and others).
Stressed Competence	Declining Poor	Agency: limited, constrained networks with limited mobility and visibility in clan and government arenas. Assets: • Natural: limited number of livestock, just at level of viability, highly vulnerable to depletion. • Financial: no access to paid employment, no remittance income, not member of savings groups. • Human: poor health, nutritional status poor, low educational status. Resilience levels: as with high competence, but facing enduring, often intergenerational multiple vulnerabilities with little (savings, limited social networks, livelihood alternatives etc.). Life-cycle stage: widowed/divorced, high number of dependents, elderly with limited family support.
Non Competence	Destitute	Agency: no agency for social action, no family networks or connections into clan system. Assets: no livestock assets, health tends to be compromised, highly food insecure, no access to income, children not at school. Resilience levels: multiple inter-generational vulnerabilities. Very high levels of social and political vulnerability. Life-cycle stage: elderly divorced or widowed.

Competence sustains a livelihood during the good times and creates resilience during the bad times. It is a key factor in receiving livestock transfers and other forms of collective support from the clan. This support signals the existence of capabilities which allow a household or individual to address and reduce the vulnerabilities they face, on their own terms.
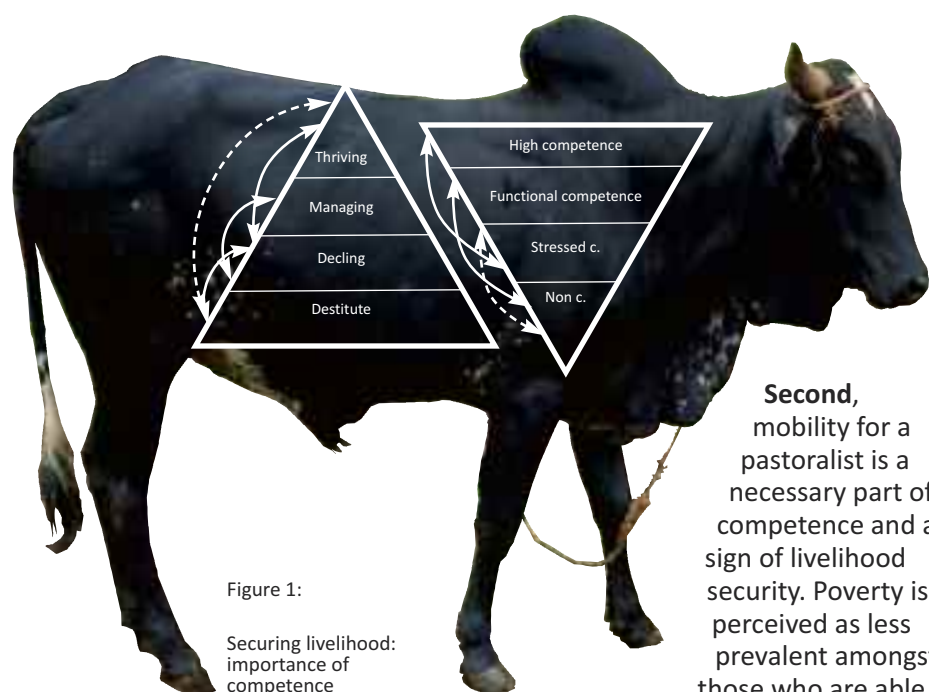

Figure 1:

Securing livelihood: importance of competence

Second, mobility for a pastoralist is a necessary part of competence and a sign of livelihood security. Poverty is perceived as less prevalent amongst those who are able to be physically remote from woreda or urban centres because it demonstrates that the house-hold has the capacities to increase herd size, live off animal products and practice mobile pastoralism. Poverty and livelihood insecurity is most likely for those living a more sedentary lifestyle on the edges of urban/peri urban areas with few connections to the pastoralist system. These people can no longer function as pastoralists and have in effect become non-competent. For the majority this is not viewed as a matter of choice, but as a painful exit.

" If Allah improves the situation, we would like to go back to our animals but the way life is going there is no improvement, therefore we'll farm to survive." Old Afar woman

While this finding would appear to contradict mainstream understanding of livelihood security, which equates settlement and urbanisation with improved livelihood security (see for example MOFED 2006), it strongly echoes data from recent qualitative and quantitative research (Devereux 2006, Desta et al. 2008, Little et al. 2008). These studies point to a nuanced model of livelihood security that associates mobile pastoralism with greater wealth, better nutrition and less vulnerability.
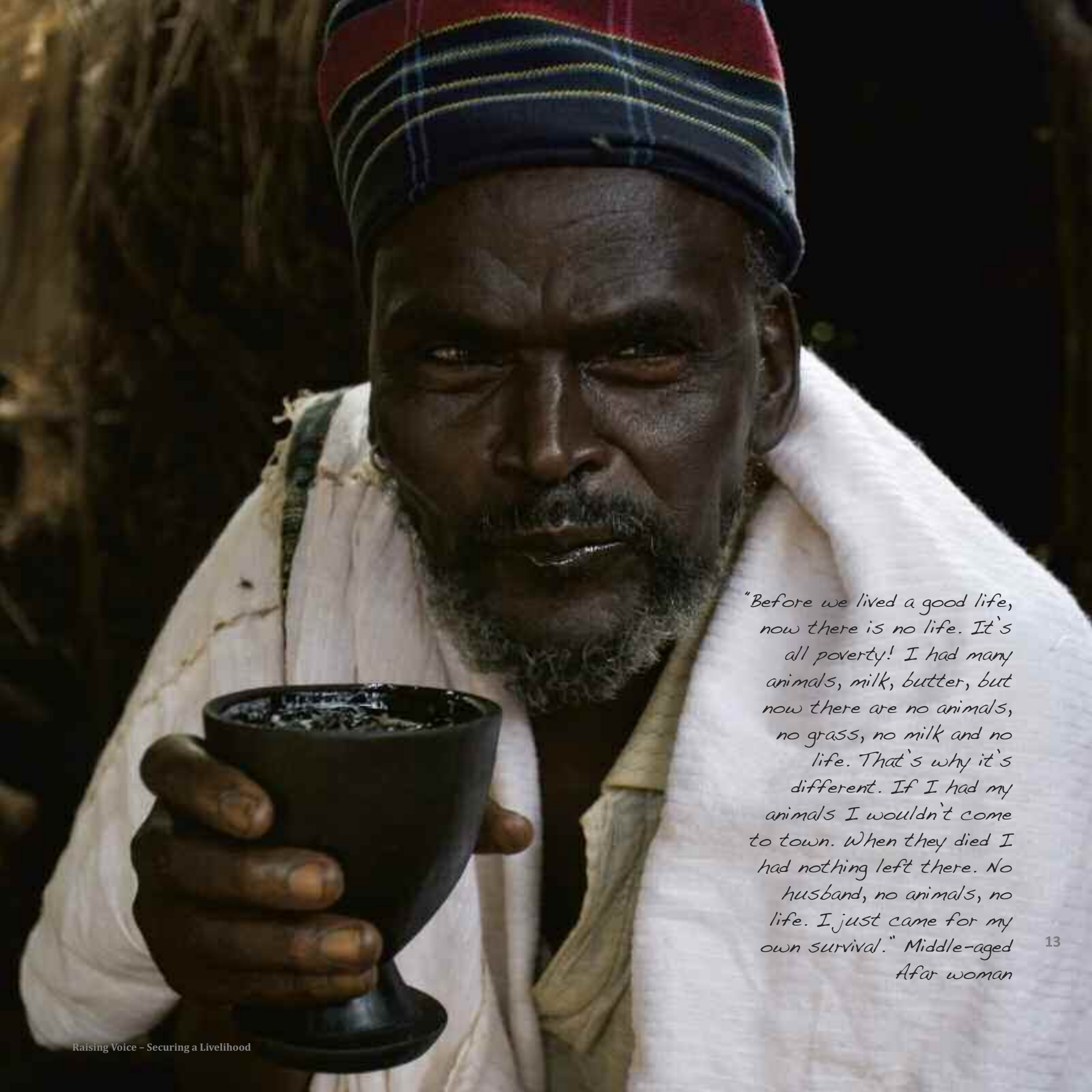
Third, competence entails not only good management, but also knowing how to behave as a pastoralist. To understand, respect and follow the social norms is perceived as integral to competence. In other words competence is about much more than having the technical capabilities to maintain and sustain a production system. It is also about maintaining social cohesion and identity. There are rights and benefits to be gained through clan membership – welfare support, shared investment, legal protection, collective rangeland management and access to water – and these are closely linked to conforming to strict rules and a hierarchy of responsibilities. The impacts of behaving without respect for customs and values or ignoring the wisdom of others are extensive. The buffer of clan support in the event of a livelihood shock is withdrawn; serious infractions are punished and in extremes can lead to expulsion from the clan.

