

Opportunities and Challenges in Implementing
Poverty Reduction Policies in Pastoral
Communities: A Case Study from the Somali
Regional State, Ethiopia

By

FAREH Abdulkadir Mohammed

September 2011

Thesis Presented to the Higher Degree Committee
of Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Science in International Cooperation Policy

Abstract

Pastoralists in Ethiopia live in dryland areas where agriculture is not viable and often are mobile to survive. They were politically and socially neglected in the past regimes and as a result they are mostly marginalized in the policy making processes and their contribution to the economy is disregarded. Although the current government has adopted poverty reduction strategies and made some positive steps in the pastoral areas, there are still tremendous challenges that need prompt policy interventions.

This research examines the challenges and opportunities of implementing the recent Ethiopian poverty reduction strategy, named as “Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP)”, in pastoral areas taking the Somali region of Ethiopia as a case study. Specifically, the study identifies gaps in the basic social development sectors of agriculture, livestock, water, education, health, infrastructure and governance. The research uses primary and secondary data and adopts both qualitative and quantitative techniques for data construction and analysis.

Accordingly, the study reveals that the achievements made since the year 2005 via PASDEP were not satisfactory due to challenges that stem mainly from lack of coherent rural development strategy compatible with pastoral conditions; a lack of clear education policy designed on the mobility character of the pastoralists; a health strategy that is foreign to the lives of the pastoralists; poor investment in infrastructure (road, telecommunication, electricity & banking systems); and poor consideration of the pastoral traditions in the governance. All these contributed to the ineffectiveness of the current Ethiopian poverty reduction policy in the pastoral areas.

Based on these findings, the study recommends a two track development strategy to encourage pastoralists to adopt a settled lifestyle. The first scenario suggests gradually resettling the pure mobile pastoralists who live in the dryland areas of the region by increasing their livestock productivity and introducing various economic diversifications. The second scenario calls for the direct resettlement of the pastoralists who live around the water potential areas (river basins and streams) on voluntary basis. The goal for both scenarios is to create stable livelihood for the pastoral communities by minimizing mobility, reducing poverty, enhancing living standard and achieving Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Generally, it should be noted that the development problems in the pastoral societies of the Somali region of Ethiopia are deep rooted and complex and this requires political willingness, and a coordinated effort among all stakeholders to enhance pro-poor pastoralist development strategy and structural transformation.

Acknowledgment

A lot of people have assisted me in this thesis and I am unable to single out everyone who deserves appreciation. Nonetheless, I would like to thank first and foremost Professor Ko Yiu-Chung, my academic advisor, for his patience, instructions and constructive criticism given to my work. Despite his busy schedule he always found time for me.

Moreover, I am very much grateful to Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University and the Joint Japan/World Bank Graduate Scholarship Program for providing me the necessary financial support; otherwise, my research could not have been materialized. My gratitude also goes to Miss Emiko for providing me excellent administrative and support services during my study. I am also indebted to Jigjiga University administration for their trustworthy support to get this opportunity.

I am also thankful to the pastoral communities in Kebribayah district and the Somali regional sector bureaus for assisting me in getting the necessary information for this research.

Lastly, I am grateful to all my friends who played a great role in completing my study particularly Dr Aye Mengistu and his wife Filagot Desta. My special thanks also go to Mr Maxwell Caughron for his constructive comments and editorial assistance on my thesis. Above all, I pass cheerful gratitude to all my family members, especially my uncle, Muhummed; my mother Halimo; my wife- Fatumo; and my four children for their constant encouragement and support to successfully complete my study.

The findings, interpretations and conclusions expressed in this thesis are entirely mine and I solely take responsibility for any errors and omissions in this study.

Declaration of Originality

I, FAREH Abdulkadir Mohammed, hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in any form for the award of another degree or diploma at any University or other institute of tertiary education.

Information derived from the published and un-published work of others has been cited or acknowledged appropriately.

Table of Contents

	<u>Page</u>
Abstract	I
Acknowledgment	III
Declaration of Originality	IV
Table of Contents	V
List of Tables	VIII
List of Figures	IX
Abbreviations	XI
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background of the Study.....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	3
1.2.1 Historical Context	4
1.2.2 Current Policies.....	5
1.3 Research Questions	6
1.4 Objectives of the Research	7
1.5 Significance of the Study	7
1.6 Scope of the Study.....	8
1.7 Research Methodology.....	8
CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW	13
2.1 Definition of Poverty.....	13
2.1 Pastoral Poverty.....	15

2.2	Literatures on Pastoralism	16
2.2.1	Definition of Pastoralism	16
2.3.2	Historical Background of Pastoralism	22
2.3.3	Pastoral Production	23
2.4	Misunderstandings about Pastoralism	25
2.5	Policy Assessment Methodology:	29
2.6	Policy Strategies Regarding Pastoralism	32
2.5.1	Mongolian Poverty Reduction Strategies in Pastoral Areas	33
2.5.2	Iranian Poverty Reduction Strategies for Pastoral Areas:.....	35
CHAPTER III: BACKGROUND OF THE SOMALI REGIONAL STATE OF ETHIOPIA		36
3.1	Introduction	36
3.2	Climate	38
3.3	Social Setup.....	39
3.4	Population.....	42
3.5	Poverty Condition and Wealth Characterization in Somali Region.....	44
3.5.1	Poverty Condition	44
3.5.2	Wealth Characterization among Pastoralists in the Somali Region.....	45
3.6	General Socio-Economic Situation of the Somali Region	46
CHAPTER IV: DISCUSSION AND FINDINGS		54
4.1	Introduction	54
4.2	Major Achievements of the Development Interventions in the Somali Region	54
4.2.1	Agriculture, Livestock and Food Security Development	56
4.2.2	Water Sector Development in Somali Region	66

