

**IIED RECONCILE
PASTORAL CIVIL SOCIETY PROGRAMME
A REVIEW OF PHASE 1**

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**and
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SUMMARY

1. This report describes a review of the Pastoral Civil Society Project based largely on project documents and interviews in the region. The report will be used in a workshop to help design the second phase of the Project.
2. The report examines the rationale for the project, the methods that were selected and the effectiveness of the implementation. Readers with little time to spare are directed to Chapter 5, Conclusions, Lessons and Recommendations.
3. The Project is demonstrating an innovative approach to development work and is highly respected for its participatory methods and its long-term way of working. It is practicing what many projects preach but often fail to implement.
4. The rationale for the Project is based on an accurate assessment of the situation in the Region and the selection of methods is appropriate.
5. The Generic Training Course has been extremely successful for the participants who greatly value the content and style of the course and who experience genuine learning.
6. The Project has promoted useful exchanges within and beyond the region. The networking is credited with prompting important initiatives, most importantly in Uganda where new networking forums have been created and where national policy has been successfully influenced.
7. The Project has commissioned research and used IIED Issue Papers to disseminate information which has been found to be valuable and fill gaps in knowledge about pastoralism.
8. Direct interventions in capacity strengthening of local pastoral civil society organisations have been appreciated by some who see the Project as having a broad catalytic role in a range of initiatives being supported by pastoralist organisations. Some capacity strengthening work is invisible as it is not distinguished from routine networking or other interactions.

9. The Project has made important first steps in including course work on pastoralism in universities. It is recognised that this approach is very long term.
10. The Project has proceeded more slowly than planned and some attention must be given to staffing and management methods which are seen as responsible for some of the delays.
11. The content of the Generic Training Course should include more work on gender issues and conflict management. New forms of the course should be developed, as in the initiative in Ethiopia, to reach different actors and accelerate the project impact.
12. The use of research and the dissemination of findings should be streamlined so that results can be obtained more quickly and reach a wider target group.
13. Capacity strengthening for local organisations should be addressed more directly. Many local CSOs are weaker than had been suggested and need help, especially in areas of forming alliances, in supporting advocacy work and initiating new processes.
14. New models for forming alliances should be examined to reduce the weaknesses associated with appearing to promote particular ethnic groupings or particular geographical areas. The focus of the project needs to be more evenly spread over the region.

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The evaluation is probably the best organised that we have taken part in.*

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Abbreviations

ASDP	Agricultural Sector Development Programme
ASDS	Agricultural Sector Support Strategy
ALRMP.	Arid Lands Resource Management Programme
ASAL	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
CEMIRIDE	Centre for Minority Rights and Development
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
COPASCO	Coalition of Pastoralist CSOs (Uganda)
CAG	Core Advisory Group
CTG	Core Training Group
Ereto NPP	Ereto - Ngorongoro Pastoralist Project in northern Tanzania funded by DANIDA
ESAMI	Eastern and Southern African Management Institute
GTC	Generic Training Course
IGLG	Institutional Governance Learning Group (Tanzania)
ILRI	International Livestock Research Institute
JOLIT	Joint Oxfam Livelihoods Initiative for Tanzania
LEGS	Livestock Emergency Guidelines and Standards
LPTF	Livestock Policy Task Force
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NPA	Norwegian Peoples Aid
NSGRP	National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty
OSILIGI	Kenya based NGO
PCS	Pastoral Civil Society c
PARIMA	Pastoral Risk Management
PEAP	Poverty Eradication Action Plan
PINGOs	Pastoralists Indigenous Non-Governmental Organisations Forum
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
RUFORUM	Regional Universities Forum for Capacity Building in Agriculture
SNV	Netherlands Development Organisation
SPILL	Strategy for Implementation of Land Laws
Tz-PPG	Tanzania Pastoralists Parliamentary Group
TAPHGO	Tanzanian Pastoralists and Hunter Gatherers Organisation
TCDC	Training Centre for Development Cooperation
WISP	World Initiative for Sustainable pastoralism

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose and scope of the evaluation

1.1. This evaluation is designed as a review of the first phase of the project and its principal purpose is to assist in the design of a second phase. The evaluation will focus on the three questions in the Terms of Reference¹:

- the correctness of the initial diagnosis,
- the selection of approach and methods and,
- the degree of achievement of the declared aims.

1.2. The evaluation covers the three countries of the region and involves all relevant stakeholders. There is no cost effectiveness analysis.

The project logic

1.3. The project is based on a long term approach to changing attitudes to pastoralism and pastoralists among people who design and implement policies. The logic is that negative attitudes to pastoralism are at the root of many of the difficulties faced by pastoralists and those problems will persist whilst attitudes remain negative. Attitudinal change will be promoted through training, access to information and advocacy. The long term approach is remarkable. The project design includes work for over twenty years. Many development workers say that change requires this length of time but few donors are prepared to respond to this knowledge.

1.4. The difficulties for pastoralist groups are made more difficult as their ability to protect and promote their cause is limited as the groups, it is argued in the project proposals, are too divided and unskilled and uninformed to protect their rights. They suffer from lack of information, weak political voice and respect.

1.5. The Project benefited from and built on two earlier important programs. The IIED Pastoral Land Tenure project produced a wealth of high quality information on the situation of pastoralists in the region. The development of a generic training course on pastoral issues was developed in West Africa and its success was important in promoting a similar approach in East Africa. The Pastoral Land Tenure project was criticised for being too interventionist and this influenced the approach of facilitating and working through others.

Context of the project

1.6. The project was designed to operate in three countries in East Africa where pastoralism is under pressure from a range of environmental and political processes. There have been significant political changes at high levels in some of these countries during the life of the project but the overall position of pastoralists has not changed dramatically although there have been some improvements. There are a large number of projects and government initiatives in the pastoral sector and one key element of the project approach is that the immediate needs of pastoralist groups are being addressed which makes it inappropriate for the project to engage in short term initiatives.

The evaluation team

1.7. John Rowley and Loserian Sangale made separate tenders and then united them as a single bid. The interview work was shared. Irene Karani provided a review

¹ See Annex 1 for the full ToR.

of pastoral trends and an inventory of activities of other agencies as background to the work. Her analysis includes an assessment of the impact of trends on gender roles and relations. See Annex 2 on Trends and Annex 3 for the inventory of other actors.

The structure of the report

1.8. The report is in three main sections: 1. Validity of Project Justification, 2. Implementation and Achievements and, 3. Conclusions. This allows us to respond to the different parts of the ToR separately and answering the different questions individually. The structure leads to some repetition as some items are discussed in each section.

2. METHODS

Methods and timing

2.1. Interviews were conducted using email, telephone and face to face meetings. Checklists were used to manage semi-structured interviews. See Annex 7 for a sample checklist. Several visual tools were used during interviews including spectrum lines, force fields and impact flow diagrams. We used some group sessions but most interviews were with individuals. See Annex 6 for a list of people interviewed. The evaluators worked together initially but split up and ran separate interviews later in the evaluation process.

2.2. The timing was initially determined by an attempt to twin the evaluation with another ongoing evaluation of IIED work and therefore avoid duplication. This attempt set the dates for interviews in Uganda in the first half of December 2006 and an approach that involved asking informants to come and meet the evaluators in Kampala. Interviews in Kenya were arranged both before and after the visit to Uganda. The end of the year holidays made it difficult to continue with the evaluation so the visits to Tanzania were organised for the second half of January 2007. The evaluation was organised with considerable time for preparation, execution and drafting. This is the first program evaluation we have been involved in where time has not been severely constrained.

Selection of sources

2.3. Most of the informants were identified by the project although a number were added by the evaluators. Our own contacts would have led us to many of the same people. The project provided huge numbers of documents detailing the project history. The evaluation was extremely well organised and all our needs for documents were met without having to ask. See Annex 5 for a list of documents consulted.

Weaknesses of the methodology

2.4. The main weakness in the evaluation has been the difficulty in finding dissenting voices. We met very few government officials who might have been expected to be least supportive of the project. Informants appear polarised over the issues of pastoralism and tend to strongly positive or negative and we encountered mostly those who were supportive to pastoralists. It was not possible for the evaluation team to observe part of the Generic Training Course which would have improved our ability to assess the content.

3. FINDINGS 1 – APPROACH AND DESIGN

3.1. This section examines the correctness of the original project diagnosis and the appropriateness of the selected approach and activities. There are five elements of diagnosis as described in the Terms of Reference and the project activities are divided into six sections.

Validity of Project Justification

Lack of understanding

3.2. Important research on land usage was published in the mid-1990s² which demonstrated the importance to pastoral livelihoods of mobility and flexible responses to local conditions. The general ignorance of these aspects of pastoralism by policy makers was described and mentioned by Scoones³ “*only now ... non-pastoralists, who dominate the professions which advise on and plan for pastoral areas are catching up [understanding the importance of mobility and flexibility]*”.

3.3. The project justification includes two key concepts: the first is the “knowledge gap” and the second is the power imbalance. The knowledge gap is acknowledged, for example, in the Danida funded project in Tanzania. The Policy Dialogue component of the project describes the situation as, “*Continuing marginalisation of pastoralists and inappropriate policies for pastoral development perpetuate a situation of **poor understanding of pastoral systems** by policy makers...* (emphasis as original)” However, as the Danida project is funding the PCS programme this evidence could be seen to be simply another description of the PCS work.

3.4. Many participants in the GTC described their own ignorance before the training and although this may be another instance of circular reasoning it is hard to avoid accepting these observations as evidence of the correctness of the original project design. The participants in the GTC training were unanimously positive about what they had learned. The reports were striking in their enthusiasm and it is clear that many had had important learning experiences. CSO participants said that they were pleased to find scientific explanations for things they had only partially understood. Typical comments include: “*The course is very good because many things we felt we knew we found out that we did not know*” “*... it has opened our eyes on some issues we did not know about, which I am now better informed about.*”

3.5. One government officer said, “*the course was really fantastic...before I was seriously ignorant. ...Now I could explain to others why people move.*” However, the same person later said that control of animal movement is crucial to the future development of pastoralism.

3.6. The staff of national CSOs and international NGOs in all three countries visited expressed the view that government officers at all levels (from ward, district to national levels) and politicians who are in decision making positions lack understanding of the dynamics of the different pastoral. They feel that this lack of understanding underlies many of the decisions they make that have a negative impact on pastoralist livelihoods. Further, they describe the staff of other institutions not only government offices dealing with development issues also lack this understanding.

² See for example: Melissa Leach and Robin Mearns, 1996, *The Lie of the Land*, Heinemann-James Curry. Behnke, R.H., Scoones, I., and Kerven, C. (eds), *Range Ecology at Disequilibrium*, ODI, London.

³ Scoones, I., 1995, *Living with Uncertainty*, IT Publications, London.

3.7. One of the reasons advanced for lack of understanding is that the results of research and the content of recent texts on pastoralism are not available to many people who need it. The project concept note suggests that there is great deal of information⁴ but the problem is that this information has not “*filtered down*” to government officials and policy makers. Considerable efforts were applied to dissemination of an analysis of the policy situation in Tanzania. A research paper commissioned by Ereto was redrafted and published as an IIED Issues Paper. A workshop was arranged to discuss the findings with key stakeholders including the Minister of Livestock and involving MPs from the Tanzanian Pastoralist Parliamentary Group. The workshop was acknowledged to have involved important discussions although some key participants, including the minister and the main donor, did not attend. This work was led by Ereto but the importance of the role of the Project is acknowledged.

Lack of voice

3.8. Lack of political voice is also mentioned in the Ereto Policy Dialogue plan, “*Continuing marginalisation of pastoralists and inappropriate policies for pastoral development perpetuate a situation of **poor understanding of pastoral systems** by policy makers and the **lack of political leverage** amongst pastoralists to ensure that policies are designed in their favour*”.

3.9. The general accuracy of the project justification is supported by informants suggesting that things have improved in recent years. At the same time the situation is described as unsatisfactory despite the improvements.

3.10. It was frequently said to us that pastoralists must lack political voice since Central and Local Governments continue to adopt policies, strategies or guidelines that undermine pastoralist livelihoods. There is a strongly held general feeling among our informants that pastoralists are discriminated against and this borders on a victim mentality at times which is unhelpful. There is clear evidence of policies that disadvantage pastoralists and examples of improved policy statements and some examples of new poor policies and these deserve an objective analysis. This was attempted for the situation in Tanzania with the Ereto commissioned research that was turned into the IIED Issues Paper⁵. Similar initiatives could be imagined for the other countries in the region and repeated efforts at disseminating the results and trying to build on the better policy statements that exist in the region.

3.11. At individual level many CSO staff who work with pastoralist communities confirmed that due to the lack of voice, attempts by individual CSOs to protest against measures being undertaken by the government have often not been fruitful. At national level the situation is also starting to change in each of the three East African Countries. As pastoralist CSOs realize the need to work together through task forces, or coalitions to address policies, strategies or legislations that are at different stages of approval they find that they can better influence these processes as some of their concerns have been taken up and they are beginning to make their voice heard. This is a process which has only started to pick up speed in the 3 countries during the last 2 years.

⁴ “*an enormous amount of research has been carried out which provides sound, scientific evidence that pastoralism is a viable form of land use ...*”

⁵ Mattee, A.Z., and Shem, M., March 2006, *Ambivalence and Contradiction; A review of the policy environment in Tanzania in relation to pastoralism*, Issue Paper no 140, IIED-Ereto II.

3.12. In the case of Uganda the formation of the Coalition of Pastoralist CSOs (COPACSO) which is a steering committee for pastoralist issues comprising 6 organisations has been very useful in influencing first the National Poverty Eradication Programme. As result of COPACSO's inputs the document recognizes Pastoralism as a livelihood. This was followed later on by the Land Policy Review Process where COPACSO to pushed to participate and as a result managed to get chapter on vulnerable groups which include pastoralists incorporated into the document.

3.13. In the case of Tanzania the establishment of the Rangelands Task Force (comprising 6 CSOs) in 2005 facilitated CSOs making inputs into the Livestock Policy, the Strategy Plan for the Implementation of Land Laws (the SPILL). Despite efforts to influence these processes many of the policy initiatives have gone ahead and remain unsympathetic to pastoralism despite the efforts of the Rangelands Task Force. Some have acknowledged the concerns but there is no sign as yet that the Livestock Policy and the Rangeland Act have been revised to take into account the issues raised. The establishment of the Task Force is also described by some members as being supported or inspired by the presence of the Project.

3.14. At National level the voice of pastoralists CSOs has been weak or non existent. In Kenya this was because of lack of a recognised body with a mandate to speak on their behalf. The dissolution of the Kenya Pastoralists Forum which was seen to be political further worsened the situation. It was only with the registration of Kenya Pastoralist Network and the Kenya Pastoralist Forum and the Maa Civil Society Forum that pastoralists now feel that there have increased representation at national level. In Tanzania disagreements between PINGOs and TAPHGO, the two umbrella organisations for pastoralists, have in the past further weakened their capacity to effectively voice the concerns of pastoralists.

3.15. In the Kenyan situation some of the major policy initiatives that have a bearing on pastoralists include the ASAL Policy draft Peace Building and Conflict Management, and the Water Management Act, the Constitutional Review Process and the National Land Policy. Pastoralists CSOs have been able to express their concerns about some of these policy initiatives that have a negative bearing on Pastoralist. Maa was the first social group to speak out openly against the proposed constitution. With regard to the National Land Policy which did not consider pastoralists concerns, a demonstration by Pastoralists CSOs and community members stormed the meeting discussing the Policy and managed to get 10 people to sit in the meeting to represent their interests. They eventually managed to get to get the policy to recognise Customary Land Ownership.

3.16. Pastoralist voice in parliament has been helped in countries where an effective Pastoralist Parliamentary Group has been formed. Kenya was the first country to have a PPG but the change of government meant that the group had to be reconstituted. During the last four years efforts have been made to strengthen the Pastoralist Parliamentary Group in Kenya, in both Uganda and Tanzania where they did not exist efforts to establish them were made. This provided another opportunity for pastoralists to make their voice heard on issues that concern that get discussed at the Parliament.

3.17. In Tanzania, collaboration with the PCS programme has helped to bring about increased dialogue and collaboration between the two umbrella CSOs. As a simple

pragmatic measure the two CSOs put their past disagreements behind them and this has improved their capacity to collaborate on issues concerning pastoralists' livelihoods.

3.18. The voice of pastoralists is also missing in organisations which represent farmers and which therefore are assumed to be speaking on behalf of pastoralists. With the Government Strategy for Agricultural Development the steering committee has farmers' representatives but pastoralists have no representation. This should be seen as a weakness and needs to be rectified in order to provide pastoralists with a voice in the key policy making body.

3.19. Pastoralist society often has weak history of relying on leaders and selecting leaders for large groupings. Maasai social system is described as "*acephalous*" by, for example, Hughes⁶ which she explains saying that traditionally they "...do not have chiefs or headmen ... Political authority "traditionally" lay with councils of elders and age-set spokesmen, elected for their leadership qualities, ..." This may be a disadvantage where political processes tend to be managed by individuals who can represent or speak for large numbers of others. If other pastoral groups also find it difficult to identify a single spokesperson who can speak for the group and be recognised by others as the legitimate representative of the group then it will remain difficult to organise to increase the voice of pastoral groups.