Table 2: The study sites - livelihood trends and concerns

	Livelihood system	Livelihood concerns
Dillo (Borana)	Pastoralism, salt mining and trade.	Borana pastoralists report reduction of palatable grazing and reduced production caused by decline in rainfall and increasing cover of woody acacia species. Access to pasture is also restricted by conflict across the Kenya border. The new woreda status is increasing engagement with the state, improving access to education, health, water and roads, while reducing the freedom of pastoralists to make their own range management decisions on a scale required to deal with bush encroachment. People talk of the exit of youth from pastoral systems, school drop-outs and increased reliance by the poor on safety nets and food aid.
Gawane (Afar)	Pastoralism, agro-pastoralism, investor farming and trade.	Afar pastoralists report curtailment of rangelands due to appro-priation and privatisation of riverside land, severe encroach-ment of *Prosopis*, changes in the course of the Awash river and conflict with the neighbouring Somali Issa. Younger people are taking up riverside farming in growing numbers. Parents are in-creasingly interested in education for boys and girls. Many note rising disaffection between elders and young people, loss of au-thority of clan leaders and internal conflicts over privatised land.
Sabba Boru (Guji)	Agro-pastoralism, pas-toralism, bee-keeping and mining (gold, dolomite, minerals)	Guji agro-pastoralists report drying of wells, decline in rainfall, and crop failure. They are concerned at individualisation of dry season pastures which is blocking access routes to water and grazing. New schools and clinics are planned. Roads are very poor, distances to water in the dry season are as much as 50km. Elders note how new evangelical churches are affecting customary institutions and authority of elders. Women talk of increased social discord. They also note the negative effects of mining, including pollution and effects on youth behaviour.

"Before we lived a good life, now there is no life. It's all poverty! I had many animals, milk, butter, but now there are no animals, no grass, no milk and no life. That's why it's different. If I had my animals I wouldn't come to town. When they died I had nothing left there. No husband, no animals, no life. I just came for my own survival." Middle-aged Afar woman

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"Busaa gonofaa is a traditional system. It provides simple help to those who have lost their animals. First the cause of animal loss is considered – conflict, bushfire, alcohol. Neighbours help by giving milking cows, milk, meat. In exchange the children of that family who are being helped will help the neighbours with their animals. If someone loses his animals as a result of alcohol and other bad things – all his children, his wife, his close relatives and other important members of the community will be called upon and the head of the family will not be allowed to sell animals, this power will be transferred to one of his close relatives who is trustworthy, so that person will manage and supervise the family." Young Borana men

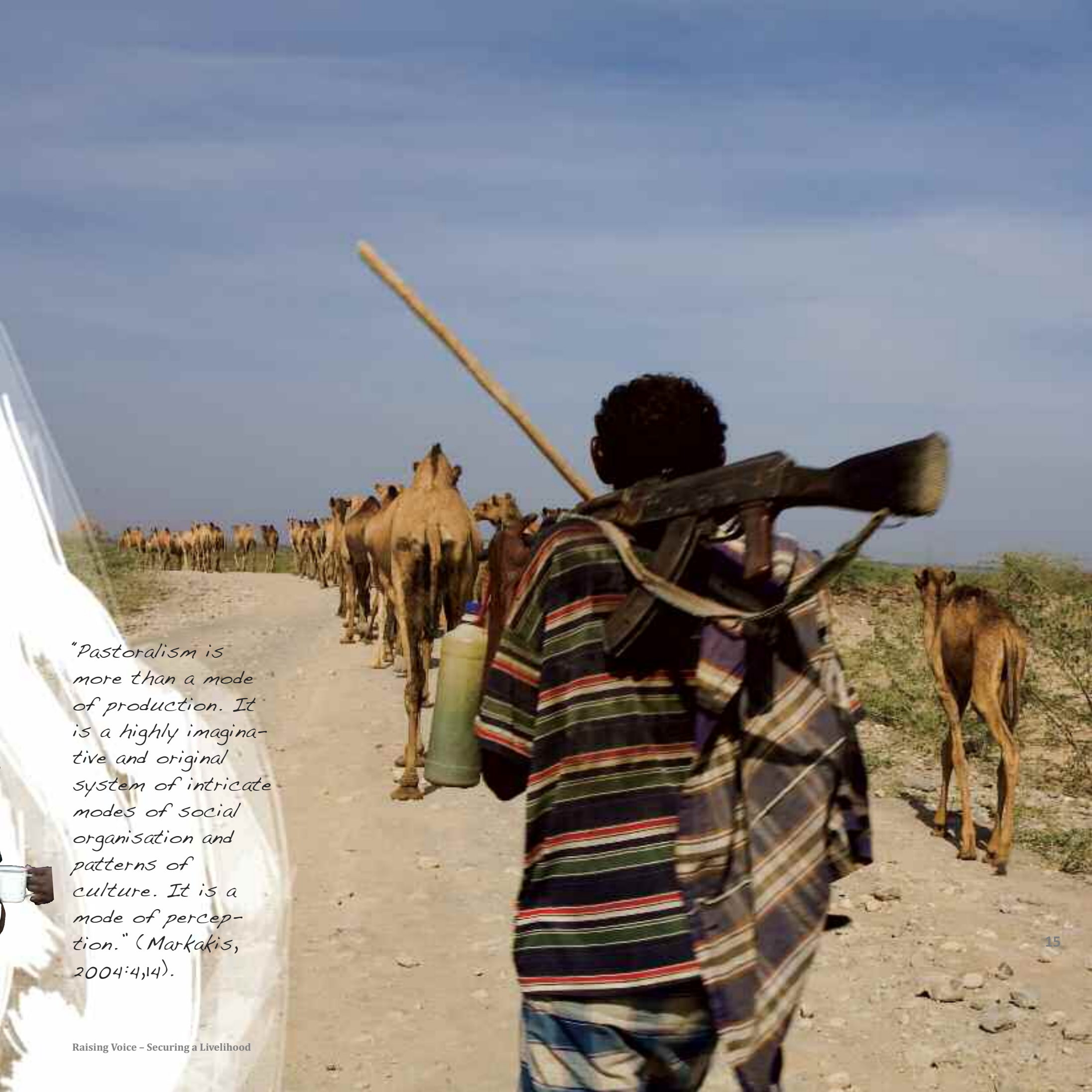### Box 5: Rejecting social norms and undermining competence

Adelo is a trader. He has livestock and wealth. During his travels for trading purposes he has learned how to chew *chaat* and drink alcohol and he started to sell all his animals. His close family advised him to stop this behaviour, to which he replied: 'they are my animals, children, family and wealth - how you can stop me?' They said: "The animals belong to the clan, and if you don't behave effectively you have to leave." So for two years he tried to sell his animals in secret. Throughout all Borana a message was spread saying that Adelo is a wealth destroyer so whenever he goes to market do not accept to buy his animals. He can return to his family when he has decided he has had enough of his bad behaviour and is willing to change. He has the right to drink the milk of his animals and whatever is prepared in his house but he doesn't have the power or right to sell his animals.

Overall, it appears that competence is under stress across Ethiopia's pastoralist areas. Although still in the majority, those who are living at levels of high and functional competence are perceived to be relatively fewer and this is seen to be one of the most significant changes of the last ten to fifteen years. An apparently growing number of households and individuals have lost sufficient competence to bounce back from drought-induced shock, and withstand pressures such as blocked mobility, policies and services promoting settlement, and increasing privatisation and annexation of the land.

Decline in individual competence is having an effect on clan competence. Livestock per household is said to be decreasing – at least according to those who are themselves under stress. Labour for pastoralist production is restricted as herds become smaller and growing numbers of young people spend time in education. Families without livestock come to live on the edge of town, unable to either reconnect back into pastoralism or pass on the skills and behaviours which would enable their children to do so. This in turn is undermining clans' collective capability to maintain the integrity of their systems (Table 2).

"Pastoralism is more than a mode of production. It is a highly imaginative and original system of intricate modes of social organisation and patterns of culture. It is a mode of perception." (Markakis, 2004:4,14).

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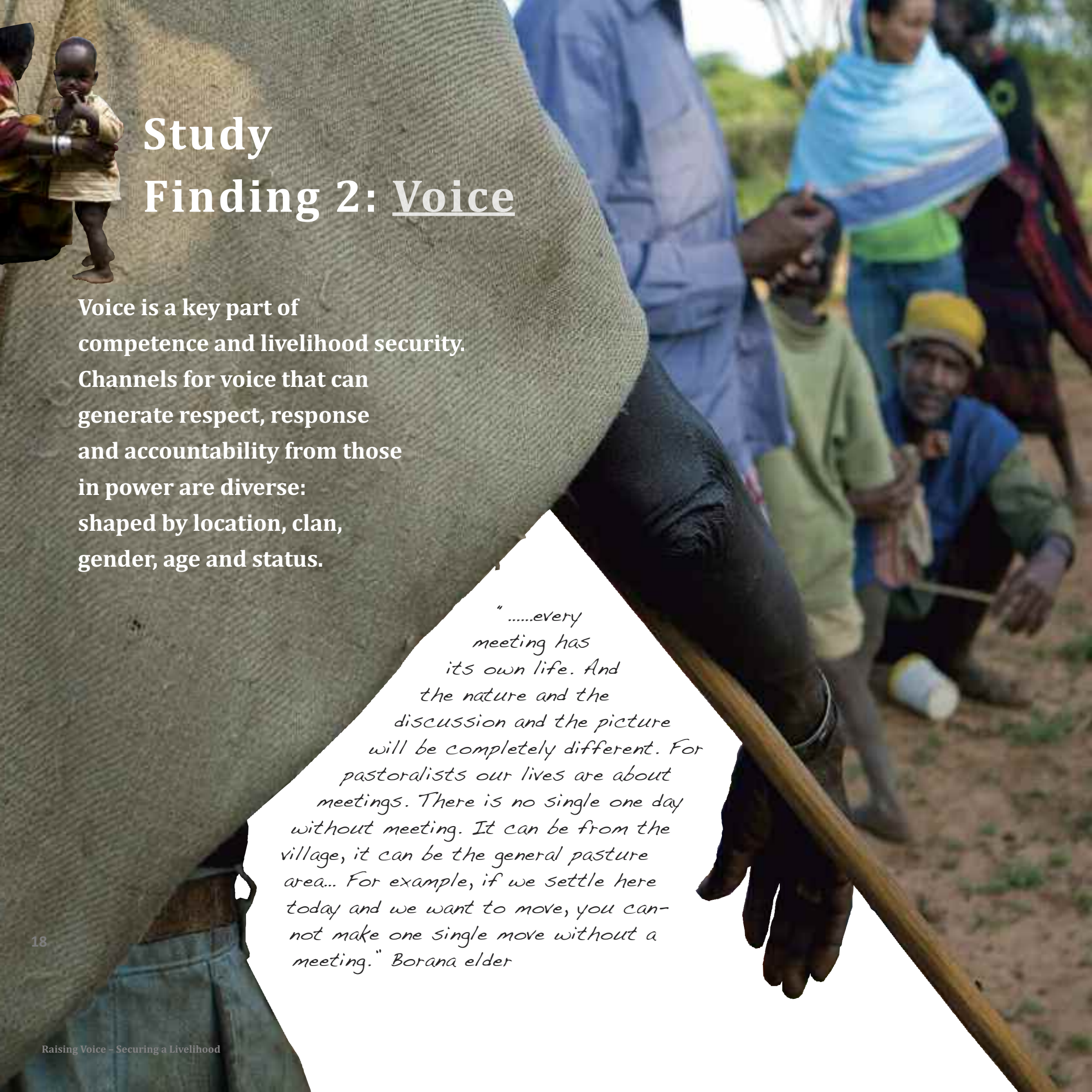
Study
Finding 2: Voice

