

**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF
PASTORALIST PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS:**

**CASE STUDY ON
THE PASTORAL AFFAIRS STANDING
COMMITTEE OF ETHIOPIA**

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List of Abbreviations

ADLI	- Agricultural Development Led Industrialization
CAHWs	- Community Animal Health Workers
CAPE -	- Community-based Animal Health and Participatory Epidemiology Unit
CCPP -	- Contagious Caprine Pleuropneumonia
DfID	- Department for International Development
DPPC	- Disaster Preparedness and Prevention Commission
EARO	- Ethiopian Agricultural Research Organization
EPRDF	- Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Front
FAO	- Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FYDP	- Five Year Development Plan
HIPC	- Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
IDS	- Institute of Development Studies
ILRI	- International Livestock Research Institute
IMF	- International Monetary Fund
LDLI	- Livestock Development Led Industrialization
MoE	- Ministry of Education
MoFA	- Ministry of Federal Affairs
MoFED	- Ministry of Finance and Economic Development
MoH	- Ministry of Health
MPs	- Member of Parliament
NGO	- Non-Governmental Organization
PARC	- Pan African Rinderpest Campaign
PASC	- Pastoral Affairs Standing Committee
PCDP	- Pastoral Community Development Programme
PCI	- Pastoral Communication Initiative
PET	- Pastoral Extension Team
PFE	- Pastoral Forum of Ethiopia
PPG	- Pastoral Parliamentarian Group
PRSP	- Poverty Reduction Strategic Paper
SDPRP	- Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction
TG	- Transitional Government
ToR	- Terms of Reference
UNDP	- United Nations Development Programme
USAID	- United States Agency for International Development

Executive Summary

Pastoralism is one of the oldest socio-economic systems in Ethiopia, in which livestock husbandry in open grazing areas represents the major means of subsistence for the pastoralists. Pastoralists belonging to about 29 different ethnic groups occupy 60% of the territory and constitute about 12% of the total population.

Despite the contribution of the pastoral system to the national economy of the country, the history of development policies and programmes in Ethiopia shows that they have neglected pastoralism. There have never been appropriate pastoral development policies and programmes in the country. Previous policies did not even guarantee the land-use rights of pastoralists.

The political change in the country in early 1990s has resulted in decentralization and steps towards democratization. Accordingly, the Transitional Government (TG) Charter was adopted in 1991 paving the way towards the present federal system of government established by the 1995 FDRE constitution. As a result of the change in government, some positive changes took place toward the pastoral communities. For the first time in the Ethiopian history, the constitution makes various provisions in the interest of Ethiopian pastoralists. Furthermore, government development policies and programmes have started to be sensitive to pastoralism. The new Pastoral Development Policy and the establishment of a Pastoral Affairs Standing Committee (PASC) within the House of Peoples Representatives of the Ethiopian Parliament are among the positive indications that the government is paying attention to pastoralism.

The objective of this research is to explore the circumstances in which the PASC can be an effective lobby for pro-poor, pro-pastoralist policy change and what external assistance it requires in this role. Document reviews and structured interviews with members of the PASC were carried out for this study. In addition, individuals from donors, government agencies and NGOs were interviewed.

Many external and internal factors, as well as the influence of individuals, have contributed to the establishment of the PASC in mid-2002: the participation of the pastoral MPs in workshops held in Kenya in 1999 which brought pastoralists of the region together with donors, traders, NGOs and activists is one of the factors that raised the awareness level of the MPs. The workshop noted that pastoralists have been excluded from participation in policy dialogue and formulation. The Ethiopian pastoral MPs learnt from Kenyan and Ugandan pastoralists since pastoralist groups were established in those countries earlier. Some pastoral NGOs and forums such as the PFE and PCI played catalytic roles in the establishment of the PASC, learning from the experience of Kenya and Uganda. PFE held some consultative meetings with some of the pastoral MPs on this matter including the current chairman of the PASC. The MPs were also invited to various meetings organized by the PFE and their participation was

highly regarded. Some of the MPs were also invited to Kenya and other countries to learn from the experience of these countries on the roles of PPGs. The exposure of the MPs to various pastoral events within the country and abroad raised their awareness and encouraged them to lobby for the establishment of the Ethiopian PASC. Finally, the support from the Speaker of the House was an important factor in the establishment of the committee.

Composition of the Committee

The members of the PASC are drawn from different ethnic groups and regional states. There are a total of 13 PASC members of which at the time of the research, 8 were from pastoral communities and grown up as pastoralists, while the remaining 5 were from non-pastoral communities. Members from the pastoral communities are from Somali, Afar, Borena (Oromiya), Gambella and Benishangul Gumuz regions. The members from these regions generally sit for regional parties which are affiliated or loosely allied to the EPRDF. The non-pastoral members are from member parties of the EPRDF. The educational background of the members varies from elementary school to MSc degree and members were engaged in teaching, business, and other government occupations before they were elected. Of a total of 13 PASC members, 8 members are serving for the second term in the parliament (5 pastoral and 3 non-pastoral), while 5 are in their first term.

Roles of the Committee

The roles and responsibilities of the standing committees within the parliament including that of the PASC are defined in Proclamation 271/2002. The standing committee has been established with certain roles and responsibilities worked out by the House of Parliament, and in line with the EPRDF general programme and guidelines. As stated by the members of the committee during the interviews, their major activities are legislation, oversight and representation.

Legislative activities: Under this responsibility of the PASC, the committee is expected to undertake the following activities.

- Ensure that pastoral issues are included when national policies are formulated
- Ensure that subsidiary budgets are allocated for various pastoral activities as a form of affirmative action
- Influence the poverty reduction strategy of the country in the direction of improving the livelihood of pastoralists
- Encourage a higher level of pastoralists' participation and responsibilities

Oversight: The PASC is expected to oversee the activities of eight ministries and commissions/authorities. The committee directly oversees the activities of the Livestock Marketing Authority (LMA) and also some of the pastoral related

activities of the federal ministries including the Ministry of Federal Affairs, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Water Resources, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ethiopian Agricultural Research Organization, and the Disaster Preparedness and Prevention Commission. The members reported that the LMA presents its plans and budgets to the PASC, which also ensures that an adequate budget is allocated for the planned activities. However, the committee is facing challenges as some ministries are not willing to make their programmes sensitive to pastoralism. One example is the Ministry of Health, which is not yet ready to work with the committee.

Representation: Various members of the committee participate in various meetings, conferences, seminars and reflect the interests of pastoralists. They actively participate and raise critical policy issues related to pastoralism. Some are requested by NGOs to open official conferences. NGOs are engaged in pastoral development and rehabilitation programmes have respect for the PASC members, as they believe that the pastoralists need representation in policy dialogue and debates.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Pastoralists remain a marginalized segment of the population despite the fact that pastoralism contributes to the national economy. Lack of representation and participation of pastoralists in policy making is one of the causes for the biases of the policies and programmes towards the highland crop-production system. Some positive policy changes have been taking place towards pastoralists and pastoral development since the change of government in the country in early 1990s. The inclusion of pastoral issues in government development policies and programmes, development of a Pastoral Development Policy and the establishment of the PASC within the Ethiopian Parliament are among the indications that the government is paying attention to pastoralism. However, certain pastoral policy issues including sedentarization are subjects of debate. It is believed that sound pastoral policies and strategies could be designed with representation and active participation of the pastoral communities.

Lack of pastoral representation and participation is one of the problems for pastoralists. The PASC is expected to represent the interests of the pastoralists and articulate their voices. However, given the political context and mandate of the committee from Parliament and the background of the members, it is difficult to draw a conclusion that the PASC represents the pastoralists in a strong sense of the term.

It could be argued that civil society and/or groups of pastoral MPs could lobby and advocate for pastoralists better than the existing standing committee. However, given its parliamentary status, changing the PASC will not be an easy task. Therefore, despite these arguments, it can be assumed that the committee can have value in terms of articulating the voices of the pastoralist communities. As long as the PASC members are attempting to work in favour of pastoralists,

this can be considered as a representative process, even if it is a limited, provisional and tentative one, and it should be encouraged under the current socio-economic and political circumstances of the country.

The committee is already undertaking certain activities including participating in policy dialogues on pastoral development as well as oversight of programmes and budgets of LMA. However, the committee has some capacity limitations that affect its ability to work on pastoral development more efficiently. The capacity limitations include lack of transport facilities, knowledge gaps on pastoral development and information gaps on the situation of various pastoralist communities. Lack of transport facilities is limiting their movements to the pastoral communities. This has resulted in limited access to information on the problems and challenges of the pastoral communities, which would have allowed the committee to advocate and lobby accordingly. It was further reported by the members that although the committee members have had some capacity-building support from different donors, they believe that there is still a knowledge gap on pastoral development.

Therefore, although the issue of representation is complex and it is difficult to conclude that the PASC “represents” pastoralists, the option available at present is to strengthen and encourage the committee to speak on behalf of the pastoralists. Accordingly, the following recommendations are made:

- The members should be empowered and encouraged to give voice to the concerns of pastoralists. The capacity could be reinforced by participating in workshops and training programmes on the issues of representation, participation and pastoralism. The training programmes might narrow the difference in strategic views on pastoral development, and allow a more harmonious advocacy and lobbying on behalf of pastoralists;
- The committee should be provided, on an ongoing basis and in appropriate formats, with new information on pastoralism in Ethiopia and in the region so that it will be in a better position to lobby and advocate for pastoralists.
- The provision of support for transport will better facilitate members’ visits to the pastoral communities and their learning more on the ground.

These recommendations can be shared with donors and NGOs already engaged in pastoral advocacy activities and already working closely with the PASC. Some of the concerned stakeholders could be DFID, the PCI, PFE, the World Bank, the EC Delegation, CAPE, USAID etc..