3.20. Another weakness in the voice of pastoral groups has been a poor record in forming alliances or coalitions with other groups that have similar grievances or needs. In 2005, Oxfam GB commissioned a study of agro-pastoralist groups (principally Sukuma) and hosted a meeting to explore the possibilities of pastoralists and agro-pastoralists collaborating. However, no initiatives emerged from the meeting and the generally held reason is that the pastoralist groups were unable to agree to join forces with the other groups.

Discrimination and Disregard

3.21. The project proposal is not explicit about discrimination against pastoral groups preferring to refer to ignorance and lack of voice. However, the perception of pastoralists as backward as people not simply as people pursuing an outmoded lifestyle is common. The statements that we heard that were presented as calls for pastoralists to modernise their production methods seemed to include a suggestion that their weaknesses were not restricted to animal keeping methods.

3.22. There were also some very clear statements reported to us from government officers that are very close to racist remarks dismissing the position of pastoralists. The situation is dramatically different in Tanzania where there is a strong political culture that resists identification of ethnic issues. In the other countries in the region there is a more common use of ethnic or tribal labels. Therefore in Tanzania there is less difficulty with ethnic issues but less overt reference to ethnic difference which can make it more difficult to discuss or analyse the importance of ethnic identity.

3.23. Efforts of pastoralists to get register their views to authorities in Tanzania have sometimes being dismissed as only advancing Maasai interests and even where other ethnic groups i.e. the Barabaig are in the same team then it is seen as a northern

⁶ Hughes, Lotte, 2006, *Moving the Maasai; a Colonial Misadventure*, Palgrave Macmillan.

agenda. In contrast to farmers, prejudices that policy makers hold against pastoralist communities make it difficult for their voices to be heard. There is ready sympathy and understanding from policy making when concerns of flower farming, game farming or wildlife related issues. However with regard to issues of pastoralists, there is lack of sympathy and this continues to result in policies are unfriendly to pastoralist livelihoods. Our informants mentioned cases of contrast between the treatment of pastoralists and other groups. For example; the ease with which hunting concessions were made in contrast to the difficulty of obtaining title to pasture land; the lack of legal proceedings against a ranger suspected of murder of a pastoralist in contrast to immediate action over the death of a farmer.

3.24. Media workers are also described as being largely ignorant of the nature of pastoralism. Recent newspaper reports of expulsions of herders from water-catchment areas in Tanzania do not provide an explanation for the herders' movements to these areas but suggest only that their presence is destructive and their behaviour aggressive when told to move. CSO workers described journalists as being interested only in "catchy stories" and being ignorant of pastoralist methods and biased against pastoral groups. A newspaper report in November 2006 suggested that the solution to the difficulties in Karamoja was for herders to be forced to settle. One of the participants however noted that in some areas, this situation is gradually starting to change. Commenting on improvements that they have experienced during the last three years, one participant from Kenya noted that though previously they were not taken seriously by the media, the situation has now started to change. Illustrating this change he said; "*Now, if I make a statement journalists are willing to come ... listen and cover it unlike before*".

Anti-Pastoralist Policies

3.25. Recent analysis of the colonial era in East Africa describes a story of the use of force and legal instruments to remove pastoral groups from land leading to severe disadvantage⁷. The loss of access to land in colonial times has meant that some pastoral groups feel they have to overturn a historical policy bias to improve their situation.

3.26. Looking at the different policies designed in the three countries, where they refer to pastoralists and pastoralists' livelihoods they have not been very positive. This is why at several times Pastoralist CSOs and others working with pastoralists have had to try to intervene sometimes successfully and sometimes not successfully to try to change the parts that are either negative or hostile to pastoralists. In the case of Uganda had more success in influencing the National Poverty Eradication Strategy where they have managed to get a whole section incorporated dealing with vulnerable groups which includes pastoralists. In sharp contrast to the Uganda case, the Kenyan PRSP only mentions Pastoralism once, and Pastoralism is largely absent from discussion of livestock. The same situation is true for Tanzania where a similar policy, the NSGPR, only mentions Pastoralism twice saying that it has to be sustained.

⁷ See for example: *Malice in Maasailand*, Lotte Hughes, 2005, African Affairs, 104/405, pp 207-224. *Victims of a colonial injustice*, Xan Rice, The Guardian (UK), Wednesday May 3, 2006

3.27. A prime example of policy tools that are hostile to Pastoralism is the SPILL, which was developed in 2005. The strategy makes very damaging statements about Pastoralism which are then based on prejudices that are used as premises to justify actions which undermine pastoralists' livelihoods. On the basis of these statements (see text box below) not only is Pastoralism destructive to the environment it is also projected as having no economic value as the prime cause of unrest and conflict in farming communities. The logical conclusion of this argument is to force pastoralists to settle.

Figure 1. Critical Concerns of stakeholders in the SPILL consultation

Box No 3: Critical concerns of Stakeholders:

The sector has been called upon to NOTE with great concern that;

- Pastoral production has very low productivity levels (*levels meaning it marginally addresses poverty reduction policy*),
- Pastoralism degrades large masses of land (*meaning is not environmentally friendly*),
- Pastoralism invades established farms and ranches, forests, wildlife conservation areas, agricultural farms (*meaning it violates security of tenure*).
- At the moment it is impossible to control livestock diseases thus making it difficult to export meat, milk and livestock due to international demands on livestock health and products free of infectious agents (*meaning has marginal support only to economic development*).
- Pastoralists have to be given land and told to settle (*meaning nomadic tradition must stop*).

Source Strategic Plan for the Implementation of Land Act No. Village Land Act No. 5 Land Disputes courts Act No. 2

3.28. What is surprising about the SPILL document which is presented as a government document although the authors are consultants not civil servants is that these statements are not presented as views expressed by respondents in a survey but as general truths. No evidence for these extreme statements is offered and no opposing view is mentioned.

3.29. Land policies in Tanzania and Kenya appear to be promoting privatisation based on the view that land should be treated as collateral or as capital for investment. The consequences of this approach are discussed in more detail in the Annex 2 on trends. In brief the commoditisation of land and privileging individual ownership over common or customary ownership are trends that disadvantage pastoralist ways of life.

3.30. The privatisation of veterinary services is also perceived as anti-pastoralist. Private veterinary services can find better profits from working with settled farmers where they can find more animals to treat with less travel in contrast with trying to provide services to pastoralists who may be more dispersed. Community development programmes are responding to this situation by helping support private practices to provide animal health services to pastoral groups and by training animal health workers at community level.

3.31. Following initiation of the PRSP process in Uganda, pastoralists employed a number of strategies to incorporate their interests into the country's poverty reduction strategy. These included data collection and analysis, particularly as relates to pastoralism's economic contribution to the national wealth, as well as lobbying and networking (e.g. using Pastoralist Parliamentary Group). Challenges encountered in these efforts included lack of information and difficulties in finding common ground within the pastoralist community.

3.32. However, the second PRSP (the Poverty Eradication Action Plan 2004/5 – 2007/8, August 2005) of Uganda is remarkable for its pro-pastoralist statements. A number are quoted in the text box and whilst they are no longer in context in the document they still give a flavour of the positive statements. They seem to make a strong contrast to the absence or disregard of pastoralism in the PRSPs of Uganda and Tanzania.

Figure 2. Pro-pastoralist statements in the PEAP

PEAP 2005
Lack of such understanding is the reason why there has been only limited uptake of 'improved' livestock technologies, which have been largely inappropriate to meeting the needs of livestock keepers in general and pastoralists, in particular. Hence pastoralists and their farming systems will be a key component in the new policy.

As discussed below, economic transformation in Karamoja will involve building on and understanding, rather than simply replacing, the existing way of life of pastoralism.

Government is committed to local consultation before taking decisions on the use of land for conserving wildlife. In particular, pastoralists' needs for grazing lands will be taken into account in decisions to create and manage protected areas. Greater community awareness about the value of wildlife to the community will make it easier for livestock and wildlife to coexist.

Government will develop a strategy for the livestock sector, covering disease control, and addressing the needs of pastoralists.

...inappropriately sited valley dams can cause social problems and may not meet the needs of pastoralists who need to migrate seasonally to find grazing lands ...

3.33. Mkurabita a strategy for formalisation of poor people's Land. The formalisation of land ownership is also a form of commoditisation and is likely to lead to further alienation of poor people from the land. The Business Enhancement Strategy for Tanzania is another initiative which in seeking to commoditise the goods of poor people is likely to lead to commercialisation of land holding which is likely to lead to dispossession of the more poor.

Short-term needs being addressed

3.34. The most contentious element of the project design is the assertion that short-term needs are being addressed by other agencies. In fact, a great deal of activity is being supported by different actors and this is shown in the inventory of interventions in Annex 3.

3.35. The activities of the other agencies include work at community level focused on improving access to water, education and animal health services. There are some important interventions in the diversification of livelihoods and promotion of income generation activities that are not essentially based on animal keeping. Some of the interventions, like the Oxfam GB program in Wajir, are important long-term models of innovation in support to pastoralists. The projects all take some account of the problems posed by the repeated drought conditions affecting pastoralist groups in some

areas of the region. The LEGS Livestock Emergency Guidelines and Standards⁸ international initiative focused on improving responses of livestock projects to emergency work which makes it clear that many projects could be improved. Nevertheless the fact that the work is going on suggests that the project approach was correct.

3.36. In fact, there are large areas where the urgent needs of pastoral groups are not being addressed or not addressed adequately but this should not be an element of the criticism of the programme design. The focus of the programme is on information and training and on influencing policy. The only assessment required was of what inputs were required to promote good work on influencing policy. It would be a huge distraction from the project aims to work on other practical immediate needs.

Conflict

3.37. There is relatively little work being done on conflict management between pastoral groups in the region. At the same time conflict is a major problem for pastoralist groups in the region. In our interviews in Uganda, conflict was raised as the most important issue; more important than drought. The PCS project design may have underestimated the need to address conflict issues

3.38. Hendrickson's review⁹ of conflict in the Sahel focuses a great deal on pastoralists and suggests that a key element of conflict management is through *"securing the rights of access to resources by different groups in the pastoral sector through land tenure reform ..."* The PCS programme addresses conflict in a slightly indirect way through looking at the responses of pastoralists to stress and a general exploration of how this brings them into conflict situations.

3.39. Three other important findings on conflict are mentioned by Hendrickson which are relevant to the situation in East Africa. The first is the need for detailed local knowledge of the situation and its history. The second is that management of conflict is improved by strengthening pastoral associations and local "institutional frameworks". In the case of East Africa this would probably mean working with pastoral elders and their advisors and with local government officers. The third observation is that one must not ignore *"or underestimate the power of economic and political forces that ... determine ... human behaviour."*

3.40. The PCS programme approach to conflict management would be include more work on conflict in the generic training and to support other agencies to raise the skills of local groups. It would facilitate strengthening the capacity of groups to work on conflict issues; it would not be involved directly.

Capacity to engage in policy processes

3.41. The project approach to capacity strengthening of pastoral CSOs was weak in two areas. The first is in accepting the views of those consulted that sufficient work was being done by other agencies. The second was in overestimating the strength of the CSOs and particularly in their abilities to work together and to engage in policy

⁸ www.livestock-emergency.net

⁹ Supporting Local Capacities for Managing Conflicts over Natural Resources in the Sahel, A review of Issues with an Annotated Bibliography, Dylan Hendrickson, July 1997, IIED.

processes. In fact, the project staff are well aware of the limitations of the partners and it may be that the approach of adding to what was already being done was correct and could have been more simply justified on the grounds that the work of the Project needed to be done and was an area of relative strength. The key weakness is the ability to take forward new bits of work. The Project experience is of CSO members saying that they are keen to do some work but then nothing is done.

3.42. Some weakness in design around capacity strengthening is acknowledged in bringing forward the IGLG component. The programme plans include an advocacy module in the second phase and it may be that this should have been applied in the first phase as part of the generic training course. The point of this observation would be that the GTC raised expectations but did not equip the participants to take forward work on policy or conflict issues. This may be an example of a project unintentionally influencing the situation it operates in; that is, having received some support the partner agencies start to expect more even though it was not part of the offer. Expecting the smaller CSOs to take forward new activities without additional support was an error of judgement in the project design.

Selected Approach and Methods

Research

3.43. The ultimate objective in this regard is through training and designing appropriate tools and methods to create the conditions that will enable pastoral people themselves to carry out research on issues of concern to them. It is recognised that this will only be possible in the long term. In the immediate and medium term, such research has to be carried out in more conventional participatory ways with pastoral groups, with a view that over time these skills will be progressively transferred to pastoralists and pastoralist groups.

3.44. Research is a useful strategy to improve understanding of the issues that concern pastoralists and provide pastoralists with information to use when advocating for policy issues that concern their livelihoods. This relates directly to the information gap of the diagnosis. It also generates information which enables pastoralists to become more effective in terms articulating of arguments in defence of their livelihood. Where research methods involve the participation of pastoralists this facilitates and a progressive the transfer of skills to them and strengthens their capacity to generate the information need to argue their case. The project might have made use of mentoring approach in which less experienced workers can be supported by more experienced and increase their skills through this on-the-job training.

3.45. Topics were selected by the project management in consultation with partners. The CAG meetings helped to discuss and sharpen the focus of the research topics each of which was to be researched in the three East African Countries. There is no pretence that the selection was democratic or based on a survey of potential topics. The topics include the Media Perceptions of Pastoralism, the economic importance of Pastoralism and Privatisation. Partners' attitudes towards the research reports vary with some being well respected while the quality of others has not met expectations. Whereas CSOs in Tanzania and Uganda have appreciated the reports on the economics of Pastoralism, in Kenya there is more appreciation for the paper on Media Perceptions of Pastoralism. Research reports found to be very useful have provided information that was not available before and that has enabled Pastoralist CSOs to more effectively

present their case to government at local and national levels. The information collected during the research work was used in the training course. Access to information is also effective in raising confidence of participants whether or not they use it directly in policy influencing.

3.46. Reservations on the quality of some of the research reports reflects low competence of the researchers or on the assignment could have required more time or more than one person. There is also concern regarding the limited dissemination of the research reports. This not only limits utilisation of the research findings for advocacy purposes both CSOs and Government Officials and others stakeholders.

3.47. Some partners feel the Drylands Paper series is too academic and limits the message from reaching the end users. The project has not used other potential dissemination methods. Other options include the production of a report using simple language to get findings across (e.g. like the HakiKazi Documents). The final option is that of using the mass media (e.g. TV, radio, and newspapers) to discuss the findings. After considering the advantages and costs of each option, the Project should decide which option to use and why.

Training

3.48. Training is the right approach to use in addressing the problem of external ignorance and prejudice which continues to be the cause of policies that are hostile to pastoralism. To address this problem, policy makers as one group of actors need to better understand the rationale driving pastoral livelihood systems in dryland areas and thereby to design policy interventions in their support. Pastoral Civil society groups and the organisations that support them constitute the second group of actors and they too also need to understand the rationale driving pastoral livelihood systems. Further they also need to understand why the dominant development paradigm driving pastoral policy contributes to the marginalisation of pastoral people. This understanding will contribute in strengthening the capacity of Pastoral Civil Society Groups and organisations that support them to engage with policy makers at different levels and to fight their own cause.

3.49. This training is provided through a Generic Training Course offered at the TCDC in Arusha Tanzania, which introduces participants to the dynamics of different East African pastoral systems, & their interaction with the broader policy environment. The 3 week long course has been highly commended by all participants from all the 3 East African countries mainly from CSOs and even government officials who attended it.

3.50. Some of the concerns raised about the course include its long duration, availability at only one centre the TCDC and the costs which are perceived by some to be high. While many participants feel that the duration is just right given the content and the pedagogic methods used, for high ranking civil servants who normally cannot afford to be away for long, three weeks is felt to be far too long. To make it possible for high ranking government officials to attend this training, the Project will have to consider shorter and more condensed courses. Concerning the location, participants from Kenya and Uganda are concerned that the TCDC as the only venue for training makes the course less accessible to many in their countries who would want to attend. They would want to see the Project facilitating other institutions in the region that are interested to provide the course.

The original selection of TCDC as a venue for the training was not based on costs. The centre had some experience in pastoral issues and provides opportunities for sharing training methods and techniques. It also offers excellent facilities for training, accommodation, food and communications. It may also be attractive to provide funding to a development training centre rather than a commercial operation. Other venues will be used during later stages of the project which may reduce the sense that the use of TCDC adds to the imbalance in project focus.

3.51. Overall the evaluators feel that the strategy that was adopted was correct and that the weaknesses mentioned above are lesser than would have been the case if the project had started with shorter more specialised or geographically focused courses. The advantage of the strategy that was adopted is that the Generic course can be relatively easily adapted to the range of situations that are necessary.

3.52. The gender content of the training is weak and appears to consist of very few sessions including one exercise on gender roles. Participants in the second test training mentioned the weakness of the gender content and the small number of women among the trainees. This is a common problem and special efforts are usually required to redress the situation. Many observers found it difficult to see how to change the situation as their analysis was that the key pastoralist issues were related to livestock and livestock are managed by men.

3.53. The position of women in pastoral society is a serious concern to the Project and appears to be deteriorating as a result of recent changes. There is some analysis of this deterioration in Annex 2 on trends. There are no senior positions occupied by women in the Project. Advice was sought but the initial consultancy was ineffective. Advice was obtained informally on one occasion but not all the advice was acted on and there have been insufficient attempts to improve the gender content of the training although the latest version of the training manual is better than the earliest. We encountered some gender blind observations about the situation of pastoralist communities among those who had attended the GTC. Gender concerns are not a high priority for men in positions of authority in pastoralist groups who are influential on the Project. There is a tendency, which is not limited to pastoral groups, to presume that the oppression of the whole group is more important than the effects of inequalities within the group.