**Voice is a key part of
competence and livelihood security.
Channels for voice that can
generate respect, response
and accountability from those
in power are diverse:
shaped by location, clan,
gender, age and status.**

" ......every
meeting has
its own life. And
the nature and the
discussion and the picture
will be completely different. For
pastoralists our lives are about
meetings. There is no single one day
without meeting. It can be from the
village, it can be the general pasture
area... For example, if we settle here
today and we want to move, you can-
not make one single move without a
meeting." Borana elder

F or pastoralists, raising voice is the process through which individuals and households produce and reproduce supportive connections and opportunities for securing a living. It is an expression of pastoralist social identity. Any decline in levels of competence is directly correlated to inability to raise voice. What triggers declining competence and fuels political and social vulnerability is a person's inability to fulfil his or her expected role in pastoralist society.

Box 6: Women raising voice: building competence through the clan and state

Godana is a married woman living with her husband and four children in a village close to kebele and woreda centres. She and her family own sheep and goats and are using the profit from milk sales to buy more animals. She is in her early 30s and well respected by her neighbours and the clan elders. Her three eldest children go to primary school and she also has been having basic education. Godana has been active in setting up a saving scheme with other women in her hamlet. Godana is optimistic that the government will match their savings with a loan although this has yet to happen despite their persistence in asking for support.

Godana is strongly supportive of her pastoralist system and trusts the clan elders to respond to her demands when she needs help. She is less hopeful of government but nevertheless is not afraid to speak out. She led her savings group in complaining to the woreda about the way the local health worker treated them. The health worker was removed but they are still waiting for a replacement.

It is more than expressing opinions and de-
manding actions from people in power.
It is a continuous and visible process of social
and political engagement at all levels – in the
household, the clan, the wider community,
and with government and other actors at
local, regional and national levels. In effect,
voice is an expression of agency and reliance
on communication in the broadest sense.

For pastoralist men being 'out there' and networking – in the
rangelands, under the meeting shade, in the market, in town – is part of
their social role as a pastoralist; if this capability is lost then part of their
identity is also lost. For most pastoralist women being in continuous
communication with family, neighbours and community and being out
there on a more localised but no less important scale is a vital part of their
contribution to and support from society. Although the importance of
diverse relationships is critical in most cultures, for pastoralists, continued
viability depends on mobility and visibility: literally on the ability to be

seen to 'walk-the-talk'. Highland agrarian society, historically more static than pastoralist society, does not have the same dynamic, mobile and to a large extent borderless sets of relationships.

Having effective voice requires mobility, particularly for men: to be seen sharing information, to be visible at important resource points (wells, grazing areas) and to be present when decisions are discussed and made. This movement creates a complex web of relationships that connect the individual and his family and lineage to the rural and urban contexts, to markets and to the state.

How communication channels for voice and response operate varies within and between ethnic groups, from the Guji and Borana with highly structured social units for organisation, to the Afar with a strong territorial base. However, in all cases the value of information is high and shared without discrimination. For the Afar, the *dagu* system obliges each person to pass new information to another. For the Borana and Guji there are similar requirements. Judgements of the competence of a person rely on an assessment of the quality of the information she or he provides; someone found to be telling lies will lose the trust of others and lose social status (WIBD 2005).
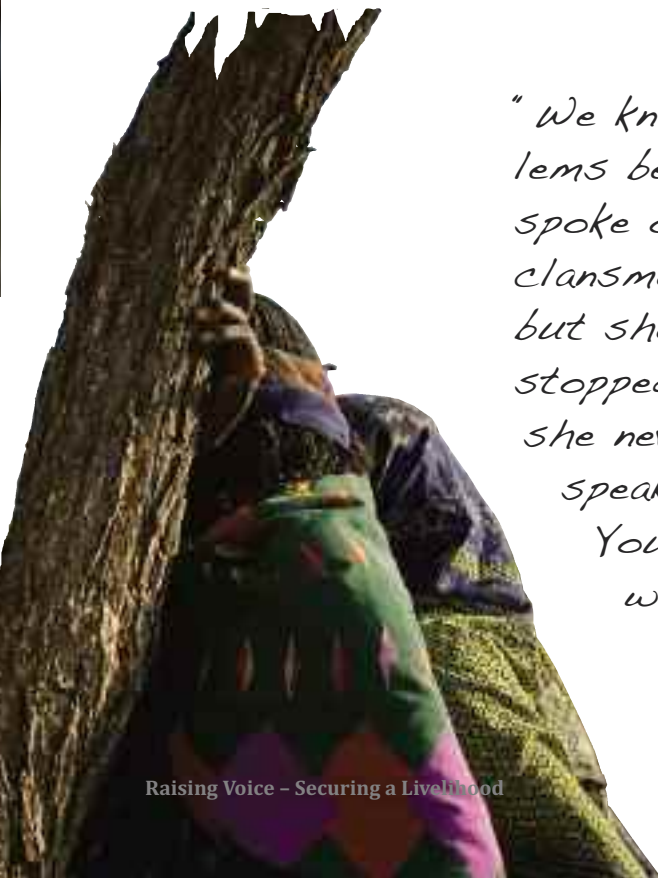
As with elsewhere in Ethiopia, the dynamics of wealth, gender and age shape and influence people's capacity to raise voice. However findings from the study suggest that these in themselves are not sufficient to capture the specific nature of socially differentiated voice in pastoralist communities. Intra-household relationships appear to influence the opportunities and channels that women have to raise voice, for instance. This is not just because of status (first wife, second wife, daughter and mother-in-law), but also relates to numbers of adults in the house, marital relationships and courage to speak – a courage which is encouraged and developed from within the household. Woman, like men, are admired and respected for their willingness to risk public speech and make a

useful contribution to understanding and decisions.

Over the last 15 years there have been some small steps in including women formally within the customary institutions of pastoralism such as the *gadaa* of the Guji and Borana. However, physical inclusion does not automatically lead to transformations in the way decisions are made (greater equity for women) or how they are made (greater attention to gendered issues). The barriers against women having a public and equitable role in discussions are much greater than for men.