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF PASTORALIST PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS: CASE STUDY ON THE PASTORAL AFFAIRS STANDING COMMITTEE OF ETHIOPIA

1. Introduction: Pastoralism and Pastoral Livelihoods in Ethiopia

Pastoralism is one of the oldest socio-economic systems in Ethiopia, in which livestock husbandry in open grazing areas represents the major means of subsistence. Pastoralists occupy 60% of the national territory and constitute about 12% of the total population. There are about 29 different ethnic groups belonging to the Cushitic and Nilotic language families. The largest pastoralist groups are the Borena Oromo, the Somali and the Afar. There are also other ethnic groups living in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' (SNNP) Region, and in the eastern, western and the north-western parts of the country. Pastoralist livestock herds have been estimated at 27 million cattle, 24 million sheep, 18 million goats and 1 million camels (Hogg 1997; Solomon 1999). Pastoralists account for about 42% of the total livestock population of the country (Mohammed Mussa and Associates, 2001), yet their contribution to the national economy has not been properly quantified and it is often underestimated.

Pastoralists live in the least developed regions of the country, characterized by poverty, high level of illiteracy, inadequate infrastructure particularly roads, the worst served by health services and receiving the least external support. Women in these regions are considered to be in an even poorer state than men, especially in terms of health conditions. This is because the illiteracy rate is higher among women, poverty is worse, access to health services is lower and the prevalence of harmful traditional practices that negatively impact on women's health is serious and widespread. Furthermore, the capacity to deal with the situation is extremely limited. Although the pastoral system contributes to the national economy, the constraints and potentials for its development have been ignored in government policies and programmes. Sectoral policies often reflect the way of life of the agricultural highlands and neglect that of pastoralism. For instance, Agricultural Development Led Industrialization (ADLI – the general development policy of the Ethiopian government) is biased towards the highland agricultural production system and does not adequately address the pastoral and agro-pastoral production systems. Similarly, the health and education sector policies have paid very little attention to the challenges in the area of providing health and education facilities to pastoralists.

Recurrent drought is a major concern in pastoral areas, reducing forage supply and causing herd mortality, resulting in food insecurity and poverty. For instance, a study conducted in Borena indicates that the average livestock holding per household decreased by 37% during the last 17 years, mainly due to drought (Mohammed Mussa & Associates 2001). This situation suggests that decline in

livestock assets may lead to food insecurity and poverty in pastoral areas unless assets diversification mechanisms are in place.

Pastoralists in the past have depended heavily on livestock and livestock products for their livelihood, but also seasonally on small-scale cereal production. Thus, some Ethiopian pastoralists are engaged in one way or another in both livestock and crop production. Crop production is an emerging system supported by government extension agents. The expansion of cropping in recent years competes in some senses with livestock husbandry. Traditional bottomland grazing areas are used for growing maize and other crops. As a result of this situation, grazing resources are shrinking. In Borena, for example, non-pastoral groups from other areas cultivate even the wet-season grazing areas. As a result, livestock are forced to concentrate in a given area causing overgrazing. This situation has led to land degradation and a change in vegetation cover from grassland to woody vegetation.

To overcome such vegetation change, Borena pastoralists have increasingly shifted from cattle to camel husbandry. This is because camels are good milk producers even in a period of drought and can be used to transport water and food aid in time of crises.

The Afar pastoralists are transhumants, having home bases and satellite camps to manage their livestock production system in the prevailing climatic conditions. In Afar Region, the introduction of large commercial farming blocked access to traditional dry season grazing areas. Afar for many years remained in conflict with introduced commercial farming. After the change of government in 1991 about 15000 hectares of land was returned to the Afar. The regional government commissioned a consultant to study and recommend how Afar pastoralists will be able to use the land. The conclusion was to sedentarize Afar pastoralists. This recommendation however has not yet been implemented. The Afar have not yet been fully integrated into irrigated agriculture. In some areas, Afar pastoralists give out land to outsiders for sharecropping, although such practices are not recognized legally.

A new development is the invasion of the land by the noxious plant *Prosopis*. In many areas, Afar pastoralists have found it difficult to make use of the land for livestock production or crop cultivation. *Prosopis* pods are liked by goats but the plant forms thorny thickets which prevent free movement of either humans or animals. How best the former grazing land can be used is now a matter of concern.

In the Somali Region, irrigated agriculture has been exercised along the seasonal rivers Wabe Shebele, Genale and Dawa. In Kelafo and Mustahil a form of agro-pastoralism well adapted to local conditions is practiced. In Gode, a government scheme to settle pastoralists on 2000 hectares of irrigated land has not shown any satisfactory results. Another scheme in West Gode to cultivate

27,000 ha of land is under construction (Mohammed Mussa & Associates 2001). Such irrigated schemes, however, need participatory planning.

Pastoral communities in different parts of the country face common problems and challenges - among them lack of access to social services, poor infrastructure and recurrent droughts. The marginalization of pastoralists is reflected not only by a lack of basic infrastructure and a lack of or poor access to basic social services (education, health services, water both for humans and animals) but also by a lack of appropriate policies. Pastoralists are politically marginalized partly because of the absence of coherent institutions to represent them. The political marginalisation of pastoralist societies is reflected by their low level of participation in policy formulation and in various institutions of decision-making that affect their life. Marginalization is most severe for women who are given little share of the limited resources and services; their participation in public decision-making is extremely limited.

2. Objectives of the Study

This report forms one of the three case studies of a research project on Pastoralist Parliamentary Groups, implemented by the Natural Resources Institute of the University of Greenwich, and the Pastoral and Environmental Network in the Horn of Africa, funded by the Livestock Production Programme of DFID and the Community-based Animal Health and Participatory Epidemiology (CAPE) Unit of AU-IBAR.

The overall objective of the project is "to assess the circumstances in which pastoralist parliamentary groupings can be an effective lobby for pro-poor, pro-pastoralist policy change, and what external assistance they require in this role".

Unlike the case studies of Uganda and Kenya, which concern voluntary groupings of pastoral MPs, this report describes the Pastoral Affairs Standing Committee (PASC), which was established by Proclamation and includes both pastoral and non-pastoral MPs.

3. Rationale of the Study

Pastoralists are among the neglected segments of the population in the Horn of Africa and in Ethiopia in particular. Development policies and programmes in Ethiopia have ignored the pastoral system despite its contribution to the national economy. This is mainly because policy-makers do not have enough knowledge about the system as they do not have a pastoral background - their views and perceptions have been highland-biased. It is argued by many observers that lack of representation and participation of the pastoralists in policy making is partly the cause of their marginalisation.

Some positive changes towards pastoralism have been taking place in the country since early 1990s - the public policy of the ruling EPRDF favours the marginalized groups of the country including the pastoralists. Accordingly, a "super-ministry", the Ministry of Federal Affairs (MoFA), has been established which deals with the emerging regions, mainly with the pastoral regions. Government development policies and strategies are also becoming more sensitive to pastoralism. MoFA has also developed a pastoral development policy, which is now under discussion. The establishment of the PASC within the House of Representatives of the Parliament is also part of the evidence for a positive change of the government towards pastoralism. The issue of "representation" for pastoralists is a complex one (see Lister 2003). At this point, the PASC is expected to advocate and lobby for pastoralists. However, the circumstances under which it is operating, the composition and capacities of members are all unclear. Therefore, this study is concerned with these and other related issues.

The remainder of this report will survey the development of government policy towards pastoralism, since the change of government in 1991 (Section 5) and the establishment of the PASC. Sections 7 will look at the personal background of the PASC members. Section 8 will look at their perceptions of major issues facing pastoralism, and sections 9 and 10 at issues of capacity and access to information. Section 11 will explore the roles and responsibilities of the PASC, and the way it fulfils them, and attempt an assessment of its performance to date.

4. Methodology

Primary and secondary information was collected for this study. Relevant documents from different sources were accessed and reviewed. In particular, the previous Ethiopian government development policies and programmes as well as the current thinking on pastoralism were reviewed. Primary data were collected through interviews with donor agencies, relevant government ministries and authorities, Members of Parliament and PASC as well as other stakeholders directly and/or indirectly engaged in pastoral development in Ethiopia.

At the initial stage, brainstorming sessions were held with the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman of the PASC to gain general views on the establishment of the standing committee and the circumstances under which it is operating. Then, semi-structured interviews were conducted with individual members of the committee and with other stakeholders during November 15, 2003 to January 2, 2004.¹ The major issues included in the semi-structured questionnaire included background of the members, perception on pastoral development, roles and

¹ Since the interviews, the composition of the PASC has changed with new members being appointed, which may also have affected the balance between pastoral and non-pastoral members.

responsibilities of the PASC as well as success and challenges of the PASC. During the interview, members were encouraged to provide information on the pastoral development in the country but with particular reference to their own communities/constituencies.

The researcher himself administered the semi-structured questionnaire. This approach had a comparative advantage since most of the questions were open-ended and it was important to explain them to the respondents and interpret the perceptions carefully.

Making individual appointments was a challenge since the members were engaged in meetings in the parliament or other meetings in Addis Ababa or in their constituencies. Finally, the researcher managed to interview 11 members of the PASC and two members of parliament who are not members of the PASC. The estimated time of each individual interview was estimated at about 1 to 1.5 hours.

5. Government Policy on Pastoralism

5.1. General Policy

In 1994, research was conducted by UNDP in Somali region on "watering points and grazing reserves" in which the author of this report had participated (UNDP/FAO 1994). During discussions with groups of elders, one old man said:

"those who are close to the pot are always the first to enjoy the food and we are far from it".

The explanation of this saying was that policies are designed by highlanders, the Somali are not among the policy-making body, and are the losers - those who are politically peripheral are also economically peripheral which is the characteristics of pastoralists in general.