3.54. Concerning the costs of the training which are felt by some partners to be too high, the TCDC indicated that it charges US \$45 dollars per day for tuition and US\$26-38 for accommodation. The overall cost for attending the course is about US\$1,300 plus the costs of travel. Some informants feel that considering the course the amount is not too high. They cite two other institutions ESAMI and the Dutch Management institute which charge by far a much higher fee than those they charge. The costs are well below what would be paid in a hotel conference setting. It seems clear that participation will continue to depend on sponsorship either by the institutions themselves or by funding agencies such as Oxfam Ireland which have agreed in Tanzania to sponsor four high ranking officials from the Ministry of Livestock Development in Tanzania.

3.55. After designing and developing the GTC and training the first few intakes it is expected that those who attend this training share the knowledge gained with members of their organisations, with the community leaders in the areas they work with. Some of the partners have been able to share this information with their stakeholders while others have not. The excuse is that they expect the Project to facilitate them financially. This

shows that the Project is expected to follow-up on how the participants who attended training are doing in terms of sharing the knowledge they got with their staff members, using the skills they got to engage the government officials at local and national level. In this way the Project would know how well the partners have been able to use the knowledge gained and what difficulties they experienced.

3.56. The expectation of follow up may only be an indicator of the low level of capacity of the CSOs. The project may have expected the CSOs to carry the work forward if they had overestimated their capacity or the CSO staff may not have got the message that they were expected to continue the work using their own resources.

3.57. Accompaniment to Pastoral CSOs: Training by itself is not adequate to strengthen the capacity of Pastoralist CSOs. The CSOs need to be accompanied which involves monitoring them more closely to see how they are performing where they are experiencing difficulties and challenges and to see how to assist them overcome them. The process of accompaniment however can not be undertaken by the Project alone because it requires provision of further inputs and designing additional inputs to help overcome specific challenges being experienced. So far the best example of accompaniment is that provided by the SNV programme in Tanzania which is working with a selected number of pastoralist CSOs to support capacity strengthening as part of the Institutional Governance and Learning Group. Through a collaborative project like this the project is able to transfer responsibility for specific areas of capacity building to another partner with experience capacity to resource the process. In Kenya, the ASAL may be able to support a similar initiative with partners in the ASAL areas.

3.58. The **long-term engagement** of the project is undoubtedly correct. Almost all development projects we know are far too short both in terms of planning and implementation. This Project would need to have a long duration given that it is attempting to change attitudes and behaviour.

3.59. **Partnership working** is a key part of the Project approach which is based on the appropriateness of supporting change in national policies which must be managed by citizens of the nation in question. In any case, facilitating and promoting work is always likely to be more sustainable than being operational.

3.60. The approach to **networking** is also correct and is a part of partnership working. It would be easy for the project to take on a coordinating role and it has successfully planned for and avoided this. The improved networking in Uganda and the improved collaboration between organisations in Tanzania seem to justify the approach.

3.61. The **regional approach** is also important and should enable learning between different groups and avoid a narrow national focus. In fact, the learning between countries is highly valued and has been successful. There is a strong perception that the Project is not evenly active in the three countries with more attention focused on Maasai concerns in the area between Nairobi and Arusha was described to us by informants. This lack of balance may be evened out in the longer term but in the meantime it may cause some unease among those who feel neglected. The imbalance has come about through the self-reinforcing nature of activities and not as a result of conscious management decisions.

Mainstreaming the GTC

3.62. The overall idea of promoting attitudinal change through university courses makes perfectly good sense. There is a concern over the length of time that is required between the development of the training material and the arrival of people with new attitudes in positions where they might influence policy. The first courses might be running in 2008 but may attract middle-rank civil servants and project staff rather than heads of department or project managers. These people may progress in their careers but the delay is still significant. The time lag is not a problem for the long term aspirations of the project¹⁰ but may be a problem for donors whose patience may not extend to necessary duration to see impact or change.

3.63. At present the actual format of the courses is not known for any of the institutions that have been approached. Kimmage will be hiring a consultant to examine all the issues and recommend how the pastoralist elements are fitted into existing courses or developed into stand-alone module. As described in paragraph 4.8, the other universities have processes that are fairly long and the final configuration of the pastoralist components is not clear at this stage. A potential weakness is that the theory of action may depend on people choosing to attend a course on pastoral development or to choose a module on pastoralism on another more general course. This presumes some interest in pastoral issues or some compulsion to study these issues. However, it seems possible that those who were most antagonistic to pastoralism, and therefore high priority targets for the project, would be likely to avoid courses of study in pastoralism. It seems more likely that the students would be sympathetic and that the course would be “preaching to the converted” rather than changing the attitudes of those who have contrary views.

3.64. Further efforts are needed to follow up with these universities and other training colleges. Funding is also required to support both students and staff of these Universities during the initial period to institutionalise the programme. Funding would support interim arrangements to enable students and University staff to who want to follow up the programme at the TCDC before it is fully adopted in their institutions.

The overall theory of action

3.65. The project design was worked out over a considerable period with inputs from a wide range of people with direct involvement in pastoral issues in East Africa. It is possible to criticise the methodology that does not seem to involve direct input from pastoralists at community level. Most of the input came from people in positions in Civil Society Organisations and whilst it can be argued that many of them operate at community level it would be a mistake to presume that CSO workers can always accurately represent the views of the people they work with.

3.66. It is hard to see if this is different from the design process of most projects in international development. In most cases the mandate for a project is not based in support from community members but in a clear understanding of the situation and some participation of beneficiaries. The project logic depends in part on acting at a different level from the local CSOs and working to support them in their work. This does not

¹⁰ This initiative is of a type often called an “orchard” project. The metaphor is based on the idea of tending young trees for five years before they bear fruit.

excuse the project from making an assessment of the correctness of the analysis of the partner organisations.

3.67. It may be that there are gaps in the analysis of the situation that has led to weaknesses in the project design. The project activities are clear and are currently leading to changes. However, it is not clear to the evaluation that the necessary steps are in place to lead on to the changes that make up the high level aims of the programme.

3.68. The diagram may simplify the working of the project but exposes the concern of the evaluation team. Although people are better linked, have better information and understanding and higher capacity it is not clear how these achievements will lead to changes in policy.

3.69. When we examine cases of successful changes in policy we can see some key elements of success include the use of good information, a strong coalition of partners and intelligent use of opportunities. The insertion of pro-pastoralist statements in the PEAP in Uganda was initially made possible by the consultation opportunity that was offered in the process. However, it was necessary for a group of interested activists to design statements that could be justified and would be likely to be accepted and take part in the consultation exercises. A “soft” style of influencing was seen to be very important and those involved suggested that a highly critical approach would have been sidelined by those running the PEAP consultation process. The key attributes seem to be the awareness of political processes and the ability to act promptly when opportunities present themselves.

3.70. One observer in Uganda suggested that influence on political processes requires:

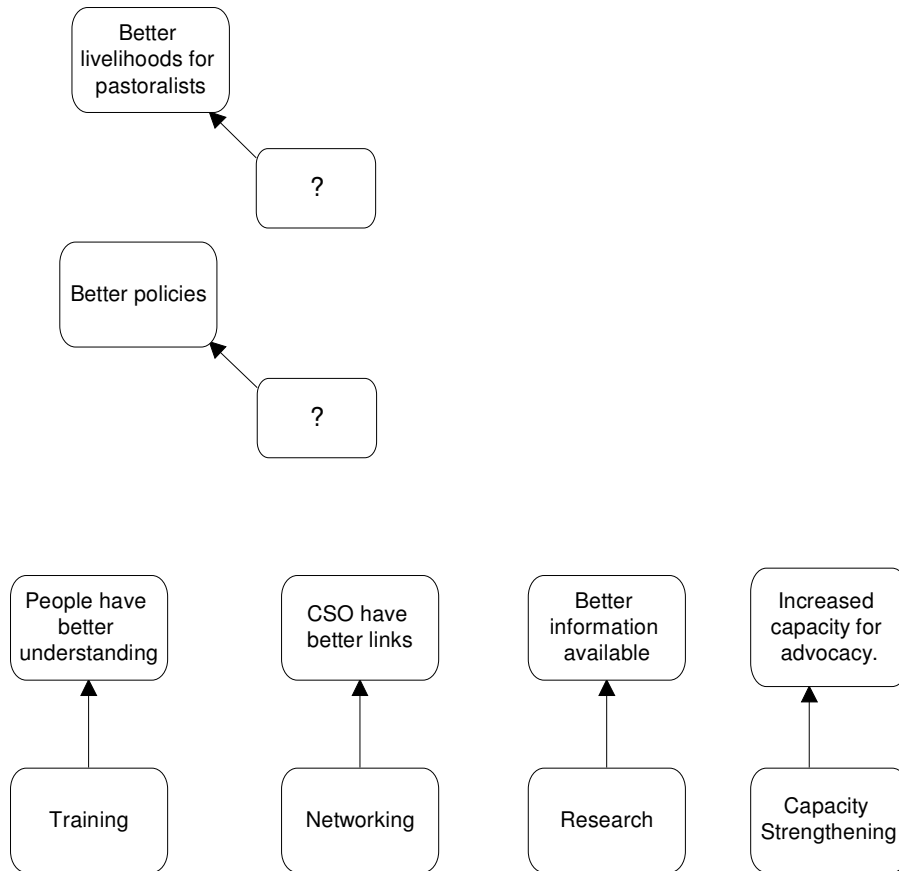
- Good academic information
- Knowing who to contact and how to reach them,
- Being able to do things at the right times, and,
- A level of organisation so that there appears to be a critical mass.

3.71. Although the project could be successful with providing good quality information and helping with networking it is currently not in a position to promote or support the other necessary elements of successful political influencing. Project staff have provided support to other institutions as part of their work for the Project but this is often not seen as such by the benefiting organisation. Since it is common for people to share ideas and provide each other with advice, the experience of receiving advice from staff members who are already known as committed to the issues and as strong networkers is not perceived as a separate project component.

3.72. There has been policy support work with a range of organisations, most of which are in Tanzania, and it is clear from the project reports which organisations have been helped. However, the organisations concerned did not recognise this work as distinct from routine networking support. Nevertheless, one observer concluded that the support to advocacy work of the Project was a pervasive influence and that the Project had had a catalytic effect on all achievements in the sector even though it would be hard to attribute precise impacts.

3.73. There is another question mark in the diagram which is the link between improved policies and better livelihoods for pastoralists. Although we are convinced that improving policies is a necessary objective it is not clear that good policies always lead to better conditions. It is possible for civil servants to implement policies in such ways that advantages do not reach the people who are intended to benefit.

Figure 3 Diagram of overall project logic



How people change

3.74. Chin and Benne, in their key paper¹¹, describe three ways in which people change. These are: 1. through receiving information, 2. through transformational learning experiences, and, 3. by being forced to change. The Project is addressing each of these methods. The Project is rightly sceptical that information alone will bring about changes in policy although the provision of information through the dissemination of research findings is a potential contributory factor. The GTC is clearly able to provide genuine learning experiences. Policy change may force civil servants to change their behaviour although this is not always certain. Nevertheless, the approach is legitimate

¹¹ “General Strategies for Effecting Changes in Human Systems” (1969) by Robert Chin and Kenneth D. Benne, Section 1.3 of Chapter 1 in *The Planning of Change* (2nd Edition), Warren G. Bennis, Kenneth D. Benne and Robert Chin (Editors). Holt, Rinehart & Winston: New York, NY. Chin and Benne call the three strategies: empirical-rational, normative-re-educative and power-coercive.

and there are examples of people obeying laws that they disagree with and which are highly contested when introduced.

The Project design is not naïve about the difficulties in bringing about change. One early (2001) draft of the Concept Note states, "*Information alone will not induce policy makers to change their policies.*" The Concept Note and the project proposals contain an analysis of the situation that includes the "knowledge gap" and "power imbalance" as contributing to the formulation and implementation of policies that disadvantage pastoralists. The project proposal to DFID¹² contains a diagram that shows six factors contributing to dynamic pastoral civil society which include engagement with constituencies and collaborative relations with other interest groups.

Do resources match the aims?

3.75. The Project design is ambitious as it should be but the resources applied seem to be inadequate. In the following section on management we examine whether the shortfall in resources is due to planning or to implementation. A particular concern is the ability of the project to promote and facilitate action which requires timely local contact. The project logic requires the ability to make links between people and to help them work together as opportunities arise. A local active and responsive presence is necessary for such support which the Project is not able to deliver.

4. FINDINGS 2 – IMPLEMENTATION AND ACHIEVEMENTS

Project Management

Strategy and the staff structure

4.1. In terms of human resources the PCS-EA programme; 1 full time staff who is also the project manager, the training coordinator who has 75% of his time tied to supporting programme activities, and Michael Odhiambo of Reconcile and Ced Hesse both of whom have about 50% of their time tied to the implementation of the Projects activities. The principal staff complain that extra work falls to them as additional management tasks require more attention than they should. The Project has built high expectations by partners in each of the three countries which it cannot address because of limited human resources. There is however a risk of partners expecting the Project to do things for them instead of facilitating them. Clearly the Project does not have adequate resources to do the things for partners, but it can facilitate them to achieve what they want through others. There is however a danger that the Project has ended up doing things that they should have facilitated through others and release their time to facilitate and catalyse action in other areas.

4.2. Even core activities of the Project lack of time to follow up some of the key activities regarding training, organisation of partner and CAG meetings, research, reporting, and others, become difficult to handle due to human resource limitations. This has resulted in delays in the completion of some of the planned activities particularly course module 2. Partners also report a feeling that the Project staff are too busy to take time to explore other options and find out what other organisations are doing. The partners say they are sometimes under pressure to conform to the timetable

¹² Reinforcement of pastoral civil society in East Africa, A programme of capacity building and participatory action-research, (2002-2006), Funding proposal submitted to the Civil Society Challenge Fund, DFID, IIED and RECONCILE, October 2001.

of the Project staff who are too busy and seem focused on their own work and not able to give a sufficient time to interest themselves in the range of activities of other actors. One of the reasons cited is the limited availability of some of the human resources as per requirements according to contract, and their availability for urgent needs.

Core Advisory Group

4.3. In terms managements, the programme has established two mechanisms to provide facilitate the participation of stakeholders in providing strategic direction to programme activities and ensure that it responds to partners' priorities and programme objectives. These are the annual partners' meeting where programme activities are presented and discussed and future activities broadly agreed; and the second is the Core Advisory Group (CAG). Partners' Meetings on an annual basis have provided the basis for the Project to share information with partners and a focal point for networking at regional level. Considering the role of the Partners meeting in providing strategic direction to the programme, there should be more discussions of options that the project offers to partners which they can contribute to and make suggestions. To get more value from these meetings, the agenda items to be discussed could also be circulated to participants well in advance to enable them to consult with others and to come to the meeting with clear inputs on the issues to be discussed.

4.4. Although the name of the CAG seems to make it clear that the role is advisory the style and content of the meetings sends a message that could be interpreted to mean that the Group has an executive role. The meetings are run along formal committee lines with motions proposed and seconded and voted on. The CAG members are asked to ratify plans and accept reports. There is an implication that the meeting is an executive meeting and that the members are making executive decisions. This feeds the feeling of uncertainty. CAG partners concerns include the uncertain role and the fact that the control of the CAG seems to have remained with Reconcile/IIED to the extent that in their absence the CAG seems to be ineffective because others members do not have enough information to reach conclusions on issues being discussed. This might be due to inadequate delegation of authority and mandate by Reconcile/IIED to the Project Manager or is due to the unclear role and mandate of the CAG. While Reconcile/IIED are responsible to donors for the project there is equally a need for stakeholders to have a voice in influencing programme direction because they also have a mandate from target group. A balance therefore needs to be struck between Reconcile/IIED and Partners about realistic role and mandate of the CAG. Some CAG members complained that the membership of meetings was very changeable but the minutes show fairly consistent attendance, see Annex 4 for details.

Improved understanding among partners

The Generic Training Course

4.5. We have already discussed the impact of the GTC on the participants. The impact of improved understanding among those who attend the course remains the most clear finding of the evaluation. The improved understanding is enhanced by the style and approach of the training. The course is described as highly participatory and the views of all participants being genuinely taken seriously. This is unusual in most education and training and the fact that the facilitators managed to convey respect of the views of all participants is remarkable. For the CSO members it allowed them far greater ownership than might have been obtained by a more conventional training approach.

“we made a lot of input to the training”
“what we thought was reinforced by research”

“brilliant idea! I learned so much. I didn’t understand migration and dynamics of livestock”

“we learned so much”
“pastoralism had had the mentality of something backward”

The evaluation team views of the training courses

4.6. The evaluation team was provided with a wide range of material that had been used in the GTC and draft material in preparation for modules that had not yet been delivered. Our assessment of the course has to be made without having seen the material in use. The course seems well designed around three “pillars” which helpfully focus attention on different aspects of livelihoods. The content is well organised and presented and contains a good mixture of technical data and plain reasoning. There is abundant use of visual materials including diagrams and photographs. The use of photographs is very powerful but also leads to the criticism that some elements are not appropriate to some participants. Photographs are necessarily specific to a particular place and this makes it difficult to present as generic. Most participants seem tolerant of the use of specific images but some had a sense of being ignored and this can be aggravated by an over-dependence on images from one place. This weakness can be easily corrected by the collection and use of a wider range of images. The training course material includes a number of feedback mechanisms and the responsive nature of the training, which is so appreciated by the participants, seems well organised.