" We know her problems because she spoke out. Her clansmen helped her but she never stopped fighting, she never stopped speaking."
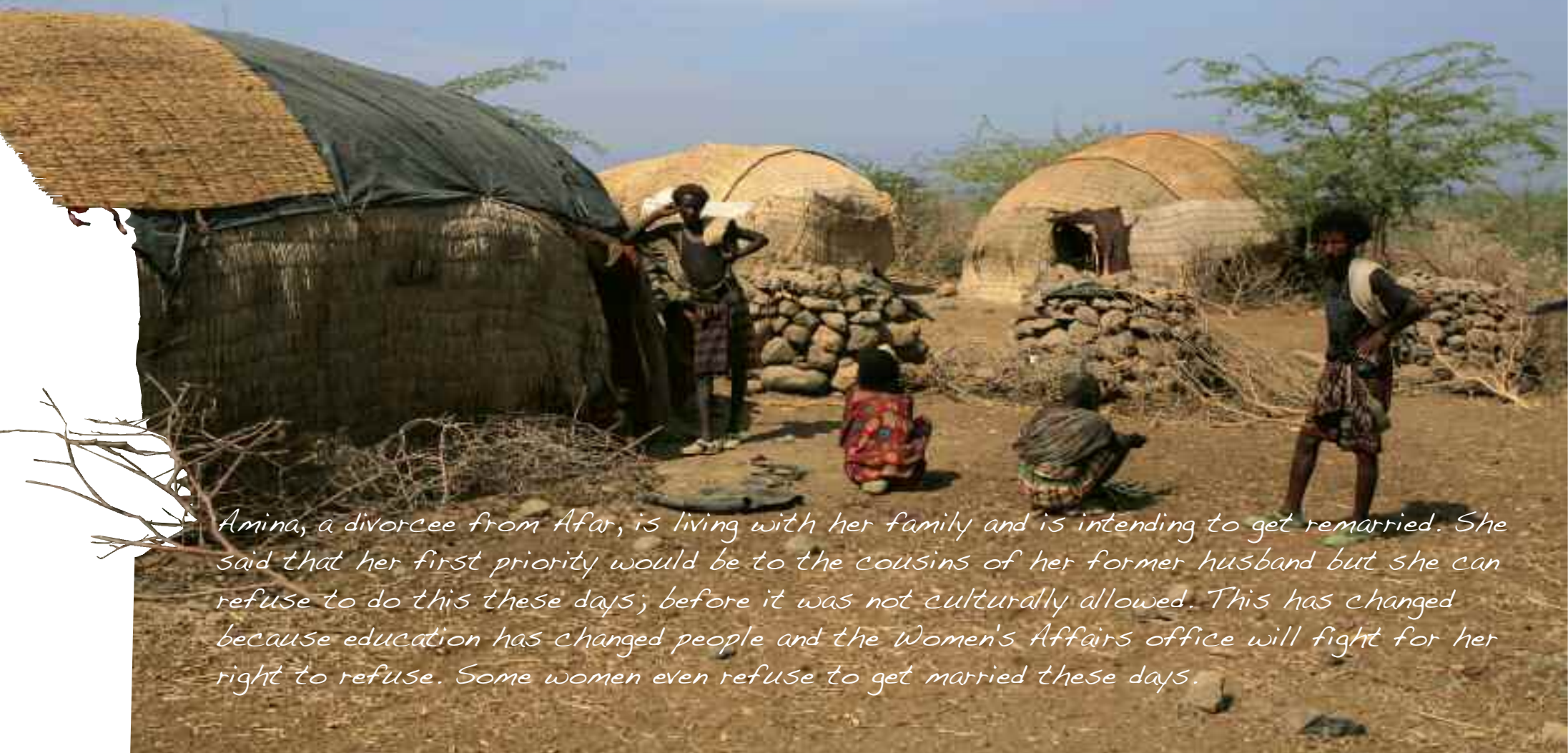Young Borana women

"You are stronger when you have a husband. You are two voices but if you are alone yours is one voice. With a husband you are respected and listened to." Afar woman

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Amina, a divorcee from Afar, is living with her family and is intending to get remarried. She said that her first priority would be to the cousins of her former husband but she can refuse to do this these days; before it was not culturally allowed. This has changed because education has changed people and the Women's Affairs office will fight for her right to refuse. Some women even refuse to get married these days.
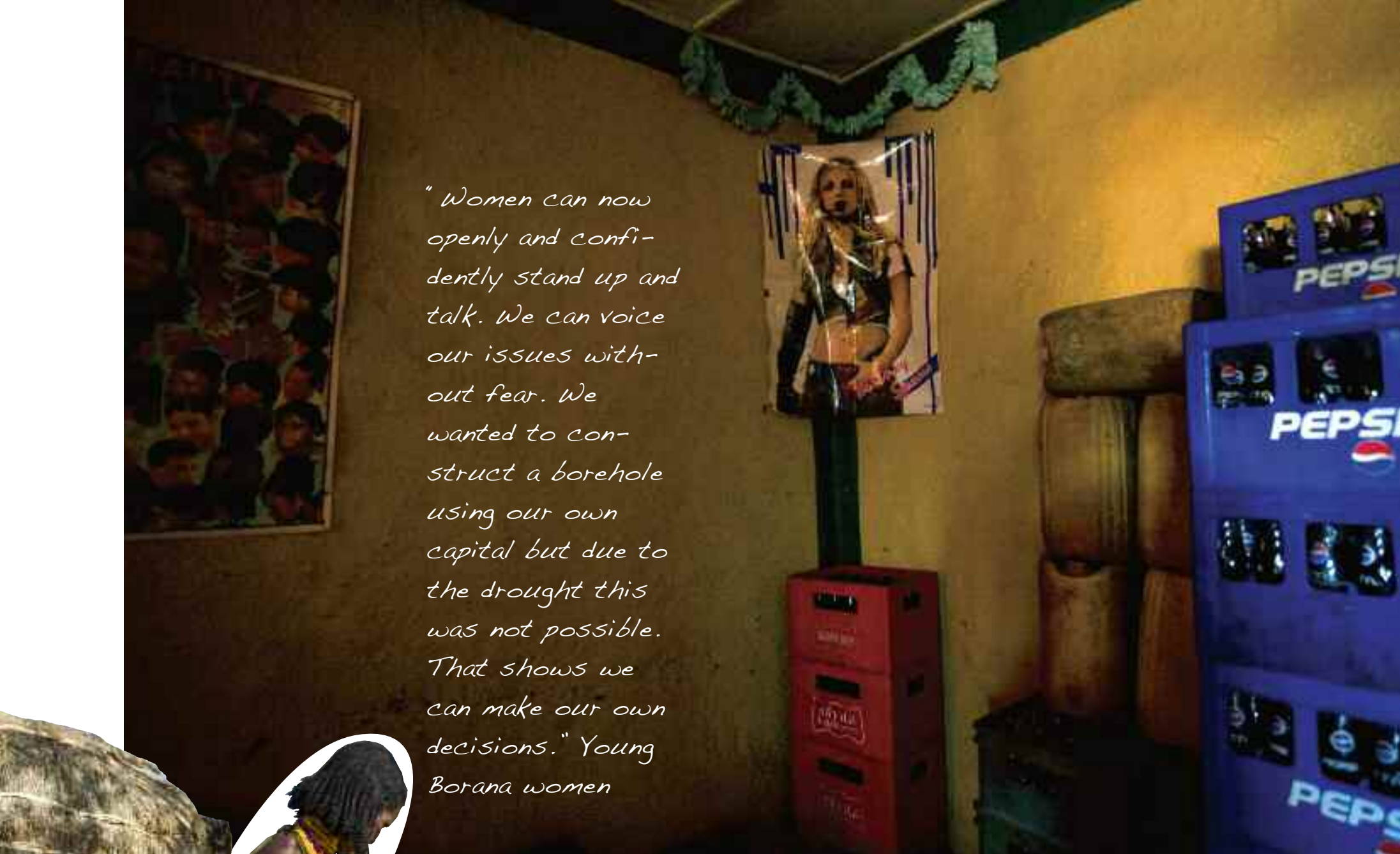
Box 7: When can women speak out?

A woman in the kebele was raped and she got no justice. She has no property and no father. The man who raped her has money; he has power. He knows that the elders do not have power over him. But in another case there was a lady got divorced for her protection. The community forced the husband to divorce as he was beating her. She voiced again and again to the elders. A disabled lady was divorced against her will, she got no property from the husband, but she didn't speak. The point is that if you speak and speak you will be heard. But if you don't speak; if you feel powerless to speak, you will be forgotten.

Men from an early age move around within their kin and clansmen and join in gatherings, learning though observing, mentoring and practicing the skills of negotiation, mediation, communication. The more competent their household the more opportunities they have for honing their skills for voice and agency. Girls and women have much more restricted channels through which to communicate, exercise agency and raise voice (Muir 2007, Flintan et al 2008). As explored in Box 7, the effect of their words is as much an outcome of their relationships with those in power as it is a measure of their own persistence. For pastoralist women, while their circles of mobility are more circumscribed, their webs of information and influence operate in a similar mode to those of men – operating both through other women but also through their husbands and other male relatives.

As in the other parts of Ethiopia, patterns of women's representation and presence in public fora is changing. In some study areas both the women's bureau and the women's association were praised for the new opportunities they give women to make decisions about their lives and

" Women can now openly and confidently stand up and talk. We can voice our issues without fear. We wanted to construct a borehole using our own capital but due to the drought this was not possible. That shows we can make our own decisions." Young Borana women

livelihoods (for example, getting credit, understanding health or discussing education). On the other hand, poorer women living on the periphery of the settlements (neither in the rangelands nor in the settlement) are much less confident of being heard or responded to. "We feel marginalised but going to meetings is a waste of time. We should use that time to do our work - fetch water - because we don't matter," (poor Borana women). Although the associations are open to all women, it is not clear what mechanisms are used to ensure that all women

regardless of their status, age, or geographical distance from kebele centres can gain benefits. For women, it is not a simple choice between clan or government fora. Women express the most confidence in their capacities to influence those in power in locations where both government and clan institutions are seen to be active and cooperative.

"We feel marginalised but going to meetings is a waste of time. We should use that time to do our work - fetch water - because we don't matter."

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Study Finding 3: <u>Response</u>

Responsive systems for providing support and services, settling disputes and dispensing justice are at risk of becoming more discriminatory for poorer and marginal groups within pastoralist communities.

The nature of response varies according to who is asking, who is listening and what is to be responded to. For pastoralists, traditional and government institutions are two separate but linked systems through which to express their voice. A third emerging form is a more hybrid and informal arrangement incorporating elements of both systems. For the poorest and particularly for poor women and elderly people making claims for welfare support, these different channels for voice and response are operating at the edge of functionality.

Most people say that family, neighbours and the clan itself are their main source of support in times of difficulty. There are many examples of neighbourhood-based informal social systems working for people under stress, but now too, people are falling outside the formal pastoralist system of comprehensive support. They may not be able to get back in.