In general terms, the history of development policies and programmes in Ethiopia shows that they have neglected pastoralism even though the system contributed to the national economy. There have never yet been appropriate pastoral development policies and programmes in the country. Previous policies did not even guarantee the land use rights of pastoralists. Pastoral land is often perceived as unoccupied and underutilized. Thus, policy-makers advocate the use of such resources by investors, or settling people from high-pressure areas or even by sedentarization schemes for pastoralists themselves. These attitudes, however, create conflict which cannot be negotiated easily by the traditional users.

National sectoral policies, on agriculture, population, health, education and roads have been designed. The sector approach does not adequately address pastoral issues, partly because it is linear and not holistic in nature. For example, the Pastoral Extension Team (PET) of the MoA mainly focuses on Agricultural Development Led Industrialization (ADLI). ADLI's major concern is agricultural intensification to produce adequate food grains to make communities self-sufficient in food production. Since ADLI has failed to take into account the pastoralist production system, the Somali region has adopted the formula of Livestock Development Led Industrialization (LDLI). LDLI is expected to bring changes in policy that will suit pastoral people, enabling them to decide their own development needs and defend their resources.

Development interventions were not previously based on the needs and priorities of the pastoralists. Some development projects were implemented in the pastoral areas but they were sectoral and based on highland models. Projects of such nature included USAID pilot projects and subsequent World Bank- and Africa Development Bank- sponsored projects namely the Second and Third Livestock Development Projects, and the South East Rangeland Projects. The major pastoral areas where these interventions were implemented were the Afar, Somali and Oromiya regions. These project interventions were launched between the 1960s and the end of 2000 (Mohammed Mussa & Associates, 2000). None of these projects brought about a sustainable change in pastoral areas. The major reasons for the failure of past development attempts include top-down approaches and the lack of the participation of the pastoral communities.

In the early 1990s Ethiopia saw enormous political changes, with the overthrow of the Mengistu regime by the EPRDF, decentralization, including the creation of ethnically-based regional states, and steps towards democratization. The Transitional Government Charter was adopted in 1991 paving the way for the present federal system of government established by the 1995 FDRE constitution. As a result of the change in government, some positive changes took place towards the pastoral communities. Accordingly, for the first time in the Ethiopian history, the constitution makes various provisions in the interest of Ethiopian pastoralists. Some of the important issues provided under the constitution are:

Article 40: Ethiopian pastoralists have the right to free land for grazing as well as the right not to be displaced from their own lands.

Article 41: Pastoralists have the right to receive fair prices for their products that would lead to improvement in their conditions of life which should be the objective that guides the state in the formulation of economic, social and development policies.

These provisions for pastoralism have contributed to the inclusion of pastoralism in government development policies, programmes and strategies.

5.2 The Five-Year (2000-2004) Development Plan

The National Five Year Development Plan (2000-2004) can in general be considered the programme of the ruling party (EPRDF) and is the second plan since the 1991 change of government. Notable among the detailed policies and strategies are:

- Rural Development Policies and Strategies (RDPS)
- Capacity Building Strategy (CBS)
- Strategy of Democratization (SD)

The plan makes reference to pastoralism, aiming "to strengthen agricultural development activities in pastoral areas to raise the standard of living, strengthen foreign exchange earnings, and improve nomadic livelihoods step by step." The plan admits its knowledge gap on pastoral area development, but recommends the following interventions: -

- Natural resources conservation
- Introduction of new varieties of grasses and vegetables,
- Provision of water and introduction of livestock extension programme
- Development of markets for dairy products, etc.

As part of "improving the nomadic life style", the plan recommends "sustainable settlement" with the introduction of small-scale irrigation. However, the strategies of sustainable settlement have not been clearly worked out.

5.3. The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP)

In 2000, the Ethiopian government drafted a Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), a process initiated by the World Bank and the IMF under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative. The PRSP was developed in consultation with various stakeholders and it is now the major development policy document of the government. The PASC had not yet been established during the preparations and consultations for the PRSP. The Interim PRSP had a very weak section on pastoralism, thus failing to adequately address one of the major sectors of development of the country (Mohammed Mussa, 2001). The interim PRSP was discussed at different forums including at a national conference organized by the Pastoralist Forum of Ethiopia, an umbrella group of national and international NGOs concerned with pastoral development. Members of Parliament from pastoral communities were invited to the conference and actively participated in the discussions. Some improvements were made after the national conference and the final PRSP (now referred to as the Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Programme - SDPRP) was produced in 2002.

The SDPRP views settlement as the way forward in the longer term for populations in pastoral areas:

"Selective and voluntary settlement programmes are believed to be the only viable options in the long run. As this change goes beyond a change of location for pastoral people and entails a drastic alteration in their cultural life, settlement will be conducted over a long period of time with the aid of training and initiative work."

The SDPRP was not clear on the extent of the emphasis which will be given to supporting the settlement vision in the short- to medium-term compared to supporting mobile livestock-based livelihoods. The objectives indicated in the full version of the SDPRP to improve food security and income of pastoral communities appear to focus on current pastoral livelihoods:

- To improve livestock productivity through irrigated pasture, environmental rehabilitation, and improved animal health services.
- To explore market outlets and integrate livestock production into the national economy.

It is however clear from the document that the strategies for pastoral development appear to place more emphasis on supporting sedentary agricultural livelihoods:

- a) Sedentarisation of mobile pastoralists on a voluntary basis.
- b) Consolidation and stabilization of those who are already settled or semi-settled through improved water supply, pasture, and social services.
- c) Careful selection of viable and reliable river courses for future sedentarisation based on irrigation, and linkage of these places through roads and other communication lines.
- d) Provision of mobile social services including health and education holistically for those that continue to be mobile.

According to these strategies, the Government will support both pastoral and sedentary livelihoods. These include interventions to improve water supply and irrigation development, livestock and range resources development and strengthening infrastructure and institutional support.

5.4. Rural Development Policies and Strategies (RDPS)

The Ethiopian Government published a document entitled "Rural Development Policies, Strategies and Instruments" in 2002. As before, a significant portion of the document focused on crop cultivation, although it also addresses some pastoral development issues. There are two aspects of the policy and strategy of the government towards pastoralism, short and medium term and long term.

As indicated in the document, the short and medium term strategies emphasize the mobility of pastoralists. Here the RDPS starts from the fact that pastoralists gain their livelihood from traditional livestock production based on mobility. According to the RDPS, any attempt to ensure food security and sustainable development must start from the agricultural system upon which the life of the people is based, more specifically:

"Since the livelihood of the people is based on pastoralism, our development endeavour and activities must be based on pastoralism itself."

The RDPS also acknowledges the fact that there is an imbalance between stocking rates and the provision of water and pasture during the dry season, which needs to be managed. This is considered as the basic means of improving livestock development in pastoral areas and preventing natural resource degradation. Therefore, according to the RDPS, the first priority of the government without which "livestock development becomes unthinkable" is to ensure water supply in different selected areas. In this regard, the policy also recommends rangeland management and conservation based on the traditional management system. To this end, a wide range of activities must be undertaken in co-operation with pastoral clan leaders and elected representatives.

It is encouraging that the RDPS also recognized the fact that pastoralists have a wide range of traditionally developed knowledge about livestock husbandry, which the government policies and strategies should not ignore. As the document states:

"Without recognizing and basing our effort on this knowledge, attempting to improve livestock husbandry in this area cannot be useful and achievable".

Therefore, with a view to achieving this, the RDPS has provided the following important recommendations:

- Preparing and providing to the people, a package that can strengthen the positive side of their knowledge for livestock husbandry;
- Training for extension workers and provision of extension services that focus on the indigenous knowledge of the pastoralists;
- Systems of veterinary services and livestock development extension services which are in line with the pastoralists' mobility;
- Creating an efficient livestock marketing system, which can make the pastoral system a market-oriented one.

Regarding the long-term strategy of RDPS on pastoralism, it is indicated that the strategy aims at sedentarization based on the development of irrigation. In this respect, RDPS involves not only a change in place, but also a change in a way of

life. Unlike in highland areas, settlement in pastoral areas is a question of changing a person, whose life is based on pastoralism, to that of a sedentary cultivator. Thus, the strategy envisages the preparation and implementation of a settlement programme that focuses on two main issues:

- i. Extensive and basic training on the settled farming system to be given to the pastoralists; and
- ii. Undertaking the settlement activity step by step.

The programme envisaged by the RDPS is not only about settling pastoralists but also convincing them of the advantages of settlement. It is subsequently stated that the settlement programme is a process. It is acknowledged that it might take a long time, but settlement is a must in order to bring about "accelerated and sustainable development" that can improve the livelihood of the pastoralists. Therefore, according to RDPS, while focusing on the activities that are provided in the short and medium term, at the same time, settlement activities must be carried out.

5.5. The Pastoral Policy

As a continuation of the various government policies and programmes focusing on pastoralism, a pastoral policy was developed in 2002, which is one of the indicators of the attention given to the pastoral system. The vision of the government's pastoral policy is as follows (Ministry of Federal Affairs, 2002):

- Phased voluntary sedentarization along the banks of the major rivers as the main direction of transforming pastoral societies into agro-pastoral systems, from mobility to sedentary life, from a scattered population to small pastoral towns and urbanization.
- Complementing sedentarization by micro- and small-scale enterprises development in the urban centers and off-farm activities in the rural areas.
- Undertaking integrated development based on irrigation and focused on livestock production, complemented by static and mobile education and health services as well as rural roads, rural energy and water supply, rural telephone services etc.
- Co-ordinated and concerted federal support for programme ownership by the Regional States and communities, with capacity building to enable them to lead development at all levels.
- Allowing, enabling and coordinating the private sector and NGOs to play a positive role in line with the policy direction and within the framework of the broad programme and strategy, after mobilizing their own resources.
- Tapping indigenous knowledge and skills on animal husbandry and rangeland management.