Local adaptation of the GTC

4.7. The use of the training material for different situations is said to be necessary and we collected a number of observations on content that was not locally appropriate. For example, informants in Uganda said that villagisation was not important to their situations. This situation is a consequence of the strategy of starting with the GTC and developing other versions from it. However, all training and education contains some redundancy and it should not be expected that every session will be relevant to every participant. The gaps are far more important than questions of redundancy. The weak gender content and the relative absence of work sessions on conflict are more of a concern.

4.8. The GTC should be used at community level and this requires some translation into local languages. This has not happened and the course material has not been turned into documents in new languages. A short test of a locally appropriate adaptation was carried out in Tanzania. The project report described the development of local materials as being overambitious given the amount of time available since the course was finalised. However, there is a case for speeding up the dissemination of the training by using a shorter version of the course and delivering the course using fluent speakers who could manage without a complete written translation of the material. There is a sense among informants that the project is moving too slowly on this element.

Institutionalisation of the GTC

4.9. The use of university education to disseminate information about pastoralism is radical and interesting. The theory of action is not made more explicit than the suggestion that those leaving the university courses will be able to influence policy formulation and implementation in favour of pastoralist groups. There are significant difficulties of getting training material integrated into university courses and some considerable time is required between the development of the material and the use of those materials with students. Progress has been made with Universities in Dar es Salaam, Nairobi and Mbarara in the region and with Kimmage College in Ireland. It is not obvious why no progress was made with Makerere University in Kampala although some observers blame the project staff for their approach. The fact that individuals in these institutions are keen to use the material is an achievement. In each case, however, the material needs to be adapted to conform to a university course module and the material accepted by several university bodies. In Dar es Salaam for example, the department, the faculty and the university senate need to give their approval before the first course can be run.

4.10. The Regional University Forum for Capacity Building in Agriculture (RUFORUM) links 12 university faculties in seven countries to share ideas on course material and teaching in agriculture related courses. A key member of the forum is a strong supporter of the Project and is helping to promote the use of the Generic Training Course material in the university courses. The students would include individuals and civil servants but it is not clear how participants would be attracted. The use of RUFORUM is a long term initiative. It will take some time before the universities where there is a champion supporting the Project manage to run any courses based on the GTC and it will take longer for the other universities where there has been less contact.

Modules completed

4.11. The second module should be completed, the training manual developed and some courses run. It is a serious problem for the image of the project and its capacity to complete the promised programme. In practical terms there is a loss of momentum and loss of confidence among the partners. The expectation may be unrealistic but it is inescapable that the partners were expecting the benefits from the training in the second module and are disappointed to be still waiting.

Improved capacity

Research

4.12. The research carried out for the Project has been done in the region by local consultants and has improved capacity only in the way that any piece of work improves the workers ability to do similar work another time. Some contacts have been made and the reputation of one or two researchers improved. More generally the research has not enhanced the ability of the partners to commission or carry out research. Some of the material produced is considered to be of poor quality which reduces confidence in commissioning research. The negative experiences have not led to new commissioning approaches. The selection of research focus has not improved the capacity locally to choose regional topics. Project staff are aware of possible mentoring approaches and these could be considered for the second phase.

4.13. Similarly, project staff are familiar with a wide range of dissemination techniques that are more accessible than the IIED Drylands Issues series and could attempt to use

some in the second phase. There is a case for a more active distribution of the research material produced. We met staff in the Ministry of Livestock Development who had not seen the report on the economic value of pastoralism and were desperate to get hold of copies.

4.14. The IIED Drylands Issues version of the economic value of pastoralism is complex and introduces a wide range of ideas that tend to distract from the simple arguments of contributions to national economies which are sufficient to fulfil the purposes of improving awareness. Arguments about whales are not necessarily going to impress people in government office who are under pressure to demonstrate increases in livestock production. It may be that there is a need for a simpler presentation of a few key arguments.

Policy-oriented support

4.15. The Project reports mention a wide range of support provided by the Project to a range of pastoral CSOs. These are very predominantly in Tanzania. During our interviews with the relevant staff we found that they were often unaware that the support was considered as part of the project work. The staff are so well known as active members of pastoralist groups that their support was seen as routine networking. Nevertheless, the work is seen as important and some observers say that the work of Project staff is an essential element of support to pastoralist organisations and initiatives. Some observers said that all the work in the area could be traced back to the Project which acted as a catalyst.

4.16. Generally partners in all the three countries feel that as a result of the research that has been undertaken in each country, and the GTC they are better able to engage with policy makers on issues regarding the impact of some policies and strategies that they feel impact negatively on the livelihood of pastoralists. Some of the partners however expressed concern on limited dissemination of the research results which they felt that limit their usefulness as only a limited number of CSOs are aware of the research findings and can use them.

4.17. In the case of Tanzania the IGLG initiative all partners who have participated feel that it has been very useful in enabling them to understand policies and to be able to discuss them and their impact on the livelihoods of pastoralists more confidently than before. The work of summarising the policies in a popular language is felt to have been very critical in enabling partners to understand these policies and to be able to comfortably either discuss them or use them as a point of reference when specific strategies are developed that they feel undermine the spirit of the more basic policies. While some of the partners like CRT, MWEDO have shared this knowledge with their staff, umbrella organisations shared this knowledge with their member organisations.

4.18. PINGOs says that they organised three workshops which helped them to share and disseminate the information and knowledge they gained. One of the constraints was the limited number of the booklets on policy briefs (only 30) that they were given. One of the workshop on advocacy included members of Parliament, and senior government officials from Government Ministries (i.e. Land, Livestock Development, Natural Resources and Tourism and Local Government) and from CSOs. Clearly the value of this input in helping partners to better understand policies and to be able to more

comfortably engage policy makers at local government and central government level was appreciated.

4.19. Besides the GTC, and the IGLG initiative the Project has also made specific into programmes of some of the partners that have improved their capacity to better engage in influencing policies at different levels in their countries. However the extent to which some of these inputs are seen as being directly related to policy varies considerably with individual organisations. Some partners in the three countries see specific inputs made as being useful while others see the project as not having had much influence in assisting them to influence policy and feel that more should be done. Specific inputs for instance that the Project has made into the work of PINGOs, ERETO and the TNRF are in Tanzania are appreciated. In Kenya some partners appreciate the Project and Reconcile has played in supporting pastoralists struggles related to land access versus Ranchers which has resulted in three expatriates of MS Kenya being expelled. Some partners however feel that the project may not have capacity to respond to the needs of individual CSOs which is time consuming and that they should put more effort in helping CSOs to come together to develop a joint strategies to address issues in their areas.

4.20. There is a weakness in policy work in Tanzania because of the geography that puts the pastoral CSOs in the north of the country some distance from decision makers in Dodoma and Dar es Salaam. This issue has been important for agencies in and around Arusha for some time and no effective solutions have been found. The distance also affects the Project in its relations with its donors who have offices in Dar es Salaam and some observers say that the Project should work harder at having good contact with its donors. Apart from being good practice generally, the donors could be a useful source of information and allies in advocacy work.

Improved linking

National

4.21. The potential for networking at national level has been improved by the work of the project. This is largely the result of organising meetings and the training events. People who have met and worked together are able to get in touch with each other. Personal contacts count for a lot and people can walk into the office of someone they know personally even if they would normally not expect to be received.

4.22. When we asked participants, however, they mostly said that they had not had contact with fellow trainees since the training. There obviously has been considerable contact between participants but very few seemed to be new contacts and most seemed to come from earlier contact. Nevertheless, there seemed to be an improved quality to some networking. In Uganda, the existence of COPACSO is attributed partly to the work of the project; the original idea was formulated during a Project meeting in Kenya. COPACSO is a loose group of people in Uganda, but principally based in Kampala, who meet regularly and share the secretariat functions on a voluntary rotating basis. There is some discussion in the group about the usefulness or otherwise of setting up COPACSO on a more formal basis with a permanent dedicated secretariat. Regardless of the outcome of these discussions, COPACSO provides a forum for networking and the organisers recognise some inspiration and support from the Project.

4.23. Uganda had its first Pastoralists Week in 2006 which provided a new forum for exchange of ideas, networking and advocacy for pastoralist livelihoods. Here again the

informants that we met in Uganda attribute the existence of the Pastoralist Week to the networking opportunities provided by the project. The idea was learned from experience in Kenya and an organiser was identified and recruited from a Kenyan organisation. These things could not have happened, we were told, if not for the project.

4.24. Some informants claimed that the project had not helped them to meet since they had been on the training and suggested that they could not afford to organise a simple meeting without additional funding. Whether or not this is true, it seems to suggest a failure to take responsibility for pursuing the objectives of the project.

Regional

4.25. The project has facilitated linking across the region partly, as described above through the training events but also through the CAG and the Partners' Meetings. The importance of face to face contact in creating links cannot be exaggerated. This is particularly true in an African context and our informants suggested that they would not find it easy to contact someone that they had not met even if they had their details.

4.26. The evaluation team found the **newsletter** dull to read especially since project staff have been involved in the production of interesting and imaginative publications. However, all the informants that we spoke with said that they found the Newsletter useful and informative. They said that it gave them information on events and also on issues relevant to pastoralists in the region.

4.27. There was no evidence from the people we spoke to of increased networking on an individual basis as a result of meeting people from the region during the training course. Although in theory networking was more possible, there were few opportunities. International travel is limited and email is not extensively used.

Beyond the region

4.28. The project has enabled exchanges outside the region by supporting visits by people from the region to Botswana and Namibia. Also the project has brought visitors from Somalia and Ethiopia to the region. These visits are highly valued and enabled learning that could not have been achieved by other means. These initiatives have not led to continued exchanges and could not be expected to be sustainable. However, they seem to have left a sense of connectedness and a broadening of ideas which are valuable. One informant said that contact with people from other countries was good for helping to "*think outside your own cocoon*".

4.29. The links with contacts in Ethiopia have led to a new initiative in that country. The GTC is being adapted to the Ethiopian context and will benefit from learning during the first phase and include stronger focus on gender and conflict. The initiative will be more selective of its partners and a short version of the training for senior civil servants is being developed for the Ethiopian programme. This work is not part of the initial programme and

Partnership working

4.30. The approach of facilitation rather than operational working and promoting work through other organisations is ethically correct and essential for improved sustainability. It would be inappropriate for project staff to promote change in government policy (one of the project aims) in countries of which they are not citizens and therefore the

promotion or support of others is the only correct way of working. The Project is also reacting to earlier experience in which externally funded project work in this area was seen as too interventionist which severely limited its effectiveness. However, the apparent hands-off approach is not seen clearly by some of those we spoke to and the project is criticised for not making itself the focal point of work on pastoralism. The project is also seen to have taken too long and been too slow in the work it has done. It is possibly true that the work could have been done faster if the project has adopted a more operational role. There is a serious question about the role of leadership in establishing the necessary coalitions to lead to changes that might suggest a more interventionist role is necessary. However, the project staff are rightly sensitive to the possibility of taking a role that is too dominant which would be detrimental to the work and would draw attention away from the arguments and onto project staff themselves.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Achievements

5.1. The Project has developed a new approach to working with pastoralist groups and raised awareness of the potential for different ways of working. It is respected for its long term approach and for acting on the problem analysis that indicates the need to address the roots of problems rather than the symptoms. The Project stands as a lesson to donors that longer time horizons are possible.

5.2. The time taken to develop the project through repeated consultation is taken as evidence of the Project management attempts to design an appropriate intervention that has real value. The project rationale is based in an accurate assessment of the situation in the region.

5.3. The participatory nature of the approach is valued although this is perceived to be variable. The contributions to the Generic Training Course and the modifications to the Course are seen as proof of a highly participatory way of working. The management of the Core Advisory Group and some organisational issues are seen to remain as entirely determined by the IIED Reconcile managers.

5.4. The Generic Training Course has been extremely successful. It seems to demonstrate that good training can lead to genuine transformational learning. The content is seen as highly appropriate and of good quality. The training style is praised as allowing participants to contribute their views and gain a sense of ownership of the learning process. University lecturers admire the style and have tried to replicate it in their own teaching where they can.

5.5. The Project is respected for attempts to facilitate action by partners rather than being operational. Clearly this is good practice but relatively rare in practice despite common rhetoric. There are occasional weaknesses in this approach as with the participatory nature of some activities.

5.6. The research that has been commissioned is highly valued by those who have seen it. The training course and the partners' meetings have been important for sharing results among partners. The content of the research has been a very important contribution to pastoral work but dissemination was weak. The level of language in some publications has reduced accessibility of the results.

5.7. Partners have valued the regional meetings and the ability to learn from other pastoral groups and projects in the different countries. The meetings are a good forum for learning.

5.8. The regional connections are credited with prompting the learning that has helped with the creation of a networking group in Uganda and the running of a Pastoralist Week. Members of the network in Kampala were instrumental in influencing national policy and acknowledge the Project support in helping them to achieve this.

5.9. The booklets on policy in Tanzania may be helpful if their use can be facilitated. People seem to learn more from discussion than from written material or electronic communications.

5.10. The capacity strengthening work has taken two forms; direct inputs from Project staff and inputs from partners supporting the IGLG. The direct inputs are appreciated but are necessarily limited. The IGLG initiative is more appreciated as an approach but has not had sufficient time to bring about highly significant impacts.

Lessons and Recommendations

5.11. Staffing capacity has been inadequate for the ambitions of the Project. Changes will be necessary in the allocation of staff responsibilities or staff time or in personnel if the second phase is to get the work back on schedule. The management system must create a competent locally-placed role with authority to move work forward. The role of the CAG has not been clear and this has led to frustrations for its members.

5.12. The partners' organisations are weaker than the project plan expected. Some capacity strengthening was essential from the start. There are particular weaknesses about forming alliances, designing and managing advocacy initiatives. Some partner organisations appear to be expecting continuous support from the project which cannot be provided. The main issue is the ability of people in CSOs to initiate and lead on new activities. In most cases, the staff of CSOs are overworked and not in a position to lead their organisation into more work.

5.13. Successful policy interventions require on-the-spot action; good information; good networking and good contact with authorities i.e. a strong local alliance, well-informed and well-connected. Advocacy training is necessary for CSO staff and might have been better if introduced in the first phase.

5.14. There are significant differences between the three countries and the project may need a country specific focus for its capacity strengthening and support work. The Generic Training Course is sufficiently broad to be used in each country context for Civil Society Organisations.

5.15. There is a need to address conflict issues in the training and in capacity strengthening work. Conflict is the most important problem facing some groups and an inadequate treatment makes the Project seem less relevant than it should be. There is potential to work on conflict without serious consequences for the rest of the programme.

5.16. There is a need to work on gender in a more thorough way in the training and capacity strengthening. There are ideas for what should be included and the consequences of continuing to consider gender issues too lightly.

5.17. The GTC may need to be modified to suit the availability of some of the target trainees in government offices and donor agencies. A shorter version could be developed and tested. Attempting to train current civil servants should assume a greater priority than the development of training for university students.

5.18. In Uganda there have been successful interventions to influence the PEAP. The conditions for success were present in the form of a good alliance with access to good quality information and the ability to be heard. The alliance in Kampala is strong but the organisations working at community level seem weak and only weakly connected to the Kampala based network.

5.19. In Kenya, the networks and capacity for advocacy interactions are gathering strength but were weakened by actions of the previous administration and changes in the make up of the parliamentary pastoralist group (PPG).

5.20. In Tanzania, networking for influence is made more difficult by the location of most pastoral groups in Arusha. This adds to a perception that the Project is focussed too much on Maasai issues and on northern issues. It will be possible to rebalance the work if some attention is paid to the issue.

5.21. Commissioning research should be continued and made more simple; perhaps with less ambitious briefs. A few small topics could be examined and chosen at a CAG meeting. It will be useful to experiment with some mentoring approaches in order to share skills.

5.22. Results from research (existing material and that commissioned by the project) should be disseminated by a range of methods. Some greater awareness could be shown to the difficulties of sharing information by reading and to the values put on oral communication.

5.23. The outcomes in phase 1 fit well with the expectations although more should have been achieved in development of the future training modules. This is more than the routine observation that work always takes longer than intended.

5.24. An increasing political focus on climate change may bring some attention to drylands and areas that are thought likely to become drier. This may provide opportunities to put the case for pastoralism as the most appropriate production system and for pastoralists as historically adept at flexibility and adapting to change. The focus may come initially from donor governments where the issues are increasingly important domestically.

ANNEXES

- 1 Terms of Reference
2. Trends affecting pastoralism in the region
3. Inventory of other actors in pastoralism
4. Attendance at the Core Advisory Group
5. Documents Consulted
6. People Met
7. Checklist of questions for interviews

RECONCILE/IIED

Programme on Reinforcement of Pastoral Civil Society in East Africa

Evaluation of Phase 1

Terms of Reference

Summary

Resource Conflict Institute (RECONCILE) and the Drylands Programme of the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) are jointly implementing the Programme on *Reinforcement of Pastoral Civil Society in East Africa* in partnership with pastoral civil organisations, NGOs, government departments, donor projects and key university departments and research institutes in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. The programme is jointly funded by DFID's Civil Society Challenge Fund, the Swiss Development Cooperation, DANIDA through its pastoral programme in Tanzania and Irish Aid. The 1st phase of the programme ends in March 2007 after four and half years of activity.¹³

The Programme is commissioning a participatory external evaluation to assess the validity of the programme's original premises with respect to pastoral impoverishment and disempowerment; the pertinence of the programme's activities and approach in response to this analysis; the degree to which it has achieved its stated objectives; and the nature and scale of its impact on its stated beneficiaries.