Yet visibility and presence demonstrate competence and determine pastoralists' right to demand support from the clan. Speaking out is respected for men and women. As such, continuing to speak out in the hope that a claim will be met and support will be given, increases the potential for a meaningful response. Persistence of voice, even without response, is perceived as an important indicator of a person's viability as a pastoralist; it indicates their continued visibility within the system and a potential for, but not guarantee of response. Persistence is critical to maintenance of position with the clan. Any loss of social and political connections through erosion of competence is a critical loss to pastoralists; it signals the absence of response and a closing down of communication channels. The result, for those who suffer it, is greater vulnerability to poverty and destitution because of exclusion from information flows. The loss also severely undermines capabilities to get response from critical public arenas.

Chronic stress is forcing increasing numbers to live on the periphery of small towns, seeking livelihoods that are no longer primarily dependent on livestock. They seek aid from government and non-government agencies. As a consequence, these people are losing connections to the clan system and the protection offered during times of crisis. Effectively they become ineligible for support from the clan, they stop being useful to the maintenance of clan integrity, lose the right to voice, and thus lose the right to claim entitlements. As families and individuals fall out of the clan social protection system they lose not just economic security, but also the emotional, psychological and social well-being associated with being part of the clan system.

Invisibility and immobility removes an individual politically and psychologically from being a pastoralist. At worst, people feel locked out, having lost a sense of belonging and the possibility of reconnecting. The government social safety nets provided in some pastoral areas cannot replace these elements of pastoral identity and livelihood security. They only provide support for maintenance of a low-level of livelihood and leave people dislocated and disconnected. For young people of such families this level of social disconnection is a significant problem, accompanied by growing levels of disaffection, alcoholism and *chaat* consumption.

Findings suggest that the clan system is losing its competence to respond to the weakest members of a burgeoning population, as repeated stresses reduce its overall ability to respond. This finding echoes previous

research that questioned the extent and usefulness of clan-based social transfers (Doss 2001). As the available support shrinks, the ability to be heard and get a timely, meaningful response depends increasingly on an individual's previous wealth position and whether they were considered to be generous to others when they were in trouble (Tache 2008). For competent households, their ability to seek and gain support from the pastoralist system remains strong, and their high levels of social connectivity means that they can also access and use government services to supplement and secure their livelihoods.

Response from the pastoralist system is differentiated; it takes into account a person's status; whether they are competent or otherwise and whether they are of high utility to the clan. If they are assessed not to have a viable herd and not to be able to sustain one, it is less likely that they will get support. The data suggested that It is likely that the highly and functionally competent will get a response from the clan and those who are stressed and declining will be institutionally excluded from response.

The notion of response to voice is highly contingent therefore on an overall assessment of the competence of the pastoralist requesting support (Desta et al, 2008). Are they worth backing? Is the risk worth taking of investing in them? Do they have sufficient resilience to be able to bounce back? A collective clan response is individualised but at the same time is made on the basis of whether that individual will be able to contribute to the sustained future of the clan as a whole.
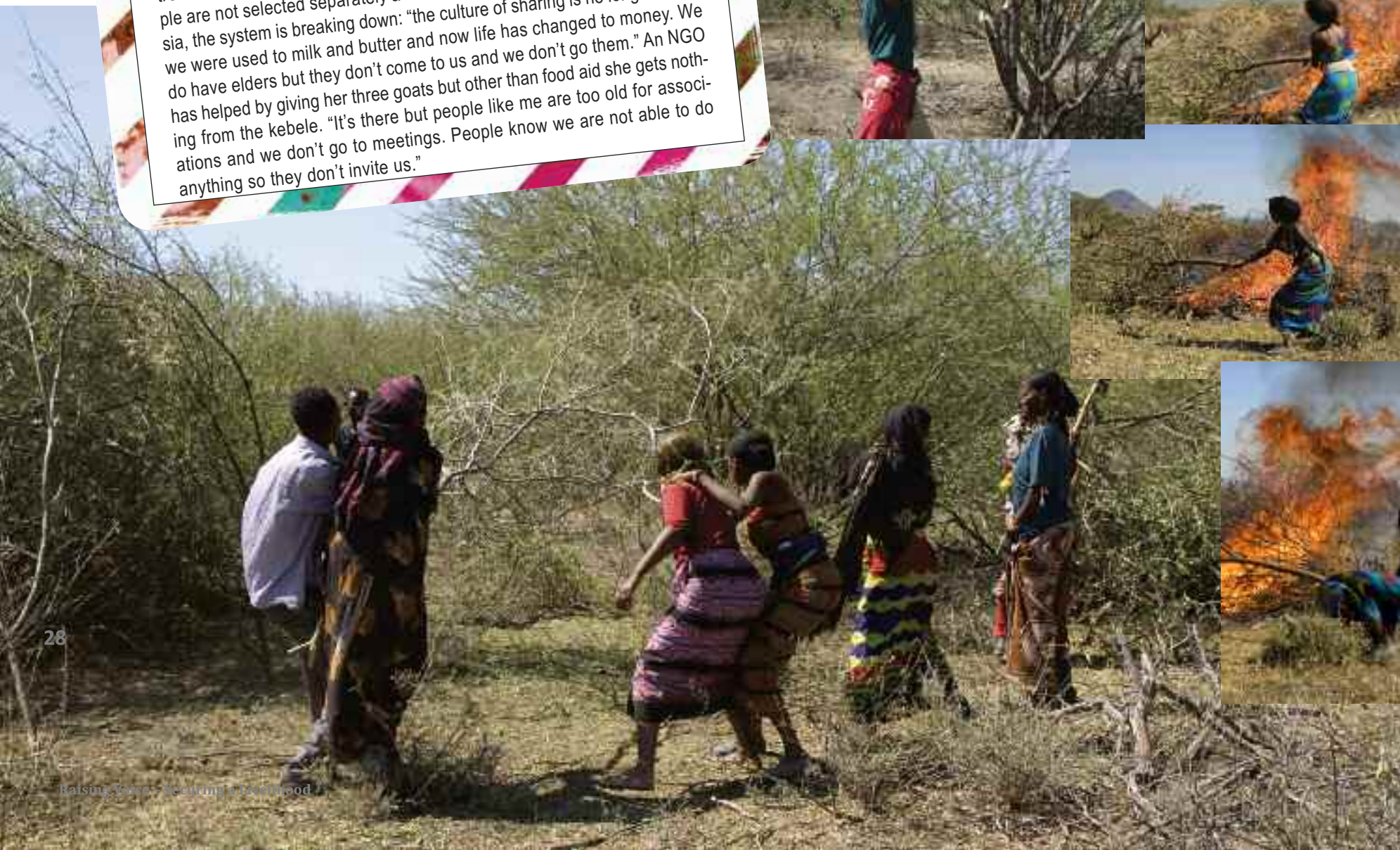
Response is also gendered and generational. The data suggest that the poorest older people, particularly divorced or widowed women, are losing connections with the social system and are not necessarily being included in public fora for discussion, decisions or information sharing (Box 8). They are likely to be targeted for welfare support – food aid or the productive safety nets. But this targeting is not perceived to lead to inclusion and representation in public arenas.

As the traditional pastoralist welfare systems are decreasing in their ability to respond to the poorest, the opportunities available for response through governmental systems become more important. Yet formal state institutional arrangements at the kebele and woreda have the effect of disconnecting poor people from the sources of competence that they need to thrive once again. These responses build a relationship based more on patronage and dependence than one of mutual obligation characteristic of the clan system.

Box 8: Marginalisation

Assia is a 70 year old widow who lives with her elder blind brother. Her son helps her but he has little or no livestock and has only recently in the last year taken up farming. He is married with two children and his wife is pregnant. Assia has no other relatives and no neighbours who help her. She had four goats but one died and another she sold to pay for hospital treatment for her heart condition. When food aid comes, vulnerable people are not selected separately and everyone gets what they can. For Assia, the system is breaking down: "the culture of sharing is no longer there, we were used to milk and butter and now life has changed to money. We do have elders but they don't come to us and we don't go them." An NGO has helped by giving her three goats but other than food aid she gets nothing from the kebele. "It's there but people like me are too old for associations and we don't go to meetings. People know we are not able to do anything so they don't invite us."

"Though there's no response to our voice we shouldn't keep quiet." Borana woman

"We will never stop talking; hunger won't stop you from talking, so we'll never keep quiet." Afar women

For the more competent pastoralists seeking to secure their livelihood, government programmes provide opportunities for building competence. Many pastoralists engage at the kebele and woreda to access basic services. Pastoralists appreciate that education, health, market, road and credit services offer potential for securing pastoralist livelihoods into the future and/or opportunities for non-pastoralist livelihoods.

Pastoralist regions are known to be especially disadvantaged in terms of participation and representation in government systems (MOFED 2006). The basis for engagement is different and distinct from the pastoralist system. Government channels operate through directives and plans to be carried out; they allow limited and controlled ranges of information to be released (Vaughan and Tronvoll, 2003; Yilmaz and Venugopal, 2008). Information is circulated to targeted groups of elites and selected poor through particular programmes and projects; access is restricted and privileged. A person's status within the government system is dependent on their ability to transfer information down the line as well as be seen to deliver the expected targets set by higher levels of authority. For those outside the government system there is mistrust of information that flows down these lines.