As stated above, the government pastoral policy aims for sedentarization of pastoralists along the banks of perennial rivers. Since the end of 2002, there has been an elaboration of this policy and increased Government attention to

development in pastoral areas. Government officials reported that sedentarization is designed to build on what the pastoralists are already practicing. For instance, according to the government, 25% of Somalis are already engaged in cultivation.

It was emphasized by government officials that from its previous narrow focus, government now appears to view settlement as a longer-term objective with an emphasis on its voluntary nature, and has stated that in the short to medium term pastoral livelihoods should be supported. Accordingly, an initial period of "pilot sedentarization and support for agro-pastoralists" is envisaged. In addition, in the short and medium term, the focus will be on improving the living standard of pastoralists, through improving traditional livestock breeding practices and livestock marketing, improving water and pasture, provision of veterinary services and introduction of modern techniques such as artificial insemination and commercial fattening. Improved services, both mobile and static, should be provided. Mobile services should include animal and human health and education. In terms of local administration in pastoral areas, "more space will be given to clan leaders, elders, women and the youth by creating elected councils and or recognizing traditional structures" (Ministry of Federal Affairs, 2002).

This government attitude towards pastoralism has been aired and discussed in different forums in recent months. The Ministry of Federal Affairs held a conference on pastoral development in Dire Dawa in April 2002 where it presented the vision of voluntary settlement. The conference resulted in lively debate on the future of pastoralism, with over 300 participants from the four major pastoral regions: Somali, Afar, Oromia (Borena, Bale and Karayu zones) and SNNPR (South Omo zone). Representatives from three of the regional governments appeared to support the Ministry's views on long-term settlement. However, Oromia apparently did not share the vision for settlement (Mokku and Walker 2002).² Participants from outside government also appeared to have more diverse views about settlement and on what short and medium strategies for development in pastoral areas should be. It was felt during the meeting that the government has shifted away from a focus on settlement in the short term, and increased openness to discussion on an issue that has not been fully debated in the past: and that these are positive developments.

The pastoral policies and strategies of the government indicate that there is a commitment to settle all pastoralists in the country. However, these policies and strategies have not recognized the fact that it is not possible to settle all pastoralists given all the different circumstances, for instance the size of the cultivable land by the river banks, the ownership and clan issues etc. The policy lacks clarity on the number of pastoralists that will be settled and the support to mobile pastoralists that will still be needed to improve the productivity of pastoralism. Previous attempts to settle pastoralists should be taken as lessons.

² The Oromiya representatives argued that there are fewer rivers in the pastoral zones of Oromiya, and that they lie in deep gorges, which is a constraint on sedentarization.

For instance, in 1980s and early 1990s, international NGOs in collaboration with government organizations (the Ministry of Agriculture) had implemented a settlement programme in Borena zone. Most of the settlements were situated near major roads and towns. However, the programme was not successful since it ignored a range of factors including indigenous pastoral land tenure and resource use pattern (Getachew Kassa, 2000). The government in its policy acknowledges that there is a knowledge gap on pastoralism. On the other hand, it proposes that sedentarization is the solution to address the problem. The policy is thus contradictory. If there is a knowledge gap, then there is a need for consulting with the pastoral communities and designing the most appropriate policy and strategies, instead of pre-determining the solution, sedentarization (Mahmoud Abdulahi, 2003).

The inconsistencies of policies and strategies related to pastoralism are caused by a number of factors including the knowledge gap on pastoralism, and the absence of representation and participation of the pastoral communities. The newly established Pastoral Affairs Standing Committee within the parliament is expected to represent the pastoralists and be their voice on certain critical pastoral issues.

6. Establishment of the Pastoral Affairs Standing Committee (PASC)

Pastoralists in Ethiopia are located in the peripheral regions of the country and are also politically and economically peripheral. They are often considered as threats to the central government as they are considered to be the tools for external forces. For this reason, pastoralist areas have been foci in the military arena but not in the development arena. However, political change in Ethiopia in the early 1990s favoured the marginalized groups of the country, including the pastoralists, at least at the level of policy dialogues and inclusion of pastoral issues in development policies and strategies. Many people interviewed for this study believe that the establishment of the PASC indicates policy changes favourable to pastoral development.

However, the inclusion of pastoral issues in development policies and strategies can be understood as a political strategy of the government. To this effect, there has always been a feeling that since pastoralists are in peripheral and strategic regions, that they could be the means for political and military infiltration from neighbouring countries. Thus, the political attention given to pastoralists and the efforts being made by the government to improve their livelihoods are intended to achieve political stability in the respective regions and to convince the regions that they are parts of the federal system of the country. The establishment of the PASC can also be considered as part of this government strategy.

In 2002, restructuring of the federal ministries took place and new ministries such as the Ministry of Federal Affairs, Ministry of Rural Development and Ministry of

Capacity Building were established. Accordingly, the standing committees within the Ethiopian Parliament were restructured which resulted in the creation of additional standing committees including the PASC. Under the proclamation number 217/2002, the following standing committees have been established:

1. The Capacity Building Affairs Standing Committee
2. The Trade and Industry Affairs Standing Committee
3. The Rural Development Affairs Standing Committee
4. The Natural Resources and Environmental Protection Affairs Standing Committee
5. The Infrastructure Development Affairs Standing Committee
6. The Budget and Finance Affairs Standing Committee
7. The Legal and Administrative Affairs Standing Committee
8. The Foreign, Defense and Security Affairs Standing Committee
9. The Women's Affairs Standing Committee
10. The Information and Culture Affairs Standing Committee
11. The Social Affairs Standing Committee
- 12. The Pastoral Affairs Standing Committee**

Each standing committee reports to the House of parliament. The standing committees have 13 members each with a Chair and Vice-Chair directly elected by the House. The PASC is chaired by a Somali MP and the Vice-Chair is an Oromo MP. It has two sub-committees, namely social and economic sub-committees. A Somali MP chairs the social sub-committee, while the economic sub-committee is chaired by an Amhara (non-pastoral) MP.

Many external and internal factors, as well as the influence of individuals, have contributed to the establishment of the PASC in Ethiopia. The following are some of them:

- The increased global political attention to pastoral development, including a concern with conflict management in pastoral areas;
- The positive political attitude of the Ethiopian government towards pastoralists and the restructuring of federal ministries as well as the standing committees within the parliament;
- The participation of the pastoral MPs in the workshop held in Kenya in 1999 was one of the factors for the establishment of the Ethiopian PASC. The workshop brought pastoralists of the region together with donors, traders, NGOs and civil society activists. The workshop proclaimed the exclusion of pastoralists and their voices and their poor participation in policy formulation. The Ethiopian pastoralists learnt from Kenyan and Ugandan pastoralists since Pastoralist Parliamentary Groups (PPGs) were established earlier in those countries.

- Some pastoral NGOs and forums such as the Pastoral Forum of Ethiopia (PFE) had made continued efforts since 1999 to establish a pastoral standing committee within the parliament. Some consultations were carried out with some of the pastoral MPs on this matter including the current Chairman of the PASC. The MPs were also invited to various conferences and workshops organized by the PFE. The exposure of the MPs to various pastoral events within the country and abroad raised their awareness and encouraged them to lobby for the establishment of an Ethiopian PASC.
- The Pastoralist Communication Initiative (PCI) funded by DFID has also played a catalytic role in the establishment and strengthening of the PASC. In January 2002, it facilitated a workshop for 70 pastoral MPs on poverty reduction and the issues of representation of pastoralists, referring to the experience of other countries.
- Within parliament there was a view that the Rural Development Standing Committee could take care of the pastoral problems, and thus the establishment of a separate pastoral standing committee was discouraged. However, the continued lobbying by some of the pastoral MPs and the support from the Speaker of the House contributed to the establishment of the PASC.

Most of the people interviewed argued that the policy focus on pastoralism, particularly the establishment of the PASC, has achieved results in terms of increasing the voice of the pastoral communities. It is anticipated that the PASC could play an important role in influencing policies on behalf of pastoralists. The establishment of the PASC is perceived as a positive development by some government agencies interviewed during this study. They believe that pastoralists need representatives within the parliament where policies are discussed and approved. The government agencies believe that the committee increases the voice of the pastoralists and that the government, particularly the Ministry of Federal Affairs, is listening to and considering those voices. It was also stated that there are often difficulties for government and NGOs in reaching pastoral communities. It is believed that the PASC could potentially serve as a bridge between the pastoral communities on one hand and the government as well as NGOs on the other.

Various multilateral and bilateral donors such as the World Bank, USAID, the EC and others have directly and indirectly been encouraging the establishment of the PASC and the reinforcement of its capacity. For instance, the World Bank believes that the Pastoral Community Development Project (PCDP), which it finances, which needs the active participation of the pastoral communities, could make use of pastoral MPs for mobilization. The PCDP also has an advocacy component for pastoralists (World Bank 2001), which the PASC may be involved in. It is assumed that a pastoral committee within the parliament would

contribute to a better understanding of pastoralism and the problems of pastoralists as the committee can be expected to lobby and advocate for pastoralists.

Comparing the establishment of the Ethiopian PASC and similar groups in Kenya and Uganda, the PPGs in those countries are voluntary groups within the parliament, with a potential membership of all MPs concerned with pastoral issues. However, the situation of Ethiopia is different, in that when the parliament restructured itself and established a number of standing committees, PASC was established as one of the committees by Proclamation. There is a feeling that the legally-established PASC has certain advantages over the voluntary groups since the government is more likely to listen to and consider the voice of the committee.³ On the other hand, there is a concern that the functions of the PASC could be controlled by the government and could serve the government purposes only and not necessarily that of the pastoralists. The fact that some of the members of the committee are members of the ruling party (EPRDF), and most of the others are members of parties loosely affiliated with it, could be taken as support for either position; that they remain subject to top-down party policy, or that they can play an important role in influencing it. The answer to this question is likely to remain unclear for some time.