The consultancy will take place over three to four weeks from the 23rd October 2006. A final report is expected by the end of November 2006.

1. The programme

1.1 Rationale

The absence of a vibrant, representative and effective pastoral civil society movement capable of articulating and implementing their members' vision of their own development is a key factor in explaining why pastoralists continue to face acute poverty, discrimination, conflict and insecurity, lack of social services, poor marketing facilities, etc. Pastoral people lack the knowledge, political clout and resources with which to fight their own cause, and thus remain vulnerable to other people's interpretation of what is

¹³ The programme received a six-month no-cost extension in 2004 to enable it to meet its objectives.

best for them. Policies for pastoral development continue to be designed by people external to the system who either have a poor understanding of pastoral livelihood strategies or who are hostile to pastoralism itself. Improving policy makers' understanding of the rationale of pastoralism could improve policy design. But, information alone is unlikely to bring substantial changes since policy formulation is essentially a State-driven political process tending to favour dominant groups. In the eyes of the State, pastoralists represent a "minority vote" and occupy what is considered marginal land of low economic potential. Influencing policy design is thus a complex process combining good information with political leverage, which ultimately needs to be driven by "pastoral citizens" through their institutions.

1.2 Implementation strategy

The regional programme on the *Reinforcement of Pastoral Civil Society in East Africa* (PCS-EA) is conceived as an "enabling programme" designed to provide an overall strategic framework for pastoral civil society organisations and the organisations that support them as well as local and national government to work together in support of pastoral and agro-pastoral livelihoods. The core work of the programme is to create the conditions that will enable pastoral people to take charge of their own destiny and engage with the State and other interest groups on a more equal footing. Pastoralists need to be able to analyse current policy in an informed manner, and frame and articulate their rights according to their values and interests. Building this capacity will be a complex, time-consuming process, which the programme proposes to undertake over three incremental phases.

Phase 1 (2002-7) addresses the problem of external ignorance and prejudice, in order to create a favourable environment for the promotion of pastoral self-determination in subsequent phases of the programme. It seeks to improve knowledge among two key actors. First, within pastoral civil society groups and the organisations that support them, to enable them to understand why the dominant development paradigm driving pastoral policy contributes to the marginalisation of pastoral people. As the "gate-keepers" of pastoral society, these organisations are the key to reaching local people, and it is essential that they fully understand the issues if they are to support a process of self-determination without corrupting it. Second, among policy makers at different levels to enable them better to understand the rationale driving pastoral livelihood systems in dryland areas and thereby to design policy interventions in their support.

Phase 2 will extend the process developed in Phase 1 to two different levels. First, to build the capacity of local people living in pastoral and agro-pastoral areas to better understand and articulate the dynamics of their livelihood systems in relation to the policy environment, and to advocate and lobby for change particularly at local government level. Second, to institutionalise the training programme within higher-seats of learning within the region and selected European countries in order to reach the future generation of policy makers in East Africa. Attention will also be given to exploring the possibilities of extending the programme into other countries bordering East Africa, such as Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan, etc.

Phase 3 will see the gradual emergence of a strong and viable pastoral civil society movement, particularly in those areas in which the programme and its partners have been most active. Our hypothesis is that a process of informed debate at the local level will trigger internal demand for change. The aim is to ensure that activities conducted in Phase 2 are as broadly based as possible, fostering the emergence of a critical threshold of well-informed pastoral people.

A key principle of the programme is not to create new structures but rather to work with existing organisations (pastoral community groups, NGOs, donor projects, etc.) that have well-established development programmes and good working relations with local people in pastoral and agro-pastoral areas. In phase 1, activities seek specifically to design in a participatory way a range of training and action-research activities that enable these organisations better to understand the structural causes of pastoral marginalisation in order that they might subsequently, in phase 2, adapt this knowledge to their local contexts.

The programme has sought thus to build on the comparative advantages of different players to work simultaneously on three broad fronts:

- Responding to the immediate needs of pastoral and agro-pastoral communities through development-oriented projects. The PCS-EA programme is not directly involved in any work of this nature. Rather, activities are implemented by programme partners such as Oxfam, FARM-Africa, VETAID, ITDG and the ERETO project in Ngorongoro in partnership with numerous pastoral organisations such as the District Pastoral Association in Wajir, Duputo-e-Maa in Kajiado, Longido Community Development Organisation in Tanzania and the Dodoth Agro-Pastoral Development Organisation in Karamoja.
- Improving policy makers' and development practitioners' understanding of the dynamics of pastoral systems and the key policy options required for its support. In partnership with multiple actors at different levels, the PCA-EA programme has focused its activities on the design of a generic course on *Pastoralism and Policy in East Africa* as well as carrying out collaborative policy-oriented research on key issues of a regional significance to contribute to this objective.
- Building the capacity of pastoral civil society to play an informed and effective role in policy design, including skills to convince policy makers of the rationale of their livelihood systems and to work in partnership with other pastoral groups to strengthen their collective voice and defend their interests in the face of government priorities and those of other powerful interests. Through collaborative arrangements with a broad range of pastoral groups and the organisations that support them, the PCA-EA programme contributes to this objective through its training and networking activities.

1.3 Purpose, Outputs and Activities¹⁴

The overall purpose of the programme is to create the conditions for the *emergence of a vibrant, representative and effective pastoral civil society movement capable of articulating and implementing their members' vision of their own development.*

Phase one has three outputs or objectives:

Output 1: Improved understanding by programme partners and other key stakeholders of the dynamics of different East African pastoral systems, & their interaction with the broader policy environment. Activities to achieve this output include:

- The design and implementation of a generic training course on *Pastoralism and Policy in East Africa*.
- The design of a process for the adaptation of the generic training course to local contexts in East Africa.
- The design of a process for the institutionalisation of the generic training course in universities and training colleges in East Africa and Europe.

Output 2: Improved capacity of programme partners and other key stakeholders to understand and respond appropriately to on-going social, economic and political processes of change at local, national and regional levels that impact on pastoral areas and/or livelihoods. Activities to achieve this output include:

- Collaborative action-research on issues of regional significance.
- Training on advocacy and lobbying¹⁵
- Policy-oriented training and support to programme partners
- Build the capacity of pastoral civil society groups to carry out local level awareness raising on policy issues of concern to them.¹⁶

Output 3: Improved capacity of programme partners to learn from the experiences of each other as well as other organisations in East Africa, the Sahel and elsewhere.

Activities include:

- Networking at regional and pan-African levels

Full details of programme activities can be found in the original funding proposal, the subsequent no-cost extension proposal and the programme's six-monthly and annual reports.

2. Programme evaluation

2.1 Purpose of the evaluation

¹⁴ In 2004, programme activities were modified when a 6-month no-cost agreement was secured with the donors.

¹⁵ This activity was subsequently integrated within the design of the generic training (Output 1)

¹⁶ Additional funds were raised in 2004 from Development Cooperation Ireland

This evaluation, to be carried out by a team external to IIED and RECONCILE but with their assistance and that of programme partners, is designed principally to draw lessons about the effectiveness of the 1st phase of the programme and to outline the shape and direction of the 2nd phase. It will also provide an input into IIED's final report to its donors about the programme.

The evaluation will look at what was done during the 1st phase of the programme, measured against its outputs, and will assess the impact of its activities. It is not a financial evaluation and will not analyse programme spending and accounts. These will be analysed within the context of the programme's annual audit and be subject to a separate report.

The main clients for this evaluation are:

- Programme donors as an exercise in accountability and learning.
- Programme partners in order that they might draw lessons from the experience of their involvement in the programme's portfolio of activities and contribute to the design of Phase two.
- IIED and RECONCILE as joint implementers in order that they might learn from experience and better design a 2nd phase of work to meet the programme's overall purpose.

The evaluation has five specific objectives:

- To assess the validity of the programme's original premises with respect to pastoral impoverishment and disempowerment.¹⁷
- To assess the pertinence of the programme's approach and choice of activities in response to this analysis.
- To assess the degree to which it has achieved its stated outputs.
- To assess the nature and scale of its impact on its stated beneficiaries.
- To make key recommendations for the 2nd phase of the programme in East Africa.

2.2 Evaluation approach, methodology and key questions

The evaluation will be a participatory exercise carried out by PCS-EA partners including donors with external scrutiny and methodological support being provided by an international consultant and one regional consultant. The international consultant with support from the regional consultant is responsible for the overall design, implementation and analysis of a participatory evaluation process in the three countries covered by the programme (Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda). The methodology will be designed to ensure partners are able to express their views of the programme, the manner in which they have been involved and the added-value it has brought to their activities. The regional consultant and the PCS-EA programme will provide support to the international consultant in the design and implementation of the evaluation methodology. Assessments by the evaluation will be conducted at two levels.

¹⁷ See comments by Richard Ndaskoi, Ereto Project Manager in Appendix 1.

First, at **Output level (Results)**. Each of the three Outputs refers to building the capacities of programme partners in a number of key areas. The evaluation will seek to establish the relevance and degree to which the programme has reinforced these capacities. To do this, each of the activities undertaken within each Output, will be assessed for its (i) **pertinence** to the overall purpose of the programme; (ii) the degree to which it has been implemented and **achieved its stated objectives**; (iii) the nature and extent of its **contribution to the Output** (i.e. its impact and/or added-value); and (iv) key **lessons and recommendations**.

Second, at **Purpose level (Outcomes)**. It is hypothesised that the achievement of the three outputs will contribute to building an enabling environment for pastoral self-determination. The evaluation will thus seek to establish (i) the **pertinence** of the three outputs to contributing towards the establishment of an enabling environment; (ii) the manner in which programme partners have **used their “improved capacities”** as a result of participating in the programme within the context of their own work, and **to what effect**; and (iii) **key lessons and recommendations**. Specifically, the evaluation will assess the degree to which the programme has helped partners to engage with the policy environment in their respective countries, and whether this engagement has resulted in positive policy changes in support of pastoral livelihoods.

Clearly this is a more complex task due to the difficulty of attributing success solely to the PCS-EA programme, or the fact that “positive impact” is not necessarily immediately verifiable (there is a time factor), or that other factors may intervene that prevent partners making use of their improved skills.

The evaluation will also assess a number of crosscutting themes:

- **Partnerships.** A key objective of the programme has been to forge constructive partnerships with a range of local, national and regional actors (pastoral civil society groups, NGOs, government and donor policy makers, research and educational establishments, etc.) and through them to contribute to the emergence of a shared analysis and common perspective, particularly among pastoral groups and their partners, of pastoral self-determination. In addition, the PCA-EA programme had specific partnership agreements with the ERETO pastoral programme in Ngorongoro (Tanzania), one of its donors, and the MS-Training Centre for Development Cooperation, both defined by Memorandum of Understandings, and, in the case of ERETO, a Project Implementation Agreement. The evaluation will assess the nature and value-added of these various partnership agreements (who are the partners, how has the programme worked with them, did the programme choose the “best” partners to work with, etc.) from the perspective of both parties, and make recommendations for the 2nd phase of work.
- **Longer term policy engagement.** The PCS-EA programme opted from the outset to invest in longer-term processes of pastoral civil society capacity building for policy influence, rather than engage itself in shorter-term processes. This decision was based on the premise that since other actors including several

prominent pastoral groups (e.g. MPIDO, PINGOs) and national and international NGOs (e.g. Oxfam, Hakiardhi) were working on current policy issues, the programme's added-value would be to invest in longer-term processes of capacity building. However, in order to respond to criticisms of this approach by certain pastoral groups, the PCS-EA initiated the Institutional Governance Learning group project with funds from Irish Aid. The evaluation will establish the pertinence and benefit of the programme's twin-track approach, and make recommendations for the 2nd phase of work.

- **Gender.** The PCS-EA is committed to ensuring its activities and outcomes involve and benefit both men and women. The evaluation will assess the programme's strategy for addressing gender and the manner in which it was implemented and with what effect. It will also make key recommendations of how better to address gender issues in the 2nd phase.
- **Linking local to regional and regional coverage.** The PCS-EA was designed as a regional programme covering Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda to bring added value to partners' in-country activities at local and national levels. The evaluation will assess the degree to which the programme has successfully forged links between different actors at different levels to contribute to partners' in-country activities (e.g. advocacy) and to what effect. In addition, given the programme's strategy of forging partnerships through pastoral civil society groups and the organisations that support them, and the fact that the pastoral training was designed with a the MS-Training Centre for Development Cooperation in Arusha (northern Tanzania), activities have not necessarily been implemented in an equitable manner throughout the region. The evaluation will assess partners' perceptions of the programme's regional focus, the real and imagined effect this has had on the programme's profile and capacity to deliver its outputs and make recommendations for the 2nd phase of work. In addition, the evaluation will assess the nature and degree
- **Programme management.** The evaluation will assess two key issues with respect to programme management – strategic direction and financial management. The PCS-EA programme established two mechanisms to provide strategic direction to programme activities and ensure they responded to partners' priorities and programme objectives: an annual partners' meeting at which programme activities for the past year were presented and discussed and future activities broadly agreed; and a Core Advisory Group (CAG) composed of nine people elected at the partners' meeting representing six pastoral civil society groups and three NGOs or projects. The evaluation will assess the pertinence and value of these mechanisms to ensuring strategic direction and some degree of ownership of the programme by partners, and make recommendations for the 2nd phase of work. The evaluation will also evaluate the degree to which programme funds were managed and used in an effective and efficient manner in the implementation of programme activities and their outputs and outcomes.

In order to address the above issues and questions, the evaluation will consult four categories of people:

- **IIED and RECONCILE staff** involvement in the implementation of the programme. The first task of the evaluation will be to describe what was actually done, compared to the targets set at the start.
- **Donors.** The evaluation will seek donor perceptions and understanding of the programme and establish the level of their engagement and satisfaction with what has been achieved.
- **Programme partners.** The most important part of the evaluation will be to document and assess the views of programme partners involved in programme activities – the nature and degree of involvement, the benefits they have derived, etc. A full list of partners will be provided by IIED and RECONCILE.
- **Partners of the programme partners.** Where appropriate, the evaluation will consult a range of actors with whom programme partners work (e.g. local communities, local and national government, other NGOs, etc.) in order to assess whether or not they have experienced any changes in the nature of their relationship with these organisations following their involvement in the PCS-EA programme.

2.3 The evaluation process

The evaluation team will consist of one international consultant and one regional consultant paid from the programme budget. The donor organisations may wish to include additional consultants to accompany this team at their own cost.

There are several stages to the evaluation:

Stage 1: Draft TOR are developed by IIED and RECONCILE and circulated to programme donors and the CAG for comment and approval by the 14th July 2006. Final TOR approved by 31st August 2006.

Stage 2: IIED and RECONCILE will prepare key documentation on the programme. This will include the original funding proposal, the no-cost extension proposal, six month and annual reports, all publications, the training materials, minutes of the CAG meetings and other meetings with key partners, etc. This material will be put on a CD and made available to the consultants by the 31st August.

Stage 3: The international consultant with support from the regional consultant and IIED and RECONCILE will establish an evaluation methodology including a work plan and itinerary. IIED and RECONCILE will organise as necessary all contacts with programme partners and donors including the logistics. This will be completed by the 30th September 2006.

Stage 4: Subject to the evaluation methodology, the evaluators will visit Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda over a three-week period starting in late October/early November – dates to be confirmed – to conduct field work including a 1-day preliminary report-back workshop.

Stage 5: The consultants will submit a draft report for comment by the 15th January 2007 and a final report no later than the 30th January 2007.

REVIEW OF TRENDS IN PASTORALISM AND GENDER ASPECTS OF PCS PROGRAMME

1.0 TRENDS

1.1.1 Impacts of drought (loss of pasture, water points, loss of animals and other livelihood resources)

In a study conducted by Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in Kenya on pastoralism¹⁸ in four districts, pastoralists complained of droughts becoming more frequent in the past 10 years as compared to before. This has had an increasing erosion of their coping strategies which included, migration to dry season grazing areas; food preservation (grain or meat) or using parts of animals normally not consumed and use of wild foods. This change of events has a bearing on the food security situation of pastoralists who mostly rely on their livestock for food.

Droughts in the past were localised and of shorter duration, traditional herd migration strategies were adequate under all but the most extreme of conditions. Currently droughts are believed to be more widespread and prolonged with large scale herd losses and increased poverty levels for pastoralists. The lack of mobility and relatively scarce pastures are considered to be contributing to the increased severity of the droughts.

Pastoralists only migrated after making sure that a place has received rains due to the localised nature of the rains. Migration was restricted by the clan boundaries put in place by the colonialists and at present conflicts have also restricted the movement of livestock and people. Grazing patterns and mobility are now determined by the location of administrative towns rather than by elder's decisions. Drought coping strategies continue to evolve with grain markets and food aid being some of the new options that have been incorporated into the range of drought coping responses.