"The government assistance, which is normally food aid, usually comes very late, when the damage has already been done. It is not reliable or sustainable. Pastoralist support from our neighbours, from our clan, is immediate and continuous," Borana woman

" We are getting more vulnerable because democracy does not mind about us. Only the young are useful. The old are shadowed. No one cares about us. The labour-force is important today. Because we cannot provide any labour-force we are useless." Afar woman

"Because of our poverty we are not able to speak. If you have property, you have power. If you have power you can talk or voice for yourself. The ones with power talk to each other. Some elders are chosen for their wisdom rather than for their property ownership and they are respected but they do not voice. This is because they are poor; they don't have the power to be listened to." Elderly woman, Dillo

"We put time together to make roads and build schools. It is the elders and also very active youth. We even pay for the teachers to a certain extent. All the schools are community-built. One elder was challenging us – he said he would invest from his own pocket. We felt ashamed when he saw we hadn't finished plastering the school, but we were too hungry, we had no energy."
Guji elders, Sabba Boru

Information flow within customary systems is based on a need for high levels of engagement and social connectivity and is tied into a person's long term status and acceptance within the customary system and all the benefits that this entails. In the government system, information flow is based on a need to respond to higher levels and deliver efficiently to targets and goals.

Government development services are delivered through the decentralised woreda structures. Political messages are managed through the party system, reaching far into rural areas. The opening of new woredas provides an interesting insight into some of the effects of development and political inclusion. In Dillo, for example, there is clear evidence of useful new services coming into the woreda. Meanwhile the selection of party members and affiliates within each kebele to manage the political interface with the wider community has meant that areas remote from the state are now becoming incorporated. Regular and lengthy kebele meetings are a common feature of life for those who want to avail government services. Greater government influence over what an individual does and how he or she does it is also more evident. Pastoralists remark that they have fewer opportunities for independent decisions, for example to use their own expertise to decide on land use or manage pasture and water. In all three areas, pastoralists complain that management of land is no longer as effective as it was in the past.

For poor pastoralists and their clans, engagement with the state brings both benefits and tradeoffs. The net of social obligations and response from the clan system is being replaced by greater dependency on government and NGO services and welfare. As more pastoralist areas become incorporated into the state delivery system through the creation of new woredas, the extent, effectiveness and influence of these channels grows.
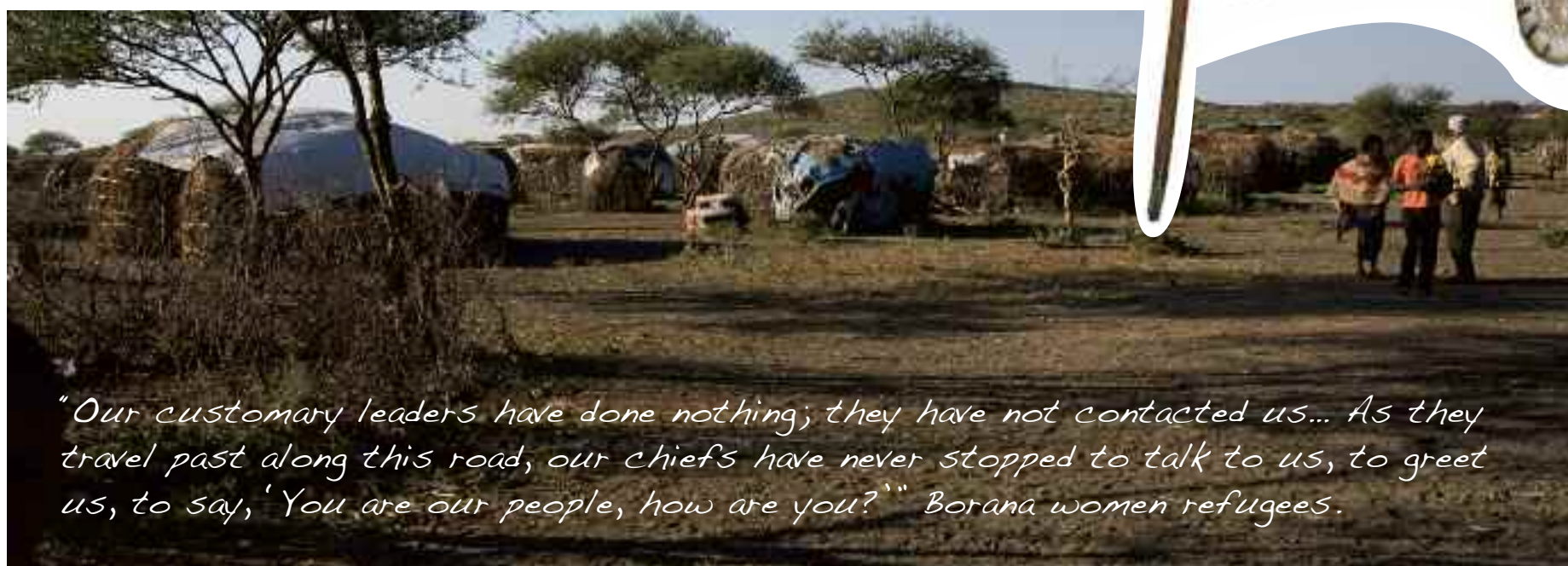
"Our customary leaders have done nothing; they have not contacted us... As they travel past along this road, our chiefs have never stopped to talk to us, to greet us, to say, 'You are our people, how are you?'" Borana women refugees.

Study Finding 4:
Pastoralists and the State

Pastoralist elites and the state are engaged in a long game of repositioning and transforming pastoralist-state engagement. Results so far suggest that opening up space for pastoralist-state engagement is both possible and essential if marginalised voices are to be heard and acted upon.

Pastoralist-government relations are characterised by a long process of political change where modest changes in the terms of engagement are leading to shifts in attitudes, behaviours and understandings. Pastoralist representatives have helped build better informed national and regional understandings of pastoralism. This has helped to open up space for specific regional and local responses to the livelihood security requirements of pastoralists; for example where government has de-emphasised cropping in some pastoralist areas in favour of livestock production.

As the reach of government extends into pastoralist social systems, there is questioning of the role of clan leaders as brokers between the

Table 3: Multiple identities of pastoralists and pastoralism and their use

Pastoralists as...	Used by......
Social identity, as an assertion of difference from or similarity with other groups	Pastoralist associations, Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia, DGPP, different clans and ethnic groups as a way of highlighting commonalities; some individuals to describe their cultural affinity and to indicate who they are irrespective of their livelihood activities
Mode of production	MOFED livestock policy guidelines recognising the economic value of livestock production
Livelihood system, focused on the use of livestock.	Government, NGOs, research institutions and Pastoralist Community Development Project (GOE/World Bank)
Form of citizen mobilisation	Pastoralist associations particularly at federal and regional levels; the customary systems of decision-making and resource allocation
"Sector" of policy	GoE through developing regions – "pastoralist areas"; NGOs as advocacy for a national pastoralist commission

Source: based on Lister (2004:11)

systems. Are they speaking for themselves or as elders protecting the competence of the community? Some are considered to have moved from the collective good to private good, seeking access to state benefits to secure their own livelihoods. Others are seen to play a nuanced role, working both within the government and the pastoralist system to give pastoralists effective access to the benefits of the state and to secure and strengthen the clan and the way of life.

Increasingly, a form of hybridisation between systems is emerging, as pastoralists seek to access basic services, influence decisions on issues such as land, water and livestock trade, and look for other forms of representation at higher levels that will allow more successful engagement between the state and traditional institutions. These hybrid arrangements are informal and pragmatic, and the rules of engagement are neither clear nor stable. Co-operation depends on state and pastoralist interests being in alignment.

Inside government, the nature of pastoralism is contested: Lister (2004) observes that there is "implicit disagreement in statements over the concept of 'pastoralism' and the definition and substance of 'pastoralist issues' in Ethiopia". As Table 3 suggests there are a number of ways in which the terms are used in public discourse. The concepts are at times overlapping, and have changed historically, although the thread of state discourse remains consistent over time – with an implicit policy push towards sedentarisation. Notable is a change in use of language: a shift away from the pejorative use of '*zelan*' (wanderer) to a consistent reference to 'pastoralists' and 'pastoralism'. The sense of progress that this has given to pastoralists is somewhat at odds with views that prevail amongst many federal officials that pastoralism is a backward form of production, where mobility causes conflict and inefficient use of productive resources.

Some actors work with multiple definitions in pursuit of their agendas. Some have used a technical production focus as an entry point for opening up policy debates to broader-based pastoralist issues. The Government of Ethiopia through its Ministry of Federal

Affairs and the World Bank sponsored Pastoralist Community Development Project, for example, emphasises the managerial and technical nature of pastoralism by focusing on livestock and related livelihood issues.

For pastoralists, diverse views of pastoralism create a complicated arena in which to build a shared understanding of a system that is integrated socially, economically and in the way it is traditionally governed. But the multiplicity of meanings is also seen by some as an advantage. Deep-rooted and at times ideological differences between pastoralist and non-pastoralist actors over the concept of pastoralism can be bracketed in order to open up possibilities for discussion.

Box 9: Pastoral associations as emerging institutions for representation of pastoral voice

The Oromia Pastoralist Association (OPA), the first pastoralist association to be formed, emerged from an increased awareness amongst pastoralists of the need to have more organised formal voice outside the customary systems. The construction of the association and its mandate was based on extensive research from the *olla* [mobile hamlet] to the *gadaa* [customary council] with the leaders asking at each level what the council should do and how it should be structured. It was not seen as a replacement for the traditional structures rather as a necessary interface with the state and a means to organise across territory and across issues. The territorial organisation is in distinction to the social organisation of the *gadaa*. It does not follow the government territorial structure, but is based on populations of pastoralists: thus split into three geographical areas of Oromia Region – south, south-east and central. The general assembly has representation according to populations of the different areas. The 75 members are selected by male elders from whom the executive and board members are derived. Currently there is no female representation at the top of the association. At the level of the three geographical areas there are member structures with 25% female representation. These sub-structures meet on a 3-monthly basis; and ensure that issues from the local level are informing the wider debate. Two other associations have since been formed, the Afar Pastoralist Council and the Somali Region Pastoralist Council.