³ Interestingly, this view was expressed by Ugandan and Kenyan MPs when preliminary findings of this research were presented at a workshop in Kampala (J Morton pers. comm.)

Table 1: Background of the PASC Members

Member	Constituencies	Education	Term of Service in Parliament	Previous occupation	Party Affiliation	Pastoral/Non-Pastoral background
1	Borena/Oromo	Secondary school	1 st	Administration	OPDO*	Pastoral
2	Amhara	LLB	2 nd	Agricultural bureau	APDM*	Non-pastoral
3	Addis Ababa/Oromo	Diploma	2 nd	Teaching	OPDO*	Non-pastoral
4	Amhara	University	1 st	Woreda Admin.	APDM*	Non-pastoral
5	Somali	University	1 st	Business	None	Pastoral
6	B/Gumuz	BA	2 nd	Business	BGPDP	Pastoral
7	Afar	Secondary school	2 nd	APDP staff	APDP	Pastoral
8	Afar	University	2 nd	Agricultural bureau	APDP	Pastoral
9	Oromo	BA	1 st	Teaching	OPDO*	Non-pastoral
10	Southern Nations	Diploma	2 nd	Legal advisor	SEPDM*	Non-pastoral
11	Somali	MSc	2 nd	Lived and worked abroad	SPDP	Pastoral
12	Somali	Elementary	2 nd	Abroad	SPDP	Pastoral
13	Gambella	University	1 st	Police	See note 5	Pastoral

Notes:

1. Member 11 is the chair and Member 9 is the vice chair of the committee
2. Committee members 12 and 13 were not interviewed due to their absence from work.
3. Parties marked * are EPRDF-member parties
4. Under education, “university” indicates that the members are currently attending evening classes in the University.
5. At the time of writing, the official name of the party in Gambella to which this member belongs is unclear

Abbreviations

- APDM - Amhara Peoples Democratic Movement
 APDP - Afar Peoples Democratic Party
 BGPDP - Benishangul Gumuz Peoples Democratic Front
 NA - Information not available
 OPDO - Oromo Peoples Democratic Organization
 SEPDM - Southern Ethiopian Peoples Democratic Movement
 SPDP - Somali Peoples Democratic Party

7. Background of the PASC Members

The members of the PASC are drawn from different ethnic groups and regional states. Information on committee members who could not be interviewed due to various reasons was gathered from other members. There are a total of 13 PASC members of which, as shown in Table 1, eight are from pastoral communities and grew up as pastoralists, while the remaining five are from non-pastoral communities. Members from the pastoral communities are from the Somali, Afar, Oromiya (Borena), Gambella and Benishangul-Gumuz regions. The members from these regions sit for parties in the respective regions which are affiliated or loosely allied to the EPRDF but are not member parties of the EPRDF in the strict sense. Exceptions are an individual Somali member who does not represent any party and the Borena member who represents the OPDO, an EPRDF member party. The five PASC members who are from non-pastoral communities are members of the parties within the EPRDF. These MPs are assigned to the PASC by Parliament since pastoral issues are considered to be national issues and representatives from other regions are needed.

From the total of 13 PASC members, 8 members are serving for the second term in the parliament, while 5 are in their first term. Of those who are serving for the second term, 5 are from the pastoral communities and the other 3 are from non-pastoral communities. Although most of the members are serving for the second term, it is difficult to predict how many of them will be returned in the next election and stay in the PASC.⁴ This raises the question of the sustainability of the committee.

The educational background of the members varies from elementary school education to Masters degrees. Three of the members, from the pastoral communities of Afar, Somali and Borena, have elementary or secondary education. Two have diplomas from the Addis Ababa University.⁵ Some other members are currently attending the extension programmes of the Civil Service College and Addis Ababa University in the areas of law, accounting and economics. The Chairman and the Vice-Chairman have a Masters degree (MSc) and a Bachelors degree (BA), respectively.

The previous occupations of the members include teaching, Woreda administration, political activities within regional parties, and business. One of them (from Borena) was engaged in an NGO data collection assignment and has good understanding of the pastoral communities in Borena zone. Those engaged in businesses still maintain involvement in them while they are operated through family members.

As indicated above, the Chairperson has an advanced educational background and is well versed in the issues of pastoral development. He, being from a pastoral community, is very much committed to pastoral development, and even challenges the higher policy-makers on pastoral policy matters. So far, he is the most visible and influential member of the committee, who is able to raise the concerns of the pastoralists and is determined to

⁴ The chair of the PASC runs an NGO mainly operating in his own constituency, which is generally thought to make him popular and more likely to be re-elected for a third time.

⁵ Diploma refers to an undergraduate qualification lower than a BA.

bring about changes. He was at the time of the research the chairperson of the task force established by pastoral parliamentarians of Kenya, Uganda and Ethiopia. Other members who are from non-pastoral communities have a good educational background and have acquired some knowledge on pastoralism from training and participation in workshops. However, it may be a problem for the sustainability of the functions of the PASC that, on balance, there is a tendency for the pastoral members to have lower educational qualifications than the non-pastoral members. There will be limits on the extent to which the PASC can depend on the nominated non-pastoral members of the committee, who are members of the EPRDF, to challenge the policy-makers and influence policy in favour of pastoralists even though it is the stated intention of those members to do so.

8. Perceptions of PASC Members on Pastoral Development Issues

8.1. Constraints on Pastoral Development in Ethiopia

It was interesting to observe that all the members are committed to the pastoral issues but from different perspectives. For instance, some of the members from non-pastoral communities are concerned with the loss of national resources (i.e. livestock) if appropriate measures are not taken - water development, health and market infrastructure. The disadvantage of Ethiopia in the cross-border trade (the flow of livestock to neighbouring countries via informal markets) was emphasized. On the other hand, members from the pastoral communities are more interested in the human face of pastoralism. They strongly argued that the development policies of the country have ignored pastoralists and there is a need to improve their livelihoods.

The members expressed the opinion that while sedentarization should be viewed as one of the strategies for income diversification of the pastoralists where possible, the government also needs to direct its attention to improving the situation of the existing pastoral production system through different interventions. During the survey, the PASC members were requested to rank the three most important problems that the pastoralists commonly face and their expectations of what the Ethiopian government can do for pastoral development. It was acknowledged that pastoralists in different regions and locations face different constraints. However, it was agreed that the most common problems could be identified and discussed. Accordingly, ranges of problems were identified and discussed, the order of which differs depending on the viewpoints of the individual PASC members - it should be noted that some of the problems identified are location-specific. The problems were ranked in different orders by different members and include shortage of water, access to social services, animal diseases, social services, lack of livestock market, conflict, low participation, drought etc. The comments of the members on each of the constraints and what the standing committee can do to improve the situations are briefly discussed below:

8.1.1. Lack of Water

As one of the members said, "water is everything in pastoral areas". Where there are water points, there are social services, livestock and grazing. Water is the major constraints in all pastoral areas. It was mentioned by another member of the committee that even the movement of the pastoralists, which is not a sustainable way of life in his opinion, is due to lack of water. Therefore, the pastoral development strategy of the government should be water-centred. It was further commented that the settlement programme of the government could not be possible if priority is not given to water development. Members of the committee also stated that the PASC works closely with the federal Ministry of Water Resources, and the issue of water development in pastoral areas in a sustainable manner is frequently raised and discussed, which they think is well received by the Ministry.

8.1.2. Livestock Marketing

Lack of markets for livestock is one of the constraints that affect the livelihood of pastoralists. The PASC members reported that pastoralists have often been blamed for not selling their animals before drought strikes. In many instances, however, there is no market infrastructure and no satisfactory market mechanisms for selling their animals. Government efforts to export livestock and even processed meat are affected by frequent bans imposed by Middle East countries, particularly the Saudi Arabian Government. It was mentioned that there has been a ban on the entire Horn of Africa region associated with "Rift Valley Fever". This is debatable since neither the Ethiopian Veterinary Authority nor independent veterinary experts have identified or confirmed the existence of this disease in the country. The members said that such a ban has a direct negative effect on pastoral livelihoods and that the government must act and find solutions to get the ban lifted. The committee has not yet been active in advocating and lobbying for the lifting of the ban but plans to work closely with the Livestock Marketing Authority on this matter.

It was also mentioned by some of the members that due to lack of market infrastructure within the pastoral areas of the country, the pastoralists sell their animals at the border markets at lower prices to traders from neighboring countries, which also affects the foreign earnings of the country.

8.1.3. Livestock Diseases

Livestock diseases are among the constraints that hinder livestock production and marketing in the pastoral areas, as reported by the members. The coverage of animal health services is only 30% at national level. The coverage in pastoral areas is worse at only 5%. The major animal diseases in pastoral areas are endemic diseases such as Foot and Mouth, Contagious Caprine Pleuro-Pneumonia (CCPP), Contagious Bovine Pleuro-Pneumonia (CBPP) and Camel Trypanosomiasis. There has been little progress in controlling these common diseases. There are no adequate vaccines produced against CCPP and FMD (Mohammed Mussa & Associates, 2001). Ticks and mange mites are major contributors to skin and hide damage and reduced productivity. Feed shortages

coupled with such endemic disease mean that livestock mortality is a common feature of pastoral areas. The cross-border resource use by pastoralists and the externalities of disease prevalence were also mentioned by two of the members. They believe that the agreement of the neighboring countries will be needed for controlling contagious diseases.