During drought the vulnerable people (elderly, pregnant women, children) are the hardest hit e.g. the old people die during drought because they cannot cope with the migrations in search of green pastures, and lack of food. Livestock also die in large numbers rendering many people completely poor. During the rainy season cattle rustling increases and the pastoralists whose herds survived the drought many be rendered destitute as what survived may be stolen during the raids. Those rendered destitute have no alternative but to move to urban areas to look for casual labour in order to survival.

A breakdown in the traditional fall-back patterns of the socio-cultural ties which used to assist individuals affected by the drought to restock and regain their livelihoods after drought has also occurred. Therefore a more individualistic lifestyle is emerging and the social safety nets are disintegrating. As such, more pastoralists affected by the shocks are dropping out of the system.

1.1.2 Impacts of conflict (to include conflicts within groups, between local groups, between different ethnic groups, cross-border conflicts)

¹⁸ Pastoralist Special Initiative project, Kenya, 2005 (PSI, 2005)

According to AU-IBAR¹⁹ conflict is at root caused by the poverty and marginalization of pastoralist communities. Also significant have been the proliferation of small arms; migration for grazing resulting in inter-clan conflict; escalating bride wealth; weakened community sanctions against raiding. The resolution of conflict requires a coordinated set of policies and a trans-boundary approach and it must involve the participation of pastoralist communities.

In the Greater Horn of Africa region, there are diverse causes of resource use conflict between pastoralists and agriculturalists. Some of the causes of conflicts include: high premium placed on livestock and livestock products; continuation of traditions (e.g. cattle rustling); expansion of agricultural lands; commercialization of pastoralism and agriculture; and episodic droughts and insecurity. These conflicts have resulted in heightened insecurity; breakdown of nomadic pastoralism; over-exploitation of land and consequent ecological degradation. Some examples of these ethnic conflicts in the region are:

- *Pastoralists versus pastoralists* over grazing land and due to high premium placed on livestock and livestock products (e.g. in Kenya, Turkana versus Pokot; in Uganda, Jie versus Dodoth).
- *Agriculturalists versus pastoralists* over expansion of agricultural land (e.g. in Kenya Pokomo versus Orma, in Tanzania, Masai versus Sukuma).
- *Pastoralists versus agriculturalists* over livestock (e.g. Samburu and Turkana versus Meru in Kenya and in Tanzania, Kuria versus Masai).

Pastoralist conflict underwent a fundamental change during the 1990s. New weapons made it more lethal, and the politicisation of raiding has displaced internal cultural controls, undermined indigenous leaders, and increased the scope for opportunistic exploitation of traditional military institutions.

Comic Relief²⁰ elaborate this point: they state that in both West and East Africa conflict has been a principal cause of poverty and a significant component of pastoralist development programmes. It is accepted that pastoralists have a long history of conflict to establish rights over access to natural resources and to livestock. In recent times, however, these conflicts (between pastoralists or between pastoralists and neighbouring farmers) have been transformed by the widespread acquisition of automatic weapons.

Conflict has generated a growth industry incorporating academic analysis with new programmes to combat it. The losses thoroughly justify the attention and resources deployed in the field. The information now available represents an impressive database. One estimate reckoned the costs of past northern Kenya conflict cycle to be US \$ 400m, but the opportunity costs of rangelands conflict, in contrast, are probably best calculated in terms of decades and generations.

Raids emanating from Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia and Sudan have watered down concerted initiatives to disarm the Karamajong, and the continuing instability in Sudan sufficiently illustrates the multiple scales of the problem. The Ethiopia-Kenya border is another conflict system that has resisted attempts to stabilize it since the end of the

¹⁹ AU-IBAR (2005). Conflict in the Karamojong Cluster.

²⁰ Comic Relief (July 2002): Review of the Pastoralist Programme.

nineteenth century. Recent developments in Somalia also underscore both the potential benefits and very real perils that come with governmental interventions addressing the forces of chaos incubating in the absence of effective governance on the state level down to the ground.

Kratli & Swift²¹ list the different forms and causes of conflict facing pastoralist communities today:

- Power struggles between youth and elders (including nowadays councilors, chiefs etc) over resource distribution, are a significant dynamic in conflict.
- Businessmen sell arms on credit and take a share of the proceeds of raiding. They even organize raiding, recruiting a mercenary army from retired army personnel, school leavers etc. Raiding is increasingly undertaken as wage-labour, where mercenaries are hired by interested parties.
- Raiding may be used instrumentally in politics, to acquire funds, to fuel propaganda, to compete with political rivals. Even by ignoring conflict, politicians play a role in facilitating it.
- Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) may fuel conflict by providing resources to disputing parties and/or altering existing balance of power. In addition, project investments such as boreholes can increase violence if customary rights and practices are not taken into account. Antagonism to local civil society (e.g. Islamic bodies) may also hinder processes of conflict resolution.
- Influxes of refugees can fuel conflict, especially if not well managed.
- Construction of ethnic or clan identity in the modern understanding of these terms can also provide a rationale behind conflict.
- Presence of an in-active or in-effective state machinery can fuel conflict through crowding out other institutions, or jeopardizing traditional authority structures. The state is also often co-opted by raiding parties, and actively participates in violence.
- Women often incite men to violence. With the increase in automatic weapons, young women may even participate directly. At the same time, women also may provide crucial channels of communication between rival clans, as they often marry between clans.

According to Biamah et al²², the impacts of conflict include restriction and sometimes blocked access to common resources by certain pastoralist groups. It has also distorted the original grazing patterns and forced pastoralists to resort to environmentally unsustainable resource use systems. It has reduced the resource base of pastoralists by compelling pastoralists to sedentarise against their will. Hence they cannot access key production areas that were freely grazed hitherto. Thus now, there exist unsustainable livestock concentrations due to the breakdown of the traditional grazing patterns. In addition insecurity has resulted in over-exploitation of resources, low quality livestock and left most pastoralists vulnerable to famine and destitution.

²¹ Kratli S. & Swift J. Understanding and Managing Pastoral Conflict in Kenya: A literature review. IDS, University of Sussex, UK

²² Biamah K. Biamah, K.O. Farah and B.M. Mutsoso. Uncertainty with the Future of Traditional Pastoralism in the Greater Horn of Africa: Emerging Issues and Concerns –, University of Nairobi, Kenya –Paper presented on 2nd December 2004 during the Kenya Pastoralist Week 2004.

1.1.3 Access to natural resources (pasture, water, stock routes, key sites in migration, encroachment by arable farming and by private ownership of land)

According to Biamah et. al (ibid), when one sees through the mirror of the future on pastoralism as a production and welfare system in the Greater Horn of Africa (GHA) Region, the concerns that emerge are twofold:

- There is increasing resource use pressure due to population increase and a fast shrinking resource base;
- There is increasing uncertainty with the sustainability of traditional pastoralism in the future. This is evidenced by projections on trends in pastoralism from 1930s to 2020s that show decreasing numbers of nomadic and semi-nomadic pastoralists and an increase in destitute pastoralists.

Changes in pastoral land tenure through the creation of livestock ranches, grazing blocks, national parks, game reserves and wheat farms in key production areas have led to disruptions in the pastoralists lifestyle and hence the beginning of poverty and misery. Alongside this collapse of the system, the recurrence of drought, decline in range resource productivity, increasing sedentarization onto pastoral land, famine, land use conflicts, displacements and death have become widespread due to the scarcity of resources and the dire need to survive.

Biamah (ibid) argues that sound management and utilization of land-based resources (particularly pasture and water), demand that pastoral communities be made responsible and accountable for portions of these resources that they utilize, a situation that is practically plausible through the restoration of community control over its resources. This calls for communality of land ownership; establishment of ecologically sustainable land boundaries; improvement of local leadership structures (popular leadership that promotes development); improved resource management through policy changes on property rights (e.g. provision of security of tenure), provision of appropriate technological options and ensuring that traditional authority structures are strengthened and accorded the power of regulating access, control and management of resources; and involvement of communities in development planning (this ensures that there is greater community participation and enhances sustainability).

Biamah, goes on to stipulate that the causes of these changes include: creation of protected areas (national parks, game reserves and forest zones); advocacy for private land ownership which is motivated by encouragement through yearly gifts to those who have the largest individual enclosures - the beneficiaries have often been chiefs, assistant chiefs and the local elite; replacement of traditional authority structures by government institutions; proliferation of water sources (e.g. boreholes, shallow wells and water pans) and subsequent establishment of permanent settlements along major rivers and watering points which has resulted in the allocation of individual plots and fencing of pastoral land in semi arid areas like North Eastern Kenya, North Western Uganda and Northern Tanzania. This has barred pastoralists from accessing pasture and water

The net effect of these changes on resource utilization has been the total disappearance of distinct dry and wet season grazing areas and some extensive ecological degradation in affected areas. The increase in water points and settlements has seen livestock become less productive and more prone to diseases. Therefore pastoralists' livelihoods are more vulnerable today due to sedentarization than ever before. They have increasingly become food insecure and the quality of life has continued to deteriorate.

Access to water in particular has disrupted traditional natural resource management systems. An IIED water workshop held in 1999 attempted to address this issue through case studies of various projects in the East Africa region. For example, in Wajir, Kenya the number of boreholes has risen from 4 in 1940's to 24 today, with 45 fixed settlements. This has severely undermined traditional natural resource management (NRM) strategies for wet and dry season grazing, and prevented pasture recovery. It has also resulted in significant increases in human and animal populations due to in-migration. This has led to an 'open access' system, where attempts to regulate use have ended in conflict and loss of life.

In Karamoja, water development is being addressed as a technical issue with no account of impacts on environment, customary tenure practices, socio-economic differentiation in the region. Under the Uganda government's privatization drives, it is unclear who has jurisdiction over externally provided water sources. The loudest demands for water facilities are coming from settled populations rather than pastoralists. More high quality information needs to be disseminated to donor community and government to address these problems.

The implications of these two scenarios are that users do not effectively control their natural resource base; they are not well organized or represented and the links between policy and customary institutions/local knowledge are weak; gender is also largely ignored despite its significance to NRM.

This situation is not aided by local projects or government policies. Projects are not sufficiently grounded in local practice, nor do they make strong links with policy arenas. Policy is also not informed by traditional knowledge and practice, and policy makers are often ignorant of the issues surrounding pastoralism. This leads to a policy environment which is inappropriate for common property legislation.

Biamah et al. (ibid) suggest that in order to sustain if not improve the ecological productivity of pastoral lands, the focus of any resource utilization and conservation efforts must consider the following:

- Understand and appreciate production goals of pastoralists such as subsistence milk production and contingency meat production;
- Recognize and consider operational ecological and socio-economic forces that underlie survival strategies of pastoralists (e.g. herd diversity; multiple herd species; herd mobility and tracking; and herd splitting);
- Focus on sustainable pastoral production that maximizes resource support capacity rather than commercialization of livestock production;
- Consider flexible resource utilization options in future rangeland policy on improved livestock production;
- Ensure that there is no managerial control and rigidity of the production system (e.g. the grazing schemes, grazing blocks and group ranches);
- Manage arid pastoral ecosystems on the basis of their adaptability and flexibility rather than stability;
- Recognize the existence and significance of pastoral organizations in determining the degree of concentration and dispersion of animals with respect to sustainable range resources utilization;
- Prepare a pastoral land use policy with clearly stated land tenure and land use framework that adequately addresses the three existing options on property rights of

pastoralists (state, communal and individual property). This should be accompanied by appropriate and effective legislation.

1.1.4 Diversification of livelihoods

Due to the limitations of an ever shrinking resource base, past experiences of pastoralists living in famine relief camps (e.g. Turkana, Kenya), and factors such as ecological degradation, episodic droughts and insecurity, traditional pastoralism as a production system can no longer support pastoral communities in the GHA Region (Biamah et al. *ibid*). Consequently, efforts are now being directed to alternative sources of income other than pastoralism. These alternative options to pastoralism include: fishing, riverine agriculture on the floodplains of permanent and ephemeral rivers, making of commercial handicrafts, bee-keeping, charcoal trade, hides and skins trade, Gum Arabica trade, retail trade in miraa, and shop-keeping.

While commitment to these options may be irreversible, pastoralism as a production and welfare system cannot be done away with because social relationships among pastoral communities continue to be expressed in terms of herd ownership; and animals bought with profits from agriculture and non-farm activities.

Morton and Meadows²³ agree with this perspective arguing that non-livestock-based livelihoods are often important to pastoralists defined either economically or by self-identity. At the same time, assistance in income diversification should also recognize the constraints in human financial and physical capital, and should take on board the fact that livestock are also significant as 'social capital' in pastoralist communities.

Little et al. (2001)²⁴ have carried out a research project on the implications of diversification for pastoralist communities. Their research has demonstrated that income diversification has widely varying implications for different socio-economic groups. The poorest groups diversify into low income activities (unskilled wage labour and petty trade) out of necessity, and are often exposed to increased risk, and danger of falling out of pastoralism altogether. Richer herders, however, diversify to minimize risk and sustain pastoral production (trading, business and higher-income waged labour). Middle level herders tend not to diversify as much.

Lucrative trade or wage labour in a large family can assist in maintaining a pastoral lifestyle and provide the capital to re-build after drought. Sedentarisation can open up more income earning opportunities for women, especially poorer women, e.g. petty trade (milk, vegetables), handicrafts, informal alcohol brewing, local waged employment. In areas where agriculture is feasible, diversification into agricultural activities has allowed herders to better withstand shocks such as drought. In these areas pastoralism requires less mobility and labour. However this is dependent on climate and ecology: in drier zones, diversification may directly compete for labour and may reduce mobility, with

²³ Morton J. & Meadows N. Pastoralism and Sustainable Livelihoods: An emerging agenda. Policy Series 11 NRI/DFID

²⁴ Little P. D., Smith K., Cellarius B., Layne Coppock D. & Barrett C. (2001) Avoiding Disaster: Diversification and Risk Management among East African herders in *Development and Change* 32: 401-433 Oxford, Blackwell Publishers

negative social, economic and ecological impacts, where mobility is a key risk management strategy.

Pantuliano (2002)²⁵ studies the challenges facing Beja pastoralists in Sudan across the rural/urban divide. She finds that 'social capital' in the form of local social institutions remain vital to sustaining the links and support networks through which migrants survive in urban environments, and through which they maintain contact with their rural backgrounds. There were also significant gender differences: men found work in the towns difficult and irregular compared to traditional rural lifestyles. Women on the other hand found that they had more opportunities in the towns.

She states that whereas in the past, non-livestock related activities were a complement to livestock keeping, they have now become dominant as distress-related coping mechanisms. Piecemeal and precarious activities such as charcoal making, or irregular employment in towns, however, do not form a viable alternative to purer forms of pastoralism. Further, attitudes towards destitute pastoralists from well-meaning development workers have not helped. Rather than building on their specific assets and attributes (including social capital), they have been treated as part of the mass of urban poor, or have been encouraged to take up various forms of agriculture.

1.1.5 Access to education

Pastoralists currently have some of the lowest human development indicators in the three East African countries, leading to increased impoverishment, lack of economic development and lack of integration into the national economy. Since the departure of colonialists the basic indicators e.g. health, mortality, education, and access to potable water show pastoralists were not even on the same level as other livelihood groups.

As a Comic relief literature survey (ibid) points out, attempts by pastoralist communities to diversify their livelihood system and to ensure that at least a proportion of their children are educated, exposes the weakness of the links between the pastoral economy and the national economy of which they are a part. A common characteristic is the limited extent and poor quality of services – such as schools and health facilities.

The Comic Relief literature survey goes on to say that the cumulative effect of the threats and problems that pastoralists are facing, is that pastoralism appears to be increasingly unable to support a growing proportion of the population. The result is that large numbers drop out of pastoralism and migrate to town whenever a crisis overwhelms the capacity to cope. In these changed circumstances there is recognition that pastoralism alone will not be enough to sustain, let alone improve, livelihoods in the future. One consequence is a growing interest in education – a change that is commented on from Mali in the west to Somaliland in the east.

Stakeholders are of the view that the pastoralist economy needs to be fully integrated into the national economy through the development of education. This will provide a channel for off-take of people into other livelihood avenues. However stumbling blocks to education remain as: currently there is no enabling policy on the education of

²⁵ Pantuliano, S (2002) Sustaining livelihoods across the rural-urban divide: changes and challenges facing the Beja pastoralists of north Eastern Sudan. Pastoral Land Tenure Series No. 14 London; IIED

pastoralists; outsiders are taking education places in schools in pastoralist areas e.g. in Kajiado Kenya, thereby reducing the chances for pastoralist children in the formal education system. In some pastoral districts, children are being used in herding livestock as the youth and elder men move to the towns to look for alternative means of livelihood. This denies the young children a chance to formal schooling.

In the past, pastoralists did not have access to, and did not know the significance of education. It was viewed as a foreign idea. The reasons for this situation were: cultural attachment to livestock hence many people did not want to take children to school, many families were very rich (in terms of livestock), lack of schools and high levels of ignorance compounded the situation.

In Tanzania, providing educational opportunities for the children of pastoralists poses several unique challenges. Low population densities and the relatively harsh and isolated environments that pastoralists inhabit mean schools are few and distant and qualified teachers are difficult to source. Furthermore, pastoralist mobility and a household economy that is traditionally quite dependent on child labour increases the opportunity costs of schooling for pastoral children. This explains the relatively low rates of educational enrolment in rural areas²⁶.