'Nomadic areas are designated as "areas with specific problems...where unless special measures appropriate to local conditions are taken, these areas may soon face uncontrollable problems."' (cited in Hogg 1993)

"Nominations are made now for political reasons which might not bring leaders that can govern well. The qualities needed for leadership are: A person who hears, not the one who says I know; a person who is committed to the people and stands for them; who feels responsible." Afar elders

Until recently pastoralist representation at regional and federal level has been about ensuring a presence rather than providing a channel for the diverse voices of pastoralist citizens. In the words of one commentator: "pastoralists' federal level representatives are considered more as flag bearers than articulators of voices...[they] are not pastoralists in the real sense of the word, rather individuals who are sons of Chiefs, Ugasses or Sultans that are urbanised, educated and without roots in pastoral areas. They are sent to the centre because they are considered 'equal' to the high-landers." Today, however, the word of the pastoral associations has opened up space for a new form of representation to government (Box 9).

The associations' most public face is seen at National Pastoralist Day, an event that has become the public and national space for pastoralism in Ethiopia. It is sometimes criticised as being only a show-case rather than a moment of opportunity for engagement and building understanding. However, in the traditions of pastoralism where response to voice is seen to be a long process, Pastoralist Day provides an important mechanism for change, albeit operating in highly constrained political space. Over time, these celebrations have moved from the regional to national level, from NGO-organised to government-organised, and now include face-to-face exchange between pastoralist leaders and the Prime Minister and other senior members of government. Issues are raised over and over, with the eventual expectation of response. The table in Annex 1 provides a timeline of key events that have helped to shape the space in which pastoralists currently operate.

Table 4: Changes in policy and voice: 1970s-2000s

Decade	Policy Response	Naming	Voice issues
1970s-1980s	Sedentarisation; Acquisition of riverine pastoral lands for large-scale irrigated commercial agriculture.	*Zelan*	No voice in government system.
1990s	Sedentarisation - long-term strategy; Mobility – short-term strategy.	Livestock keepers, farmers and pastoralists	Opening up of cross-clan pastoral voice; Ambivalence in recognition of pastoralists and their distinct voice.
2000+	Sedentarisation - long-term strategy; Mobility – short-term strategy; Presumption of privatisation of land, no presumption for communal ownership.	Pastoralists; pastoralist areas; emerging regions; and developing regions.	Recognition in parliament, incorporation of pastoral offices across ministries and regions; Formalised and organised cross-clan voice through pastoral associations.

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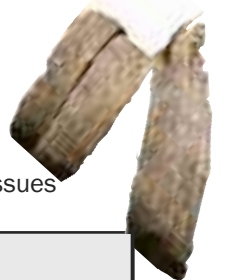
"During Haile Selassie's period and the Derg we were called 'zelan', an insult that means to wander without aim; we were also called farmers, we couldn't use the word pastoralist. If we said in court that we were pastoralists it would not be accepted; we kept quiet, we had no knowledge of farming - we were pastoralists." Pastoralist elders

Conclusions: Issues for aid practice

While safety net programmes and relief aid reduce immediate vulnerability, they do not build the other key elements of competence, particularly the element of voice; they leave people silent on the edge of the clan, increasingly disconnected. The destitute are found by these programmes, while the competent find support within the pastoralist clan systems.

Importantly, the data from this study indicates that people who are less competent are at real risk of slipping into severe poverty because pastoralist systems are helping less and state systems, including those supported by non-governmental organisations, are not sufficiently flexible and sensitive to diversity and the need for voice and connection. These people are under stress and finding it increasingly difficult to get access to the kind of co-operation that will revitalise their competence. They are at risk of becoming the new destitute.

Many donors, in supporting projects and government services, help confine people's participation to arenas that are highly controlled and disempowering. Development processes and services—essential to dynamic livelihoods—are also processes of political intervention (Poluha 2002). Effective strategic engagement requires that outsiders understand the way supportive connections are made and maintained across society at local level (woreda and below) as well as how connections to higher levels of governance are being developed. This level of understanding is critical for pastoral systems where social, political, economic and environmental insecurity can catapult people from managing well to merely surviving, often without warning.

Long-term involvement and greater use of political inquiry to deliver informed understanding of the underlying causes and dynamics of insecure livelihoods will reduce the risks of reinforcing social inequalities and 'doing harm' (Barnett et al 2009). The failure to move beyond 'functional ignorance' (Duffield 1996)—avoiding those uncomfortable questions that challenge aid processes and their potential for doing harm—has led to limited understanding of the political complexities and diversities underpinning pastoralist areas in Ethiopia. This has meant that the deep structural causes for marginalisation and increasing conflict are poorly understood and weakly responded to.

As the study has shown there are some interesting and persuasive exceptions to this, where careful processes of mediation over long periods of time based on high levels of political understanding—knowing when to support pastoralists to come together in different areas and at different levels—have begun to transform the nature of relationships between clans and more importantly between pastoralists and the state. Simply learning more about the diversity and dynamics of pastoralist systems does not in itself bring change. The critical shift is not to increase 'understanding of pastoralists but understandings with pastoralists,' (DGPP advisory group, 2008:2).

The Pastoralist Communication Initiative, a series of DFID funded programmes between 2001 and 2009, demonstrated that through careful mediation and politically informed understanding of the meso- and macro-context that it is possible to support the opening of political space for the voices of previously marginalised groups to be both spoken and heard. This positioning based on long-term experience in the region and multiple relation-ships both within and outside Ethiopia with key individuals has enabled the project to have credibility and entry at multiple levels.

Pastoral elites who initiated the National Pastoralist Days and formed civil society organisations including the Oromia Pastoralists Association and the Afar and Somali Pastoralist Councils are opening up small spaces of dialogue, which in turn are helping to open up tiny spaces for change at local levels. Through their work to frame and raise debates, challenge the language used to describe pastoral systems, raise voice and issues year after year, they have been able to claim success with incremental response from both regional and more recently federal governments. Their efforts to resolve protracted inter-communal conflicts have opened dialogues between clans, woredas and regions. Such initiatives provide important avenues for change, but require continued support to help them to formalise response and move towards greater inclusion and representation of women and poorer social groups within pastoralist communities.

The DFID Country Evaluation commented that "DFID Ethiopia should further strengthen existing NGO plat-forms to improve opportunities to learn from NGO best practices, action research and political inquiry. This could provide an important counterbalance to the loss of direct NGO–DFID interactions as a result of the shift to multi-donor programmes; as well as to help compensate for the predominant federal government focus of current interaction." (Barnett et al 2009:79)
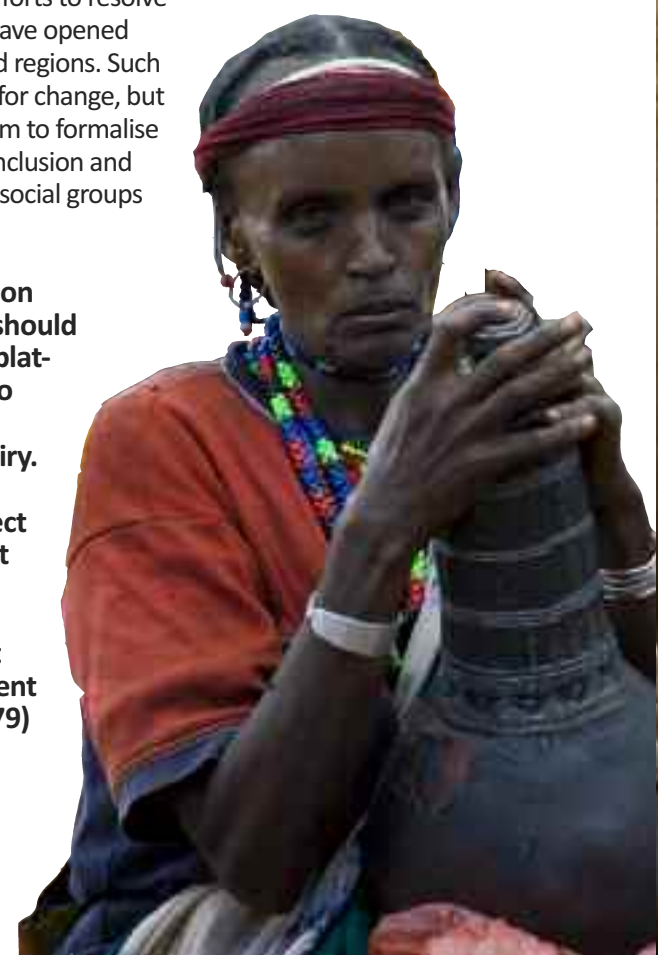
The full findings from the
study "Raising Voice -
Securing a Livelihood, the
role of diverse voices in
developing secure liveli-
hoods in pastoralist areas in
Ethiopia" will be published
by the UK Institute of Devel-
opment Studies in the
Autumn of 2009.

"the UK will increasingly put politics at the heart of its action. We need to understand who holds power in society, so we can forge new alliances for peace and prosperity....... In the future, understanding political dynamics will shape more of our programmes."