8.1.4. Access to Social Services

Community infrastructure is weak in the pastoral areas. In none of the pastoral areas do pastoral communities have adequate access to health and education facilities. The members acknowledge that education is a key factor for the development of the pastoral communities. Unless pastoral children are educated, it will not be possible to achieve the goals and objectives of any pastoral development policy. The PASC members reported that the total school enrolment rate in pastoral areas ranges from 6% in Afar to 9% in Somali regions. School attendance of children is influenced by recurrent drought. During the extended dry seasons and droughts, the children stop attending schools and instead follow the parents in search of water and pasture.

Lack of health services is one of the common constraints in the pastoral areas. The Vice-Chairman of the committee reported that the percentage of the population with access to health services is 12-14% in pastoral areas, which is low as compared to the highland coverage which is about 52%. Most of the time, pastoralist household members are mobile and are at a disadvantage in getting health services from static centres. In some cases, these health centres are not functional and often are without practitioners.

While the PASC has managed to work with the Ministry of Education on the development of mobile and regular education systems, it has not yet managed to convince the Ministry of Health to do the same. The Ministry of Health maintains that it is the responsibility of the Regional Health Bureaux to handle health matters in the Regions. The PASC members reported that they would continue to lobby for static and mobile education and health services in pastoral areas.

8.1.5. Conflict

Conflict was raised as one of the problems of Ethiopian pastoralists. There have been conflicts between pastoralists and non-pastoralists, although not of a great magnitude in recent years. Recent conflicts between pastoral groups, as between Borena and some Somali clans (the Geri and Degodi), have been serious. The major cause of this conflict is competition over grazing land and watering points that remained under dispute for many years. The Afar and Issa conflict which has existed for many years was also mentioned. The conflict is mainly caused by access to grazing and watering resources, but currently also by the current government policy on ethnic based regionalization (Alemayehu Boka, 2003).

The conflicts between the Borena and Hamar pastoralists and the Borena and Arbore pastoralists have been ongoing for many years and have still not been resolved. One

major conflict area is the Chewbahir Lake where pastoral groups from Hamar and Borena bring their animals for pasture and water during prolonged dry seasons or droughts. Conflict is sometimes caused by traditional beliefs and institutions, specifically those associated with cattle raiding. Some groups which have access to superior weapons try to raid others and snatch livestock, sometimes causing human death.

Border conflicts also affect the livelihood of the pastoralists. For instance, the Afars, Somali and Borena pastoralists have lost their livestock and faced displacement due to Ethio-Somali and Ethio-Eritrean border conflicts. The settlement programme of the government could also aggravate the conflict situation unless it is well planned. This is because resources in pastoral areas belong to clans and settlement outside the clan will cause conflicts.

The committee is often requested by the government to participate in peace-making efforts in pastoral areas where there are conflicts. But as one of the members indicated, peace-making is better handled by those members of the committee who know the culture of the concerned communities.

8.1.6. Low Levels of Participation

Participation has become an important concept in development endeavours over the last several years. It is believed by development experts that, without participation of the local community, development projects and programmes cannot be sustainable. In addition, the concept of participation refers not only to development but also to governance - participation in policy dialogue and participation in local elections etc.. Because of the poor education system and their lack of awareness, pastoralists cannot voice their needs and this has been the major obstacle to their empowerment politically, economically and socially. They are not fully aware of modern state proclamations, laws and regulations and cannot defend themselves against the disadvantageous situation they face.

To this effect, the members of the committee stressed that empowerment is one of the key pastoral issues that the Ethiopian government must deal with. Pastoralists had their own traditional knowledge for managing their surroundings and themselves. Over the years, as national government included the pastoralists in its administrative domain, their traditional system was weakened, in some instances totally replaced by modern state institutions. Pastoralists, although facing challenges from conventional state administration, utilize their own institutions wherever they can. As one of the members from Somali Region stated, the representation of pastoralists through their traditional institutions, linked to government administration, is a good model for managing their own affairs.

8.1.7. Drought and Early Warning Systems

Drought is a common phenomenon in pastoral areas as was also reported by the members of the committee. The recurrent drought in pastoral areas has caused great hardship to pastoralists who have had to sell their assets including livestock at low prices in order to buy day-to-day household necessities (Sandford and Habtu, 2000). The disaster prevention and preparedness policy is primarily concerned with saving human lives. Accordingly, the early warning system is focused to facilitate timely delivery of food aid in the areas where the population is affected by drought and other external shocks. The early warning system has ignored the fact that the livelihood of pastoralists depends on livestock. While the policy tackles the issues of saving human lives, it has not yet managed to establish and implement a systematic livestock early warning system and the necessary responses. The members from pastoral communities repeatedly reported that emergency food aid would not be sustainable unless an appropriate early warning system is designed for livestock as well. The committee has started consulting with the Federal Disaster Preparedness and Prevention Commission (DPPC) on this issue. However, the preparation of early warning systems for humans and livestock has not yet been well received by the commission.

8.2. Current Pastoral Policies

All the members interviewed expressed their concerns over pastoralists and pastoral development policy in Ethiopia. One said that "the wind is now blowing towards the pastoralists but it has not yet rained", meaning that there are some good things being said in government policy documents but the actual implementation is yet to be seen. Two of the members of the PASC stated that it is difficult to imagine pastoralism as a sustainable way of life without settlement. This argument was justified by the fact that livestock production alone, given recurrent droughts, is a risky economic system. Thus, diversification of income by cultivating could be considered as one of the strategies. This is consistent with government policy on pastoral settlement.

As one of the members of the PASC reported, from a previous narrow focus, the Ethiopian government now appears to view settlement as a longer term objective with emphasis on its voluntary nature and has stated that in the short to medium term pastoral livelihoods should be supported. One argument for sedentarization of pastoralists is that settling the pastoral households is important and convenient for the provision of social services by the government and the NGOs. It is considered to be cost-effective and easy to administer. Settlements are easier and more suitable for providing and distributing food aid, basic social and infrastructure services such as access roads, clean water supplies, electricity, schools and clinics as well as extension services. The members of the committee share these views. However, some policy-makers seem to take a rather harsh view of the sedentarization programme - they say that the pastoralists will be settled within 15 years. This has angered the PASC members, particularly the Chair who is vocal and has no reservations about challenging government officials on certain pastoral issues. The members of the PASC believe sedentarization without developing the necessary

infrastructure and without consulting the pastoralists will not be acceptable and will not be sustainable.

8.3. General Perceptions on Pastoral Development

During the semi-structured interviews with the PASC members, ten members were asked to comment on certain pastoral issues by indicating their agreement or disagreement with sample statements (1=strongly agree to 5=strongly disagree). The statements were as follows:

- 1: pastoralists should be required to settle in one place
- 2: pastoralists should be encouraged to settle
- 3: pastoralism is a sustainable form of land use
- 4: rangelands are better owned by individuals/small groups
- 5: pastoralists respond rationally to livestock markets

Statements 1 and 4 fall broadly within the old orthodoxy concerning pastoralists, statement 2 is a weaker form of that orthodoxy, while statements 3 and 5 fall broadly within newer thinking on pastoralism.

The scores given to each pastoral issue are subjective but can serve as indicative perceptions of individual PASC members. The scores by issue and member of the PASC are provided in the table below.

Table 2: Perceptions on Pastoral Development

Statements	Respondents										Average
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
1 past ^s to be required to settle	4	4	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	4.7
2 past ^s to be encouraged to settle	1	1	2	1	4	2	3	3	2	1	2.0
3 past ^m a sustainable form of land-use	4	5	5	5	2	3	2	5	3	4	3.8
4 rangelands better privately owned	5	4	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	4.8
5 past ^s respond rationally to l/s markets	2	5	3	3	3	3	3	3	5	3	3.3

1 = strongly agree, 5 = strongly disagree

As indicated above, most of the respondents strongly disagree with the two statements that correspond to old orthodoxies about pastoralism; that pastoralists should be forced to settle in one place and that rangelands should be privately owned. They believe in general, however, that pastoralists should be encouraged to settle and that before the settlement is implemented, the pastoralists should be consulted and the necessary social infrastructure should be developed.

The issue of pastoralism and sustainable land use was debatable. Members in general disagreed with the statement, at least as regards the present. Some members argued that there used to be traditional sustainable land use systems operated by pastoralists, the example mentioned being the Afar pastoral system. The Afar pastoralists used to specialize in their livestock holdings - some owned camels while some owned cattle - and this happened through consultations within the pastoral communities. Then, due to recurrent droughts, the pastoral households decided to diversify their livestock assets and every household now tries to own all species of livestock, which is resulting in overgrazing and land degradation. There also used to be seasonal grazing areas by which pastoralists shifted from one grazing area to another depending on the season. As one of the members stated, the highland policy makers considered this a backward system while it was in fact sustainable by the pastoral communities.

Most of the members stressed that individuals and/or small groups cannot own rangelands because the current practice is a clan-based communal grazing system. The attempt to privatize the rangelands could cause conflicts between pastoral communities of different clans. Only a few of the members (from non-pastoral communities) argued that the rangelands could be better utilized if owned by individuals and/or small groups - the owners could then devise mechanisms of gazing (seasonal, shifting of grazing etc.) to avoid overgrazing and land degradation. It should be noted that the different views of the members on rangeland can be explained by the knowledge gap on the current system of pastoralism in general and rangelands in particular.

The members of the PASC repeatedly reported that markets and market infrastructure are among the constraints in pastoral communities. The statement they were asked to judge on was probably over-abstract: they could not agree with the statement that pastoralists rationally respond to livestock markets because pastoralists have limited access to markets. But they also said pastoralists do not sell their animals unless they are affected by external shocks, because livestock are symbols of social status - livestock in most pastoral areas are sold when the pastoral household needs cash. They often sell animals when they need non-pastoral products during the dry season. During such periods, the demand for animals is low and they are in bad condition, so the terms of trade are not in favour of the pastoralists.