However recent research findings (PSI, 2005) revealed that the education sector is on the upward trend in all pastoralist areas especially in Kenya. As opposed to the past where it was not valued and only the children who were poor in herding were sent to school, education is now perceived by pastoralists as an important key to people's livelihoods, and a better option for both girls and boys. This is because they can see that livestock keeping is slowly becoming less important as the only type of livelihood. Most pastoralists now value education and want to invest in it as their integration into the national economy depends on whether one is educated or not. Livestock is now kept as an economic commodity for sale so that the income is spent in educating their children up to college level in order to give them better options in life. Illiteracy is perceived to have therefore been reduced drastically and it is foreseen that in the near future, it will be wiped out although a trace of it will still remain especially with the adults. An increase in the number of schools in the last decade has also contributed to an increased enrolment rate e.g. Turkana and Samburu, Kenya.

1.1.6 Access to health facilities

Recent research findings (PSI *ibid*) in Kenya reveal that there is still very poor access to or lack of human healthcare in most of the study sites visited. The government has not significantly increased the health facilities since the mid eighties and pastoralists continue to walk long distances to access services e.g. over 50km in parts of Turkana district. The most affected genders are women and children, most mothers have to walk for long distances to reach a health centre for maternity services or childcare. In Mandera district only about half of the children under five are immunised.

The next group most affected is the old generation who depend on their children to take them to hospital and pay for the health care services received. If the elderly have no children then they are likely to die. Such cases are very common among the internally displaced persons. This has led to most pastoralists resorting to using herbal medicine for common illnesses such as colds, malaria and fever. However in places that have

²⁶ The Policy and Practice of Educational Service Provision for Pastoralists in Tanzania by Elizabeth Bishop

had persistent drought, herbal plants have become scarce and pastoralists are dying of treatable diseases thus increasing mortality rates and reducing their lifespan.

In addition most of the government run facilities in the pastoral areas have a shortage of drugs, equipment and personnel. Most pastoralists also claimed that they are still unable to afford healthcare services.

1.1.7 Privatisation of services (veterinary)

Before the onset of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in the eighties that saw the onset of cost sharing for government services such as veterinary and health and the proliferation of arms in the early eighties) pastoralists were of the opinion that they owned more livestock than at present times due to the availability of pasture land, a well established grazing pattern governed by the council of elders, plenty of water and free vet services (PSI *ibid*).

However, livestock has reduced in number in comparison to what it was like in the past, due to insecurity because of the proliferation of arms in the eighties, recurrent droughts, environmental degradation, decreasing quantity of land, less extension services as well as new emerging livestock diseases. This has caused poverty among pastoralists, forcing some out of pastoralism.

In some pastoral areas in Kenya, animal diseases are ranked as the most important challenge to pastoralists. In addition access to animal health services was very poor or lacking totally in most parts of the districts. They also did not have easy access to drugs either due to distance or the drugs were unaffordable. For example in some parts of Kajiado there are small agro-vet shops which are serving these areas but certain drugs are not available forcing pastoralists to travel to Nairobi to get drugs especially for East Coast Fever and other drugs such as penicillin, trypanocidals, Bitalex and Clexon.

Fake drugs had also emerged with the onset of the SAPs. Respondents in the research said adhoc drug vendors had often been caught with fake drugs that were not efficacious and which are potential health hazards to their livestock. They said the unscrupulous pseudo-vendors have always capitalized on inaccessibility by pastoralists to drugs and ignorance on particular drugs in the market leading to abuse of use and drug residues. There were reported cases of sickness after eating animals injected with adulterated drugs.

In other areas animal health care is non-existent and the regular government vaccinations are no longer there. The trained Community Animal Health Workers (CAHWs) have no drugs and are few in numbers for the district which is large and the treatment of livestock is compromised by the high cost of animal health drugs.

It also emerged that in Kajiado, Samburu and Turkana districts apart from relying on conventional medicine, pastoralists are still opting for traditional herbal remedies to treat their livestock because ethno-veterinary herbs are abundant and accessible in their areas.

In Uganda during the last decade, NGOs pressurised local and central government to promote Community-based Animal Healthcare Service Delivery, as an alternative to meeting livestock health needs of the pastoralists in remote areas where livestock health services are in most cases inaccessible if not unavailable. As a result much investment

was committed by NGOs to community based animal health care development programmes and a number of packages have since been developed with varying successes.

This wave, coupled with a number of policy reforms by the Uganda Government²⁷, has also influenced government's approach to animal health delivery to pastoralists. As a result the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries (MAAIF) has now shifted from public animal health services delivery (as embedded in the decentralisation policy) to the district local governments and private sector. The government has also rolled out programmes such as the national agricultural and advisory services whose support to pastoral groups is still weak.²⁸

1.1.8 HIV/AIDS

A research carried out by ITDG-EA²⁹ on HIV/AIDS in Kenya summarised the conditions prevailing among the pastoralists communities' environment, which enhances the vulnerability and susceptibility of these people to the HIV/AIDS pandemic with the following points:

- Status of Women: The low status of pastoralist women and their comparative lack of power makes behavioural change more difficult, and leaves them victims of cultural obligations. Women have no control over, types of marriages either polygamy which is highly practiced among these communities or the much safer monogamy; condom usage; rape, refugee situations, Female Genital Mutilation and infibulation which are known conduits of the HIV virus.
- High Levels of Sexually Transmitted Diseases: The incidence of STDs is fairly high among the pastoralists population, and this has been confirmed to greatly amplify the probability of HIV transmission during unprotected sexual intercourse.
- Rural-Urban Linkages: People from all socio-economic groups retain their links with their rural areas and travel to and from as urban dwellers or traders. Coupled with the low knowledge levels among these people, there is bound to be a steady increase in the prevalence rates for HIV amongst these communities. In addition, the high number of sexual partners that was noted as widely practiced by these people is a sure recipe for fueling the spread of the killer virus.
- Drought and other Disasters: Drought and similar disasters tend to cause a large-scale movement of these people in search of food, incomes and pastures. The social dislocation increases poverty and social breakdown, thus potentially accelerating the spread of HIV.
- Cross-border migration: Most of these Pastoralist communities live along the country's borders. Social dislocation, trade, and other cross-border interactions may increase the rate of HIV infections among these people.
- Militarisation: Pastoralists are along the volatile borders of Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan and Uganda. These areas are usually under military operation and armies are known to have high levels of HIV prevalence. The mixing of the army with the local pastoralists, contribute to the spread of the disease.

²⁷ Such as the poverty eradication action plan (PEAP) and the plan for modernisation of agriculture, (PMA)

²⁸ Oxfam's Kotido Programme literature.

²⁹ ITDG-EA (2001). Report on Pastoralism and HIV-AIDs. A statistical analysis and evaluation of factors enhancing communal vulnerability and susceptibility to the Pandemic.

1.1.9 Influence in decision making (within community, local, district and national levels)

Traditional institutions in the pastoralist societies were very strong in the past³⁰. The council of elders (Samburu) or tree of men (Turkana) solved conflicts, controlled the grazing pattern, took care of the most vulnerable, and that is why there was no class of the poor in the past. The men were the sole bread winners, they took the animals for herding, and watering, in times of movement in search of green pasture, men went to follow the animals, leaving behind women and children.

However, there is now a breakdown of these institutions. Pastoralists are now relying on political or government-appointed/selected leadership (chiefs and councilors) for advice and the settlement of disputes. Sometimes what the chief says is in contrast with what the elders say and this brings about confusion. People are not sure whether they should listen to the chief or to the elders. Conflicts are solved in court, which is strange or foreign to them.

In the Maasai community, it is other communities (immigrants) that are now making decisions on behalf of the Maasai as they are the ones in the leadership positions³¹. This was cited by respondents where they said none of the Maasai are ever consulted on issues relating to Ngong Hills especially on water, conservation and development issues but instead have continuously been used as rubber stamps to endorse projects to get donor funding which are later diverted by individuals or NGOs leaving them poor. This point was given emphasis when respondents argued that none of the Maasai community leaders were consulted over the carving of the dry season grazing land for human settlement (permanent).

However there are still pockets in Kajiado that have retained their traditional institutions. For example in Eselenkei, traditional institutions are still strong as evident in the Eselenkei Group Ranch where they have representation of the three Ilkisonko clans of Laiser, Molelian and Lairayok in the committee to represent their interest. The group ranch committee is elected yearly allowing representation from all the clans. The committee purely makes decisions on natural resource management.

1.2.0 Influence in policy making (local, district and national levels)

A study on the Perceptions of Pastoralism by RECONCILE³² showed that although Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda adopted different ideological and developmental pathways over time, for pastoralists the net impact on their condition, and on social perceptions of that condition, have been the same - uniformly negative. While Kenya's capitalism effectively by-passed the pastoralist sector, Nyerere's *Ujamaa* policy while stressing commonalities between socialism and African tradition, in practice discriminated against the Maasai and other pastoralists. In Uganda, upon the installation of the NRM government in 1986, Museveni adopted a policy of affirmative action that extended to creation of a separate Ministry for the Karimojong, but again, this has not significantly altered the pastoralist dilemma there.

Despite these perceptions, the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) process in Uganda has provided a strategic entry point for Ugandan pastoralists to address some of these policy and livelihood problems. Following initiation of the PRSP process in

³⁰ PSI, 2005

³¹ PSI, 2005

³² 2nd 6 month report, April to September 2003.

Uganda, pastoralists employed a number of strategies to incorporate their interests into the country's poverty reduction strategy. These included data collection and analysis, particularly as relates to pastoralism's economic contribution to the national wealth, as well as lobbying and networking (e.g. using Pastoralist Parliamentary Group). Challenges encountered in these efforts included lack of information and difficulties in finding common ground within the pastoralist community.

Key gains from this engagement in the PRSP process for Ugandan pastoralists have been a significant shift in government policy to recognize pastoralist livelihoods and land uses as legitimate and valued in the PRSP. This includes the validity of movement and mobility as a livelihood strategy and a shift away from mandating sedentarization policies. Other 'process' gains have been a new and more dynamic level of networking and advocacy partnerships among pastoralist groups as well as new data syntheses and understandings of the economic value of pastoralism in Uganda. Other gains include specific government commitment related to: provision of appropriate production advisory services to pastoralists, livestock disease control prioritized, recognition of grazing rights of pastoralists, and compensation as appropriate, provision of mobile services such as health and education, participation of communities in water provisioning, revenue sharing from tourism³³. Ultimately in Uganda, the 2004 *Poverty Eradication Action Plan* articulates the interests of pastoralists for the first time with a commitment that pastoralists and their farming systems will be a key component in the new (livestock) policy.

In Kenya the PSI 2005 study, revealed that most pastoralists were and are still not aware of the policies that seem to be guiding their livelihoods. They only seem to participate in governance by taking part in the electoral process and in the recently concluded constitutional review process. As such they have played no major role in influencing policy change.

However in the recent past the Government that came to power in January 2003 has made significant commitment to developing the arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs) and in supporting pastoralism as a livelihood system due to a lot of lobbying and advocacy from civil society. These efforts have led the government to devote an entire chapter in its *Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation* (ERS) to strategies for the development of ASALs. In addition the commitment is well articulated in the new ASAL development policy, and other policies that are undergoing reform at the moment e.g. the National Water Policy of 1999 and the Revitalization of Agriculture policy. Overall, most current policies now recognize pastoralism and seek to support it as a livelihood system due to successful lobbying by the civil society which supports pastoralist development.

In Tanzania the Pastoralists' Indigenous NGOs (PINGOs) Forum states that pastoralism makes a large contribution to Tanzania's economy, but these values have been mostly ignored by policy makers. Pastoralists have not participated enough in the creation of policies which affect them. It was only during the PRS review of 2004 that pastoralists were invited and empowered to contribute to the making of the country's 'economic constitution' (the PRS). Thus active advocacy and engagement by pastoral NGOs resulted in the *National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty* recognizing

³³ Workshop report on Inclusion of Rangeland livelihoods in National Poverty Eradication/Alleviation Strategies organised by PINGOs, 2004.

pastoralism as a legitimate livelihood system. Otherwise pastoralism had not been recognized in any of the Tanzania's policies till then.

1.2.1 Commoditisation of land and privileging individual ownership over common ownership.

The PSI 2005 research in Kenya revealed that there are currently three trends that are emerging in the pastoral areas. The first is that communal land is being demarcated into individual parcels, the second is that land is still being held communally and communal grazing is still going on and the third trend is that there are landless pastoralists. The first trend is being seen in Kajiado and Samburu districts where the dry season areas are being taken up by settlements in the form of urban centres, agriculture, and mining and conservation areas. The second is being found in most of Turkana and Mandera districts and some parts of Samburu and the third trend is found in urban settlements in pastoral areas.

Biamah et al. (ibid) discuss customary land tenure, and the threats that are now being posed to this system which are leading to increased social stratification and impoverishment. They argue that among the pastoral communities in the GHA Region, there is the fusion of property rights of the community and those of the individual, which is the traditional hallmark of traditional African land tenure. Under traditional pastoralism, there is co-existence or equilibrium between the right of the individual and that of the community. Whereas it is the community that owns the land and has traditional rights of control, use and disposal of land, individual members of the community have the right of access and possessionary rights (through occupation) over the same piece of land. In traditional pastoralism, access to valued shared resources (e.g. water, salt licks and key production areas reserved for dry season grazing such as wetlands and highlands) was regulated seasonally and spatially.

Customary pastoral land tenure involves all aspects of pastoralist livelihoods including access, control and use of land based resources. Communal ownership of pastoral resources has guaranteed unlimited access but also ensured some informal control of movements. Equal access to available natural resources by all households has maintained social equity amongst pastoral households and hence checking the advent of pauperism. In the past, poverty was a rare occurrence in pastoral households. However, factors such as drought, insecurity, land alienation and human and livestock population increase have affected the livestock based wealth of pastoralists and increased their vulnerability to famine and poverty.

Changes in pastoral land tenure especially through land alienation (e.g. creation of livestock grazing schemes, group ranches, grazing blocks, national parks and game reserves, and wheat farms in key production areas) have led to disruptions in the pastoralists lifestyle and hence the beginning of poverty and misery. Alongside this collapse of the system, the recurrence of drought; decline in range resource productivity; increasing sedentarization onto pastoral land; increase in human population; famine; land use conflicts; displacements and death have become widespread due to the scarcity of resources and the dire need to survive. And as mobility has decreased and resource use cycle shortened, territorial claims have become more specific as is the case now among many pastoral communities in Kenya.

According to Comic Relief, the Land law has been revised recently in Tanzania and Uganda, and is currently under review in Kenya. However, in none of these countries

does there appear to have been a clear strategy to define and move towards a vision of land use and tenure that recognises the distinctive needs of a pastoral production system and confronts prevailing misunderstandings and ignorance. In Tanzania the land debate, such as it has been, has been influenced by a series of legal challenges – which have tended to end inconclusively, have divided rather than united pastoralist communities and have had little or no impact on reversing either historical or contemporary alienation of pastoralist lands.

Lane and Morehead (1994)³⁴ are skeptical about the efficacy of customary tenure systems in the modern age. They cite the fact that there are several examples of resources being taken over by wealthier and more powerful groups, a trend which might be strengthened by the re-animation of customary law. Also, it is unclear whether pastoralist communities retain the capacity to organize themselves into effective management units. They list several key constraints to establishing communal systems: lack of support from wider socio-economic structures that have an interest in maintaining the status quo; capture of key resources by sedentary populations with better access to the political structure; heterogeneity of interests within herder groups; barriers across transhumant routes (international frontiers, village boundaries, and fenced, private property); conditions of civil conflict.

They conclude by emphasizing the importance of government support for pastoralists whose land rights have been usurped by outsiders. At the same time, securing tenure for pastoralists will involve dialogue between different actors concerning: communal vs private rights; ownership vs usufruct or temporary rights; historical vs current rights; free vs paid access; seasonal vs year round occupation; homogeneity vs heterogeneity of resource users; local vs national interests. With regard to the latter, they suggest that pastoral land use must be recognized by government as being on par with cultivated land.

2.0 Gender and pastoralists

Gender roles have changed in all pastoral areas in the region with more women becoming bread winners as men become disenfranchised due to loss of land and livestock. However women still have very minimal participation in development and decision-making. Socio-economic, cultural and religious biases have relegated women to the periphery and their contribution to society has yet to be fully appreciated. They have further been burdened with negative cultural practices like female genital mutilation, early marriages and lack of access to education, health and other services. Traditionally women have had little access to education and young girls are given low priority for schooling. In Mandera district, Kenya, the enrolment of girls is extremely low with only 4% in primary schools and 2.9% in secondary schools³⁵.

Markakis, 2004³⁶ claims that the ongoing massive shift from nomadic pastoralism to agro-pastoralism involves settlement of part of the household, and also has serious gender implications. It modifies significantly the gender division of labour within the family, imposing additional tasks on the women who head the part of the household that settles, while the men move with the herds in search of pasture. The main additional

³⁴ Lane C. & Moorehead R. (1994). Who should own the Range? New Thinking on Pastoral Resource Tenure in Drylands Africa. Pastoral Land Tenure Series No. 3. London; IIED

³⁵ PSI, 2005

³⁶ Markakis John (2004). Pastoralism on the Margin by, Minority Rights Group International,

burden women shoulder is crop cultivation in fields near the house and gardens around it. Separation from the herd means loss of rights over livestock products traditionally assigned to women, especially milk, which now men sell. Milk is also lost to the family diet. Men's cash needs have increased considerably in Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia due to the widespread consumption of the stimulant *khat* (*mirah* in Kenya) in the lowlands.