(DFID White Paper 2009 p.73)

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Raising Voices Securing a Livelihood

Annex 1: From 'zelan' to 'pastoralist'

Year	Events, policies and projects	Issues	Changing recognition and understanding of pastoralist voice
1975-1991			Derided as nomads – *zelan* – a derogatory and insulting term that means to wander around without aim and is used in Amharic to denote people who have no focus in life.
1975-1984	Third Livestock Development Project	Focused on development of rangelands, watering points and aimed at production of livestock for export. Highly technocratic and driven by expert understanding.	Language of nomads and farmers, but not pastoralists.
1975	Nationalisation of Rural Lands Proclamation article 27	The government shall have the responsibility to improve grazing areas, to dig wells and to settle the nomadic people for farming purposes.	Language of nomads and need for sedentarisation.
1995	The Federal Constitution	Enshrines the rights of pastoralists 'to free land for grazing and cultivation as well as the right not to be displaced from their own lands (Article 40).	Referred to as *pastoralists*
1997	Nagelle - 3 day meeting of elders from different clans. Organised by Pastoralist Concern Association of Ethiopia (PCAE), it focused on the issue of pastoralist recognition	Discussion focused on problem that they were being called farmers by government and told to be farmers, pastoralism wasn't recognised and would only be recognised if they became farmers. Raised the issue that government had representative structures for agriculture, beekeeping and other rural livelihoods but nothing for pastoralists. There were 12 million pastoralists but no institution for them. At this stage there was only one male pastoralist in government.	Opening up cross-clan and organised pastoralist space. Each of the pastoralist elders was asked to take this message back to their clans and to discuss the issue about how to get recognition as pastoralists

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Year	Events, policies and projects	Issues	Changing recognition and understanding of pastoralist voice
1997	Filtu meeting in Somali region held 5 days later, followed 3 days later by a meeting held in Addis including Oromia, Afar, Somali and Southern Nations.	Formation of Pastoral Forum for Ethiopia. Led to agreement to hold regional pastoralist days – agreed to by regional governments.	Brought regional (and clan voice) to a federal level for the first time.
1999	Filtu- first celebration of pastoralist day		Recognition of pastoralists as an organised identity with a separate and legitimate voice.
1999	Filtu – pastoralist day	Conference called by government on pastoral policy.	Referred to as pastoralists
2000	Jigjiga – pastoralist day	Conference called by government on pastoral policy.	Strong recognition by Somali and Afar regional governments of value of pastoralist day
2001	Rural Development Policy and Strategy	Short-term support to mobility but long-term strategy of sedentarisation based on irrigated lands.	Long-term vision still focused on settled and not mobile populations.
2002	Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy	Focuses on strategies for sedetarisation of pastoralists on a voluntary basis; continued emphasis on irrigation.	
2002	Workshop on pastoralism in parliament	PCI invited by Speaker of the House to organise a workshop for 80 MPs from pastoralist areas.	Idea developed for formation of a standing committee on pastoralism and put to speaker.
2002	Ministry of Federal Affairs established	New ministry responsible for development of the emerging regions.	Recognition of pastoralist areas. Pastoral offices formed in all emerging regions.
2002	Oromia Pastoralist Development Commission (OPDC) established	Responsible for special pastoralist programme in Oromia.	Regional response to growing interest in government on pastoral issues.
2002	Statement on Pastoral Development Policy	Objective: 'Transforming the pastoral societies to agro-pastoral life complemented by urbanisation' (p.6)	
2002	Government pastoralist consultative meeting at Dire Dawa	Minister for Federal Affairs presented strategy to more than 1000 pastoralist elders.	Recognition of special nature of pastoralist areas for delivery of national decentralisation programme.
2002	Formation of Pastoralist Affairs Standing Committee at Parliament	New committee formed by Speaker of the House of People's Representatives	Oversight of pastoralist programmes in MOFA and other ministries. Responsible for considering impact on pastoralists of all new legislation.
2003	Southern Region Pastoralist Day	Increased number of participants including parliamentarians and international organisations.	
2004	Yaballo Pastoralist Day	Policy clash between pastoralists and government became the focus for discussion and need for action recognised by pastoralists – in particular the need for a more organised voice. Idea of pastoral council at federal level was raised with federal government – but there was no response.	Sedentarisation versus mobility.
2005	Dire Dawa Pastoralist Day	Organised by PFE and Government and attended by pastoralists from across Ethiopia.	
2005	National election	Uninformed understanding of pastoralism but election issues were party based and not issue based and did not provide a forum for pastoralist issues.	
2005	Plan for Accelerated and Sustainable Development End Poverty (PASDEP)	Includes a 'special effort for pastoral areas' including a range of basic services plus a continued indication of the long-term strategy 'to facilitate the slow transition for those who want to shift to settlement over time (p.50). Links mobility to conflict.	Pastoralists recognised as a distinct livelihood system but still with a strong underlying strategy of sedentarisation and individualisation.
2005	Rural Land Law	'Holding right, pastoralist and semi-pastoralist have been defined in individual and not collective terms.' 'Peasant farmers/pastoralists engaged in agriculture for a living shall be given rural land free of charge' (Article 5 (1a). Communal land is provided by government where 'government being the owner of rural land, communal rural land holdings can be changed to private holdings as may be necessary' (Article 5(3)). Regional councils have the power to enact detailed law on this basis.	Pastoralists recognised but denied collective land rights, rather the pursuit of individualisation and privatisation away from the clan structures.
2006	Pastoralist Day at UN ECA (Addis Ababa)	PFE and Government facilitated pastoralists from all regions to come together with government and political leaders, chaired by Prime Minister Meles Zenawi.	First time pastoralists, prime minister and senior leadership start a dialogue at national level. Recognition of national pastoralist voice.
2006	Oromia Pastoralist Association (OPA) established		New pastoralist association promoting pastoralist knowledge and engagement.
2007	OPA gathering at Hara Qallo, Oromia	OPA organised a gathering of 100 pastoralist elders from Oromia, also attended by regional government officials.	First large OPA event. Government responded positively to pastoralist issues on education, Regional Minister announced that pastoralist children would be able to access university with lower grades.
2007	OPA granted observer status in Oromia Regional Parliament		Recognition of pastoralists and their distinct identity within Oromia by regional government.
2007	Pastoralist Day held in parliament	Issue of separate pastoral ministry was raised with the Prime Minister but no response. Agreed to form Somali Pastoralist Council.	Pastoralists recognised as a distinct livelihood system but still with a strong underlying strategy of sedentarisation and individualisation.
2007	Somali pastoralist gathering (Hudet)	Led to establishment of Somali Pastoralist Council Agreement to discuss Afar Pastoralist Council.	
2008	Adama (Nazret) Pastoralist Day	Oromia Pastoral Area Development Commission (OPADC) commissioned independent study on pastoralism – looking at conditions for pastoralism, soil types, rainfall and identifying potential areas for settled agriculture – concluded very few pockets available and so should be supporting pastoralism. Issue of separate pastoral ministry raised with Prime Minister again but no response.	Study conclusions accepted by regional government as basis for practice. Speech of Minister of Federal Affairs highlighted desirability of pastoralist settlement.
2008	Afar Pastoralist Council registered	Gathering of pastoralists from across Afar, members of regional government, Afar MPs, OPA and Somali Pastoralist Council to discuss mandate of Afar Council.	First gathering of Afar pastoralists and agreement to hold pastoralist meetings at zone level.
2009	Semara (Afar) Pastoralist Day	OPADC report discussed in presence of federal government and report outcomes appreciated. Pastoralist council heads called to discussion with government.	Importance of regional government study recognising the value of pastoralism and the difficulties of settled agriculture in many areas. PM response to pastoralists over separate ministry suggesting that it is better to mainstream across ministries than to have a separate ministry.

Annex II:

Analysis and methods

The study was a structured exploration of the processes by which **a**) different people engage with and have voice in the decisions of informal and formal institutions and **b**) these institutions respond to and/or are accountable to the claims and issues of diverse voice. It was conducted by a team of 12 researchers over a 6 month period in 2009.

The study methods comprised :

• A review of secondary data including research reports and articles, policy and programme documents of major government and non-government agencies active in pastoralist areas (e.g. food aid programmes, Productive Social Safety Nets Programme; Pastoral Community Development Project; NGO livelihood and governance projects) and DGPP project documents;

• Interviews with state and non-state actors at kebele, woreda, zone and federal levels;

• A rapid participatory action research process conducted in three selected woredas in two regions with different social groups (women, men, extreme poor, elderly, leaders, elders, rural and peri-urban dwellers, educated, uneducated, traders, business people, "drop-outs" etc.), as well as government officials in the zonal, woreda and kebele administrations. 56 participatory focus group discussions were held involving 614 people, of whom 264 were women

• A process of meetings at different levels verifying and reviewing the emerging data and sharing the findings between pastoralists, state and non-state actors.

The study used the CR2 Framework, a research approach that has been used in a variety of settings and sectors in Asia, Africa and Latin America for design, implementation and impact assessment. It has been developed to assess the extent to which capabilities, (or lack of them) to voice and secure claims have **a**) expanded meaningful voice and participation as well as improving processes of accountability; **b**) transformed and rebalanced power within, and between, individuals, groups and institutions and, c) encouraged change in the way that institutions, of all kinds, respond to human security issues, asset acquirement and to vulnerability.
See Brocklesby and Crawford 2007.

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"Raising Voice   Securing a Livelihood"

The role of diverse voices in developing secure livelihoods in pastoralist areas of Ethiopia - A Summary Paper