9. Capacity of the PASC

As stated earlier, the PASC is composed of Members of Parliament from pastoral and non-pastoral communities. While those from the pastoral communities have knowledge on pastoral issues at least in their respective constituencies, those members from the non-pastoral communities had very limited understanding of pastoral systems. Another issue is that some of the members have higher formal education and the others have elementary or secondary school education. Therefore, there are differences in understanding the concepts of pastoralism and pastoral development. Some of the members reported that the committee lacks technical know-how to challenge the policy makers and influence policy in favour of pastoralists. Few of the members who have

higher education and experience on pastoral issues are performing well in policy dialogues. Some efforts have been made to strengthen the capacity of the members through participation in conferences, workshops and training programmes organized by NGOs and the government.

The respondents reported that the capacity building mechanisms for PASC could be the following:

- Internal and external training
- Access to research materials
- Educational visits
- Rotation of job assignments

The committee members highly value the training programme they had at the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) in Brighton. They said that the programme was very important for the members' better understanding of the key concepts of pastoralism. The training programme was organized by the DFID-funded PCI. PCI continues working with the committee, and it was mentioned by many of the members that the organization is doing some good things to enhance the capacity of the committee but the legal status of the organization has been is not clear to the committee members.

Some of the PASC members are attending evening classes, which have contributed to strengthening the capacity of the members and the committee. Five of the members are attending university. Three of them are in high school. They all consider this an advantage they receive as Members of Parliament.

Their other capacity limitation is related to lack of transport facilities. The committee does not have adequate transport facilities to travel to the different pastoral communities when need arises. Only one four-wheel drive station wagon is available for the whole committee.

The members expressed the opinion that more training programmes (in-country and abroad), participation in conferences, workshops and public debate on pastoral issues would strengthen the capacity of the committee. They also believe that visits to other countries (e.g. Mongolia) would widen their experience and understanding of the pastoral issues better. The availability of transport would also facilitate their work.

10. Access to Information

Since pastoralism is receiving national and global attention, the members have different sources of information on pastoralism. They reported that the major sources of information on pastoral issues include the media, NGOs, donors and parliament. The information derived from NGOs is often through workshops and conferences. Participation in annual conferences and the Pastoralists Day organized by the PFE were

reported as the major sources of information on pastoralism and for creation of awareness on the issues at hand.

They, however, have the feeling that there are information and knowledge gaps on pastoralism within the committee. For instance, information on the status and problems of pastoralism in different regions and communities could help them to lobby and advocate. The more educated members felt that access to research findings - both environmental and socio-economic - on current pastoral development issues could help them better understand the concepts and the issues and influence policy in favour of pastoralists. It was also felt that the members do not have equal knowledge on the activities of the committee. Only the Chair and Vice-Chair as well as the Chairs of the social and economic sub-committees are well informed on the committee's activities.

11. Roles and Responsibilities of the PASC

The roles and responsibilities of the Standing Committees within Parliament, including those of the PASC, are defined in Proclamation 271/2002. The standing committees were established with certain roles and responsibilities worked out by the House of Parliament. The roles and responsibilities are of course in line with the EPRDF general programme and guidelines

Among the responsibilities of the committees are organizing workshops and conducting studies. However, PASC has not yet acted on its plan mainly due to the short time that it has been established and its lack of capacity. For example, the committee has not yet organized workshops for awareness-raising or conducted a study on pastoral issues. Lack of financial capacity is the reason mentioned for the slowness of the activities of the committee. Awareness-creation is often carried out at workshops organized by other stakeholders such as the PFE or PCI. Generally, the major roles of the PASC include legislation, oversight, and representation.

11.1. Legislative activities of the PASC:

Under this responsibility of the PASC, the committee is expected to undertake the following activities.

- To ensure that pastoral issues are included when national policies are formulated
- To ensure that subsidiary budgets are allocated for various pastoral activities as a form of affirmative action
- To influence the poverty reduction strategy of the country in the direction of improving the livelihood of pastoralists
- To encourage a higher level of pastoralists' participation and responsibility.

11.2. Oversight

The PASC is expected to oversee the activities of eight ministries and commissions/authorities. The committee directly oversees the activities of the Livestock Marketing Authority (LMA)⁶ and also some of the pastoral-related activities of the federal ministries including the Ministry of Federal Affairs, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Water Resources, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ethiopian Agricultural Research Organization, and the Disaster Preparedness and Prevention Commission. The members reported that the LMA presents its plans and budgets to the PASC, which ensures that an adequate budget is allocated for pastoral-related activities. The LMA Manager was very positive about the quality of oversight provided by the PASC. However, the committee has to work hard to have appropriate channels of communications with the concerned federal ministries and commissions. For example, the committee is expected to closely follow up the activities of the Pastoral Extension Team (PET) within the Ministry of Agriculture (MoA). The committee makes direct phone calls to the PET for information, but the PET feels that it does not have the mandate to directly communicate with PASC.

11.3. Representation

Representation is one of the roles of the standing committee. So far, the PASC members have been participating in various meetings and conferences to represent the interest of pastoralists. Some of the members have even been requested by NGOs (such as PFE) to officially open conferences and make remarks. It was observed that NGOs which are involved in pastoral development and rehabilitation programmes have respect for the PASC members as they feel that pastoralists need representation in policy dialogue and debates.

The PASC has formulated the "7 Ps" as its underlying principles in its representational role. They are displayed in the offices of the Chair and Vice-Chair, and are said to guide the committee in its day-to-day activity. They are as follows:

- Pastoralist-centred
- Pastoralist rights
- Pastoralist strength
- Pastoralist knowledge
- Pastoralist skills
- Pastoralist attitude
- Pastoralist participation

According to the members of the committee, the above principles are followed when the members participate in workshops and conferences representing pastoralists.

The PASC members were asked to rank their priorities of duties as MPs and members of the committee in order of importance. The duties indicated were the following:

⁶ Subsequent to the study, the LMA was amalgamated with a restructured Ministry of Agriculture.

1. Improving government services in your constituency
2. Bringing government investment to your constituency
3. Influencing government policy on pastoralism
4. Following up implementation of government policy on pastoralism
5. Mobilizing support for your party

Table 3 below shows the rankings that demonstrate the priority tasks of the members (or at least what the members state are their priorities). The rankings are given for 10 respondents, with the lowest numbers the highest priorities. The result shows that different members have different priorities as members of the parliament and members of the PASC. However, the average rankings (which statistically should be treated with caution but are indicative) show that influencing government policies (the legislative role) is the top priority in the committee followed by follow-up of the implementation of the policies.

Table 3: Priority Tasks of the PASC Members

Tasks	Respondents										Average
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
1 Improving govt services in const ^y	2	5	1	4	2	3	3	3	1	3	2.7
2 Bringing govt investment to const ^y	4	4	4	5	4	4	4	5	4	4	4.2
3 Influencing govt policy on past ^m	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1.3
4 Following up implementation	3	1	3	2	3	2	2	2	3	2	2.3
5 Mobilizing support for party	5	3	5	3	5	5	5	4	5	5	4.4

1 = highest priority, 5 = lowest priority

There were different views regarding lobbying for social services and investment for the constituencies of the members. Some of them stressed that as they are members of the federal parliament, they can only directly lobby for their constituencies if there are special issues or problems. However, the opinion was expressed that members can lobby for social services and investment in their constituencies. Two of the members reported that that it is possible to lobby for party support but this happens only when some benefits are extended to the constituencies. It was reported that it is difficult to mobilize support for the parties without showing some social benefits to the constituencies.

11.4. Working with other MPs

More than 125 Members of Parliament were elected by pastoral communities of the country. These MPs are assigned to other standing committees and have formal or informal links with the PASC. The PASC asks them to document and report the problems and their observations in their constituencies. They have been successful with some of the members, while others rarely go to their constituencies for various reasons. Last year,

the committee had prepared pro-formas for following up on health issues (especially vaccination of children under five) in different constituencies. However, most of the MPs did not go home during the recess and this plan was not realized. The committee is planning to organize meetings for the other pastoral MPs to discuss the strategies of gathering and reporting information on the challenges facing pastoralists in different communities of the country, so that the committee could follow up with advocacy and lobbying.

11.5. Successes and Challenges of the Committee

The PASC has been established for a short time, which limits the significance of its achievements and failures. However, there are some signs of successes and challenges observed after its establishment, which are presented in the boxes below.

Box 1: Better Knowledge of Members on Pastoralism

It was repeatedly reported that knowledge on pastoral development would potentially allow the PASC members to better understand the issues and contribute towards policy influence and follow up of policy implementation. Moreover, the PASC members have different background and their exposure to pastoralism differs accordingly. The different capacity-building programmes they have participated in were important and successful. According to the members, the training programme in Brighton organized by PCI, the field visits made to the major pastoral areas which was sponsored by USAID, interactions within the PASC, and participation in various conferences, seminars and workshops regarding pastoralism have improved their understanding of pastoralism and their ability to present pastoralist cases in parliament.

Box 2: Creation of Pastoral Departments

The PASC members claim that one of the success stories of the committee is that it has managed to lobby for the opening of pastoral departments, units, teams, desks or task forces within the concerned federal ministries, for instance, the Department of Pastoral Development within the Ministry of Federal Affairs (MoFA), and departments within the Ethiopian Agricultural Research Organization (EARO), Ministry of Agriculture (MoA), and Ministry of Water Resources. There are also task forces in the Ministry of Education (MoE) and Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission (DPPC) to address pastoral issues. The programmes and budgets of the Livestock Market Authority are overseen by the PASC. However, other informants noted that most of the pastoral focal units within the federal ministries (e.g. PET within the MoA) existed before the existence of the committee. Nevertheless, the PASC has the potential to contribute to the strengths of the departments, teams, units etc.