In addition commercialization, liberalization and privatization are not the panacea they are touted to be, at least for women caught in the transition from nomadism to agropastoralism. Land now becomes a significant household asset, but women's rights over it are left to be determined not by legislation and the courts, but by custom and tradition. Sedenterization adds to the household's need for facilities, items and services that have to be purchased: implements and furniture, clothing, fencing and roofing, medicine and schooling. To meet the added expense, women are joining the labour force as wage workers, entering the market as petty traders, and taking up crafts such as basket and mat weaving, beer brewing, fish smoking and pottery. Whereas women have crossed the line into male work, men will not do women's work.

Another form of change combines migration and sedenterization, and involves a change of both location and occupation by moving to urban centres to seek manual or menial employment. Maasai men in Tanzania have found an urban niche as *askaris* (night-time guards). In a study of migrants in that country, nearly half of those interviewed cited the loss of grazing land as the reason for migration (Markakis *ibid*).

The gender division of labour in pastoral societies determines the way in which access to and control of livestock is distributed. Women still face barriers to obtaining property and to owning land which limit their opportunity for obtaining credit. Men own most of the property hence causing disparities in the wealth within the family. The number of female-headed households is on the increase due to the increasing frequency of droughts and women are participating more in non-traditional activities such as livestock trade, petty trade and other income generating activities mostly in informal settlements located on the peripheries of most urban centres where most of the pastoralist drop-outs settle after every drought and/or other calamities like cattle raids and other conflicts.

The role of the children too has changed, in the past children went to herd, but nowadays, children go to school, to be taught new ideas and approaches to life. The older generation of pastoralists thinks that the children have lost a lot of their cultural values and adopted the modern culture. School has taken over the role of teaching the children and imparting discipline to them. In the past there was communal discipline, to all children, which is now looked down upon.

The youth categories in traditional Samburu and Maasai culture were the young women and morans. Morans had a clear role of migrating with the animals and serving as the community's security. This too has changed as more youth seek alternative livelihoods at the coast to engage in beach business or become watchmen. The morans grow up in a broken institution and find themselves displaced. The livestock have reduced in number, and cannot fully cater for family needs and so the morans are idle and do not know what else to do. It has also emerged that, the morans are ready to try out business ventures which include selling second hand clothes. The few who have livestock, keep it as an economic commodity, and are willing to experiment with new breeds of animals compared to the traditional sentimental attachment.

In terms of changes in gender perceptions, the modern village morans are less conservative and are ready to fetch water using a bicycle and to bring firewood to their wives, and wife-beating is also much less prevalent now. However the older generation seems to differ with them and see them as potential enemies to pastoralism because of their positive attitude towards business and less sentimental value to livestock without economic consideration.

ACTIVITIES OF GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS AND DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES IN THESE AREAS

AGENCY	INTERVENTIONS IN PASTORAL AREAS
KENYA	
Government of Kenya Arid Lands Resource Management Project in Office of the President	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drought monitoring with well established early warning system. • Natural Resource Management including land tenure systems • Emergency Interventions (all sectors) • Conflict management • Diversification of livelihoods • Access to education (build schools and currently piloting mobile schools). • Training of Community Animal Health Workers • Mainstreaming HIV/AIDs • Have contributed to various policy reforms that concern pastoralists e.g. Land policy debate, ASAL and Disaster Management policies. • Research
Ministry of Livestock and Fisheries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Service delivery of livestock services • Training of communities • Policy formulation
OXFAM GB	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are currently establishing a community based drought monitoring with early warning system in Turkana and Wajir. • Emergency and recovery interventions (water, livestock, health, environmental management, food aid) • Conflict management (Establishing community based conflict management and resolution systems) • Diversification of livelihoods (through cash for work and safety net programming, small businesses) • Access to education (build schools, training teachers and school management and currently piloting mobile schools). • Training of Community Animal Health Workers • Livestock marketing. • Capacity building of Local Pastoral NGOs • Mainstreaming HIV/AIDs in policy but not yet on ground. • Have contributed to various policy reforms that concern pastoralists e.g. Emergency interventions, National Steering Committee on Conflict at national level, Land policy debate, Marketing and trade, ASAL and Disaster Management policies. • Research
UNICEF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emergency and recovery interventions in water and sanitation, health and nutrition, supplementary feeding and food aid. • Access to education (building schools and equipping). • Influencing policy at national levels especially on emergency interventions.
Action Aid	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy influencing at national and international level on arid and semi arid lands • Research
UNDP Drylands Programme	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy influencing at national and international level on arid and semi arid lands

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research
World Initiative for Sustainable Pastoralism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advocacy at international levels.*
Action Aid	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy influencing at national levels on various sectors e.g. land
SNV	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy influencing at district and national levels. • Capacity building of local NGOs.
ILRI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research on livestock production and development
UON	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research on range management, livestock production, pastoralism, disaster management
Egerton University	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research on range management, pastoralism, disaster management, natural resource management.
CEMIRIDE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy influencing at national level e.g. on land policy, constitution. • Lobbying and advocacy for minority groups.
DUPOTO-E-MAA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Girl child education • Child labour • Lobbying and advocacy • Primary Health Care, • Income Generating Activities • Advocating for wise use of land/Pastoral Resources in order to improve opportunities for gender sensitive quality education, • Creating awareness on HIV/AIDS
MPIDO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advocacy on land rights at community, district and national levels. • Drought cycle management. • Emergency interventions in water and food aid. • Capacity building of communities on lobbying and advocacy
OSILIGI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advocacy on land and natural resource management*.
Waso Trustland	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advocacy on land and natural resource management*.
Pastoral Integrated Programme (PISP)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emergency and recovery interventions (water, livestock, health, environmental management) • Conflict management (Establishing community based conflict management and resolution systems) • Diversification of livelihoods (small businesses) • Access to education (build schools, training teachers and school management and currently piloting mobile schools). • Livestock marketing.
Kenya Land Alliance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advocacy and policy influencing on land rights at national level.*
Northern NGOs development Forum	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lobbying and advocacy at provincial level on new land policy
District Pastoral Association Wajir	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Service delivery of water and animal health services in Wajir • Advocacy at district level • Capacity building of the Pastoral Associations
UGANDA	
Nyabushozi Development	Research

Agency	Policy work*
Matheniko Development Forum	Research Policy work
Karamoja Agro-Pastoral Development Programme	Capacity Building
Dodoth Agro-Pastoral and Development Organisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food security • Capacity Building of local institutions
Associates for Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research and consultancy
PANOS East Africa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advocacy at national level. • Research
Kotido NGO Forum	**
Oxfam GB	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emergency and recovery interventions (water, livestock, environmental management, food aid) • Internally Displaced People's programme • Diversification of livelihoods • Access to education (build schools, training teachers and school management and currently piloting mobile schools). • Training of Community Animal Health Workers • Capacity building of Local Pastoral NGOs • Have contributed to various policy reforms at district and national levels.
Centre for Basic Research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research
Mbarara University	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research
TANZANIA	
Pastoral Indigenous NGOs Forum	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Capacity building of members and communities and Networking, • Paralegal Training programme • Lobbying and advocacy • Cross cutting issues (gender, environment and HIV/AIDS)
Tanzania Pastoralist and Hunter Gatherer Organisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research • Capacity building of members • Information and Networking • Advocacy and Lobbying • Institutional Development
Haki Kazi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy advocacy • Community governance programme promoting participation, accountability and transparency • Community livelihood opportunities • Raising understanding of policy makers communities on current poverty policies for policy engagement. • Consultancy
Community Resource Team (CRT)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support to livelihoods needs • Access to education

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land and Natural Resource Management • Advocacy and lobbying • Formulation of village by laws • Village Council and empowerment • Ecotourism • Education through providing scholarships for secondary education and training.
Maasai Women Development Organization (MWEDO)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to education particularly for girls • Income generation activities Diversification of livelihoods
KINNAPA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improved access to water and improve sanitation and hygiene • Community management of vet services, improving of livestock breed • Income generation activities particularly for women • Paralegal education particularly on land and human rights • Early Child Develop education • Environment and natural resource management • Civil Society advocacy • Scholarships for secondary and higher education • Support establishment and functioning of District Education Boards • Development of infrastructure for boarding primary schools
Southern highlands livestock development association	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research
Maasai Resource Centre for Indigenous Knowledge (MARECIK)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research and documentation into traditional Medicines for livestock. • Documentation of traditional leaders, history and culture (cultural laws, beliefs, songs, proverbs and sayings, ornaments). • Construction of a hall fame for cultural leaders, and famous people • Documentation of traditional knowledge systems • Research on local livestock breeds and their development.
Laramatak Development Organization (LADO)	**
Gejaru Education Trust (GET)	**
DANIDA-Ereto Ngorongoro Pastoralist Programme	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy Advocacy • Restocking for destitute families using the traditional system of “ewoloto” . • Development of water sources • Support to livestock diseases • Capacity building for the District Council and CSOs • IGA for women • Drought relief to destitute households
Oxfam-JOLIT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research • Policy Advocacy
Oxfam GB	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emergency and recovery interventions (water, livestock, food aid)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internally Displaced People's programme • Diversification of livelihoods • Training of Community Animal Health Workers • Capacity building of Local Pastoral NGOs
Irish Embassy - Irish Aid	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy Advocacy
SNV – Northern Region office	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poverty auditing • Policy Advocacy • Capacity Building to pastoralist CSOs
ILRI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research on livestock production and development
Vet aid	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research on livestock production and development • Policy advocacy
Tanzania Natural Resource Forum	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy advocacy
University of Dar es salaam	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research
Sokoine University	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research
MS-TCDC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research and Training
Ministry of natural resources and Tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Service delivery • Policy formulation
Ministry of livestock development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Service delivery • Policy formulation
Ministry of lands, settlement and housing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Service delivery • Policy formulation

***Unable to list more activities from literature**

**** Activities not found in literature**

Annex 4 Attendance at the first seven CAG meetings.

The names of those attending have been arranged to show the continuity of participation.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
MS-TCDC, Arusha, Tanzania on 7th November 2002c	Pelikan Hotel, Mbarara, Uganda, 10th 11th January 2003	Golden Rose Hotel, Arusha, Tanzania, May 28th - 29th 2003	Bounty Hotel Nairobi Kenya, July 14th 2004	Silver Springs Hotel Nairobi Kenya, 23rd May 2005	Mt Elgon Hotel Mbale Uganda, 28th September 2005	Silver Springs Hotel Nairobi Kenya, 13th January 2006
Godfrey Karamuzi	Godfrey Karamuzi	Godfrey Karamuzi	Godfrey Karamuzi	Godfrey Karamuzi	Godfrey Karamuzi	
Abura Vincent Omara	Abura Vincent Omara	Abura Vincent Omara	Roselinda Soipan Tuya			Paul Wilson
Margaret Rugadya	Margaret Rugadya	Margaret Rugadya	Margaret Rugadya	Margaret Rugadya		
Joseph Simel	Joseph Simel	Izzy Birch	William Ole Nasha		William Ole Nasha	William Ole Nasha
Edward Porokwa	Edward Porokwa	Edward Porokwa	Korir Singo'ei	Edward Porokwa	Edward Porokwa	
Saruni Ole Ndelelya	Saruni Ole Ndelelya	Saruni Ole Ndelelya	Wario Galma	John Plastow	Wario Galma	Yobo Rutin
Theo Macha		Alais Morindat	Alais Morindat	Alais Morindat	Alais Morindat	Alais Morindat
Ced Hesse	Ced Hesse	Ced Hesse	Martha Iryama	Martha Iriama		Martha Iriama
Ronald Athoo	Prudence Kaigaje		John Letai	John Letai	John Letai	John Letai
Michael Odhiambo	Michael Odhiambo	Michael Odhiambo	Michael Odhiambo	Michael Odhiambo	Michael Odhiambo	

Annex 5 Documents Consulted

The Project staff provided the evaluation team with a vast collection of project documents which are not listed here. These included regular reports to donors, funding applications and concept notes, the reports of partners' and CAG meetings and all the training materials that have been prepared. The materials were well organized and easy to navigate to particular sources.

This list of documents concerns the texts that do not originate from the project and those that are specifically referred to in the report.

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Annex 6 People Consulted

Uganda

Nyabushozi Development Agency	Godfrey Karamuzi
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Dodoth Agro-pastoral Kaabong District	Judith Ngenecha
Matheniko Development Forum	Peter Achia
Karamoja Agro Pastoral Development Programme	Martha Iriama
Associates for Development	Margaret Rugadya
PANOS East Africa	Dr Sarah Ossiya
Kotido NGO Forum	Henry Lobo
Oxfam GB- Kampala	Simon Nangiro
Oxfam GB- Kotido	Benjamin Ateu (email)
Centre for Basic Research	Frank Muhereza
Mbarara University	Emmanuel Kyagaba (phone)
Minority Rights Group International	Juliet Nakato Odoi

Tanzania

Pastoral Indigenous NGOs Forum	Edward Porokwa,
Community Resource Team	Edward Loure
Tanzania Pastoralist and Hunter Gatherer Organisation	Moses Sankale
Haki Kazi	Emmanuel Kallonga
Maasai Women Development Organization (MWEDO)	Ndinini Kimesera Sikar
Maasai Resource Centre for Indigenous Knowledge (MARECIK)	Nathan ole Lengisugi
Ereto Ngorongoro Pastoralist Programme	Richard Ndaskoi
DANIDA- Royal Danish Embassy	Cranmer Chiduo
Oxfam-JOLIT	William Ole Nasha
Irish Embassy – Irish Aid	Dr Sizya Lugeye
SNV – Northern Region office	Christine Bakuname
ILRI	Moses Ole Neselle
Tanzania Natural Resource Forum	Andrew Williams
University of Dar es Salaam	Prof Misana
	Christine Noe (email)
MS-TCDC	Prudence Kaijage
Ministry of livestock development	Simon Leshongon Grace Mwaigomole
Ministry of lands, settlement and housing	Tsuma Tumpale Mbyopyo
REPOA	Prof Issa Shivji
Kimmage Development Studies Centre	Eamonn Brehony
SDC	Katharina Haberli (email)

Kenya

MPIDO	Joseph Ole Simel
OSILIGI	John Ole Tingoi
	Senteu Ole Kimirri
Waso Trustland	Hassan G. Shano
Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs (formerly MPIDO staff)	Soipan Ole Tuya
CEMIRIDE	Korir Singoei
DUPOTO E MAA	S. S Ole Timoi
Pastoralist Integrated development programme (PISP)	Francis Chachu Ganya
Maa Civil Society Forum	Ben Ole Koisaba
Northern NGOs Development Forum	Bonaya. Bankare
District Pastoralist Association -Wajir	Jelly A. Madei
Oxfam-GB	Richard Grahn Mohamed Elmi Sarah Collins

Action Aid- northern region office	Wario Galma
ILRI	David Nkedianye
University of Nairobi	Dr Wellington Ekaya
Arid Lands Resources Management Project (ALRMP)	Nyawira Hiuhu
Practical Action	Sharon Loorometa
Cordaid	Sophia Abdi

Other

SOS Sahel UK	Izzy Birch
Concern International	John Plastow (phone)
University of Colorado	Jim Igoe (email)
Kimmage Development Studies Centre	Paddy Reilly (phone)
Rutgers University	Dorothy Hodgson (email)
Former advisor to Ereto NPP	Robert Sillevs

Annex 7 Checklist of questions

IIED Reconcile Evaluation of the PCS

Background

Do you know about the IIED/Reconcile project?

Have you been involved in the project?

Have you provided support/inputs to the project?

Has the project changed in what it does since it started?

Evaluation question	Interview questions	Thinking behind the questions
Is the analysis of the situation of pastoralists valid?	What are the problems facing pastoralists? What are the most important problems? (perhaps do a Problem Tree exercise)	The project says that the problems are the lack of political voice and a lack of understanding of situation of pastoralists. Are there other problems that are more important? (the project does not seem to work on conflict, drought, ...)
	How have these problems changed recently? What changes have occurred recently for pastoralists? Any improvements in their situation?	Perhaps the analysis is out-of-date and things have changed since the project started.
	Who is working on these problems? Can you tell me of recent impacts of their work?	The project says that others are working on short term practical solutions (water, animal health, ..) and on lobbying. Perhaps they are having no good impacts.
	What policies or recent political decisions have affected pastoralists? To what extent were pastoralists involved in development of these policies or the decision making?	If lack of understanding and lack of political voice have not come up, ask direct questions about these issues.
	Different questions will be necessary for donors, partners, CAG members, participants in the trainings and other observers.	
Are the activities of the project relevant to the situation?	What is the best way to improve political voice of pastoralists? What is the best way to improve people's understanding of pastoralism?	Is training the best approach?
	Have you read research papers from the project? Useful?	Are research papers needed and useful?
	Have you attended trainings? Useful?	Does the training make a

	Best elements of the training? What has changed for you since the training?	difference?
	Have you heard about the training events?	Any secondary, indirect impacts?

Cross cutting themes		
Partnerships	Who else is working in this area? How is it working with IIED Reconcile?	Has there been good sharing of information and good use made of the contacts? Is there complementarity between programmes: gaps or overlaps?
Long term engagement		
Gender		
Local and regional	What are your main sources of information? Have you learned anything from other areas other countries? How else could you learn from other areas?	Is there a value in being regional? Can learning be shared usefully between country programmes?
Programme management	How is it working for IIED Reconcile?	How good is management in: 1. getting things done, 2. involving people