Box 3 Awareness Creation

Pastoralism was neglected and people had little knowledge about it. The PASC has started contributing to awareness creation at various levels. The PASC members have been raising the voices of the pastoralists at various forums including at workshops, conferences, seminars and at the parliament. This is expected to gradually change the attitude of policy makers and others on pastoralism and its contribution to the national economy. The awareness creation has also focused on the pastoralists themselves informing them that the pastoral system is part of the national economy and is recognized by the policy makers which has boosted the moral of the pastoralists to a certain extent.

As the committee reported its success stories, it has also reported the various challenges faced in its activities. Some of the challenges are illustrated in the two boxes below:

Box 4: Failure to Establish Pastoral Programmes within the Ministry of Health

While most of the ministries and commissions have opened pastoral programmes, the Ministry of Health (MoH) has resisted doing so. The PASC has been pushing the MoH to have a special focus on pastoral areas and expand its coverage there. However, the ministry is not cooperating in opening pastoral departments or units, and argues that the respective regional bureaux are responsible for the health programme. The committee is still trying to convince the MoH, but without government/EPRDF support.

Box 5: Challenges of Establishing a Pastoral Authority

The PASC oversees the plans and activities of the Livestock Marketing Authorities and the pastoral programmes of other federal ministries and commissions. An Inter-Ministerial Board has also been established within the Ministry of Federal Affairs. It was however reported by the members that it is difficult to oversee the pastoral programme activities of the nine ministries and commissions/authorities given the limited capacity of the standing committee. The committee members strongly believe that there is a need for the establishment of a Federal Pastoral Authority/Ministry/Commission that will be responsible for pastoral issues - the Oromiya and SNNP regional states have already created Pastoral Commissions. The government so far insists that there is already an Inter-Ministerial Board taking care of pastoral issues. However, the PASC members are insisting that the Inter-Ministerial Board is rather loose and cannot be responsible for the complex issues of pastoralism. Although it is premature to draw a conclusion that the committee has failed to influence the government to establish Pastoral Authority, the feeling is that the government is not yet prepared to establish such a federal agency or authority.

12. Conclusions and Recommendations

12.1. Conclusions

The literature review and the interviews conducted with various stakeholders indicate that pastoralists in Ethiopia have been politically and economically peripheral. The history of development policies and programmes of the country shows that pastoral issues were ignored despite the fact that pastoralism contributed to the national economy. Lack of representation and participation of pastoralists in policy making is one of the causes of the biases of the policies and programmes towards the highland crop production system.

Some positive policy changes have been taking place towards pastoralists and pastoral development since the change of government in the country in the early 1990s. The inclusion of pastoral issues in government development policies and programmes and the development of a pastoral development policy are among the indications that the government is now paying attention to pastoralism. There is however a view that the government policy that focuses on sedentary agriculture negates pastoralism as a viable way of life and does not consider the actual situation. It is stated in the policy documents that all pastoralists will be settled. However, the various circumstances, such as clan ownership of land, the extent of cultivable land etc. in pastoral areas, are not taken into account. Unless clear strategies are designed, the settlement programme may cause or even aggravate the conflict situation in the pastoral areas. Therefore, sound pastoral policies and strategies should be designed with representation and active participation of the pastoral communities.

The issue of representation is a complex one and is perceived differently by different political scientists and development experts (see Lister 2003). The general view is that representation means acting on behalf of the represented society or community. One question is whether, in order to act on behalf of the societies or the communities, the representatives should strictly be from those communities or societies.

In the context of the current study, the PASC, which is established as one of the Standing Committees within the House of Peoples' Representatives, is expected among other functions to represent the interests of the pastoralists and to articulate their voice. However, it is difficult to draw a conclusion that the PASC represents the pastoralists, in a strong sense of the word, for several reasons.

Firstly, the committee is composed of MPs elected from pastoral and non-pastoral communities, and some of them are members of the EPRDF. Moreover, the roles and responsibilities of the committee are set within the legal framework of the parliament. The committee is primarily a government structure rather than a mechanism for representation of pastoralists, and there will be doubts about the ability in practice of the EPRDF members within the PASC to challenge the policy of the party itself.

It could be noted here that in the Select or Standing Committees of Northern Parliaments, members are not necessarily linked to the issue in question through the direct interests of

their constituents. For example, the Select Committee on Agricultural and Rural Affairs of the United Kingdom Parliament includes MPs representing urban constituencies. However, such a parallel ignores the heritage of marginalization of pastoralists within Ethiopia, and their urgent need for enhanced representation.

Secondly, the background of the pastoral MPs within the committee indicates that they were, for example, teachers or businessmen before they were elected as MPs. These are relatively better-off people who were also residing in towns although they grew up within pastoral communities. This may limit the effectiveness of their representation of pastoralists, particularly poor pastoralists.

Thirdly, women are a vulnerable group within pastoral communities and the PASC is composed only of male MPs, so that it is difficult to believe that the committee represents pastoral women.

And fourthly, although the members of the committee generally expressed their concerns with pastoralists and pastoral development, they place different relative emphases on the different strategic options for improvement of the pastoralist livelihoods - those from non-pastoral communities lay stress on settlement as a solution for pastoralists, while those from pastoral communities believe that the existing system of mobile pastoral way of life should also be supported. Such strategic differences between members limit the ability of the committee to lobby and advocate for pastoralists in harmony.

It can nevertheless be assumed that the committee can have some value in terms of raising the concerns of pastoralist communities. As long as the PASC members are working in favour of pastoralists, this can be considered as a representative process, even if it is a limited, provisional and tentative one, and it should be encouraged under the current socio-economic and political circumstances of the country.

It should also be noted that representation is not the only lens through which the PASC and its functioning can be seen, and not the primary reason for which the PASC was established by Parliament. The PASC's roles include not only legislation but also oversight of the functioning of government departments, a role the members themselves accord a high priority. There is evidence that the committee is carrying out this role with increasing effectiveness.

Changes in the basic structure of the committee, in particular the balance of pastoralist and non-pastoralist MPs, will be extremely difficult to bring about, even if it is accepted that they are desirable. The above arguments indicate the need for the creation or strengthening of other, complimentary, groups to lobby for pastoralists. For instance, it could be suggested that civil society organizations and/or larger, more inclusive, groups of pastoral MPs could lobby and advocate for pastoralists better than the existing committee. To use another parallel from the British Parliament, Select Committees co-exist with more inclusive and voluntary All-Party Groups, as with the International Development Select Committee and the All-Party Group on Overseas Development.

It was learnt during the survey that the committee is already undertaking certain activities including participating in policy dialogues on pastoral development. However, the committee has some capacity limitations that affect its activities to work more efficiently on pastoral development. The capacity limitations include lack of transport facilities, knowledge gaps on pastoral development and information gaps on the situation of various pastoralist communities. Lack of transport facilities is limiting members' movements to the pastoral communities. The limited movements of the PASC have resulted in limited access to information on the situations, problems and challenges of the pastoral communities, which would have allowed the committee to advocate and lobby accordingly. It was further reported by the members that although they have had some capacity-building support from different donors, they believe that they still face a knowledge gap on pastoral development.

12.2. Recommendations

Although the issue of representation is complex and it is difficult to conclude that PASC represents pastoralists, the best option available at present is to strengthen and encourage the committee to speak on behalf of the pastoralists. Therefore, the following recommendations are made:

- The members should be empowered and encouraged to give voice to the concerns of pastoralists. The capacity could be reinforced by participating in workshops and training programmes on the issues of representation, participation and pastoralism. The training programmes might narrow the difference in strategic views on pastoral development, and allow a more harmonious advocacy and lobbying on behalf of pastoralists;
- The committee should be provided, on an ongoing basis and in appropriate formats, with new information on pastoralism in Ethiopia and in the region so that it will be in a better position to lobby and advocate for pastoralists.
- The provision of support for transport will better facilitate members' visits to the pastoral communities and their learning more on the ground.

These recommendations can be shared with donors and NGOs already engaged in pastoral advocacy activities and already working closely with the PASC. Some of the concerned stakeholders could be DFID, the PCI, PFE, the World Bank, the EC Delegation, CAPE, USAID etc..

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Annex: List of People Contacted

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1. Dr. Berihanu Admassu,	CAPE Unit Addis Ababa
2. Abdulkarim Ahmed	Chairman of the PASC
3. Alemayehu Redda	USAID
4. Fikre	Ministry of Agriculture
5. Abdi Umar	PCI
6. Jarso Mokka	PCI
7. Allistair-Scott	PCI
8. Luelseged Ageze	Ministry of Federal Affairs
9. Tezera Getahun	Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia
10. Assaye Leggesse	The World Bank
11. Kibre Jimmera	Vice Chair of PASC
12. Melkamnesh Alemu	DfID
13. Getachew T/Medihin	Livestock Marketing Authority
14. Tim Waits	European Union
15. Yoseph Tesfaye	PCI
16. Shanu Godana	Member of PASC
17. Wondimagegnehu Damene	Member of PASC
18. Girman Tessema	Member of PASC
19. Paulos Sorsa	Member of PASC
20. Yohannes Hailu	Member of PASC
21. Mureha Abekeri	Member of PASC
22. Abdurahim Yassin	Member of PASC
23. Abdulkadir Sheikh Mah	Member of PASC
24. Awol Wutika	Member of PASC

25. Dr. Getachew Gebru	ILRI
26. Melaku Tegegn	Panos Ethiopia
27. Dr. Mohammed Hagos	Ministry of Federal Affairs
28. Belaineh Haiu	Ministry of Federal Affairs
29. Jemal Diri	Pastoral MP (non-PASC member)
30. Indris Yusuf	MP (non PASC member)