4.2.3	Education Sector Development.....	72
4.2.4	Health Sector Development	82
4.2.5	Infrastructure Development	86
4.2.6	Governance, Decentralization and Implementation Capacity	89
4.2.7	Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) Flow	98
4.2.8	Summary of Opportunities and Challenges	100
CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS		102
5.1	Conclusion of the Study	102
5.2	Policy Recommendations	105
BIBLIOGRAPHY		115
APPENDIX.....		124
A.	Semi-Structured Interview Guideline at Institutional Level	124
B.	Interview Guideline for Focus Group Community Discussion,	126

List of Tables

	<u>Page</u>
Table 1.1 Sampled pastoral villages visited during the field trip in Kebribayah district.....	11
Table 2.1: Types of Pastoralists	19
Table 2.2: Animal species and their lifestyle.....	21
Table 4.1: Mass Resettlement Program in Riverine Areas of Somali Region.....	61
Table 4.2: Major water sector achievements in Somali region in the last 20 years.....	67
Table 4.3: Number of Teachers and Students of Kebribeyah District, 2010	74
Table 4.4 Number of primary teachers and their qualifications at regional level.....	75
Table 4.5 Somali Region Vital Statistics	83
Table 4.6 Health facilities and total population ratio.....	84
Table 4.7 Somali regional family health Indicators.....	85
Table 4.8: Summery of the Opportunities and Challenges to the implementation of PASDEP (2005-2010) in the pastoral areas.....	100

List of Figures

	<u>Page</u>
Figure 1.1: Population below poverty line (%).....	4
Figure 2.1: Percentage of people in the world at different poverty levels	14
Figure 2.2: Conceptual representation of the contribution of pastoralism (adapted from MacGregor and Hesse, 2006)	24
Figure 2.3: Pastoralism as a percentage of agricultural GDP (Adopted from WISP, 2006)	28
Figure 2.4 Policy system adopted from Miyoshi Kochi (2008)	31
Fig 3.1: Physical political satellite map of Ethiopia	37
Figure 3.2: Climatic zones and periods of Somali Region	38
Figure 3.3: Somali clan kinship system	40
Figure 3.4: Percentage distribution of population by the regions of Ethiopia estimated from 2007 census.....	43
Figure 3.5: Zonal population distribution of Somali Region estimated from the 2007 census	43
Figure 3.6: The Estimated Number of Livestock in Somali Pastoralist Area 2003.....	47
Figure 4.1: Growth Targets and Performance under PASDEP.....	55
Figure 4.2: Development Corridors of the Somali Regional State	59
Figure 4.3 Photo of the Baran settlement.....	60
Figure 4.4: Production as a result of the resettlement program is summarized.....	61
Figure 4.5: Mobile pastoralists in Buladari area, Kebribayah district	63
Figure 4.6: Water Coverage in Somali Regional State (2005-2010)	67
Figure 4.7: Picture on traditional birka in Kebribeyah district	69
Figure 4.8 Preprimary students in 2008/9	73

Figure 4.9: Secondary Gross Enrollment Rate (%)	77
Figure 4.10: Roles and responsibilities of the different government levels	90
Figure 4.11 Structure of the Local Government (source: Author design)	93
Figure 4.12: Inward and Outward FDI Flows in Ethiopia, 2000-2009.....	99
Figure 5.1: Policy Recommendation Illustration Model for Mobile Pastoralists: Buladair Village	111
Figure 5.2: Policy Recommendation Illustration Model for Resettlement (Pastoralist Resettlement): Qaaha Village	113

Abbreviations

ABE	=	Alternative Basic Education
AMIPRA	=	Activists for Minority and Indigenous Peoples Rights in Africa
BDCO	=	Basin Development Coordination Office
BOFED	=	Bureau of Finance and Economic Development
BPR	=	Business Process Reengineering
CBB	=	Capacity Building Bureau
CBOs	=	Community Based Organizations
CBR	=	Crude Birth Rate
CENESTA	=	Center for Sustainable Development
CIA	=	Central Intelligence Agency
CMR	=	Child Mortality Rate
CSA	=	Central Statistical Authority
DA	=	Development Agency
DAC	=	Development Assistance Committee
DEOs	=	District Education Offices
DHS	=	Demographic Health Survey
DPPB	=	Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Bureau
FAO	=	Food and Agriculture Organization
FDI	=	Foreign Direct Investment
FMOH	=	Federal Ministry of Health
GDP	=	Gross Domestic Product
GER	=	Gross Enrollment Rate

GIAHS	=	Globally Indigenous Agricultural Heritage Systems
GTP	=	Growth and Transformation Plan
HC	=	Health Center
HDW	=	Hand Dug Wells
HEWs	=	Health Extension Workers
HHICES	=	Household Income Consumption Expenditure Survey
HLCBP	=	Household Livelihoods Capacity Support Program
HP	=	Health Post
HRM	=	Human Resource Management
HSDP	=	Health Sector Development Program
HSEP	=	Health Service Extension Program
ICT	=	Information Communication Technology
IMF	=	International Monetary Fund
IMR	=	Infant Mortality Rate
JBIC	=	Japan Bank for International Cooperation
JICA	=	Japan International Cooperation Agency
LCRDB	=	Livestock, Crop and Rural Development Bureau
MDGs	=	Millennium Development Goals
MOFA	=	Ministry of Federal Affairs
MOFED	=	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development
MOH	=	Ministry of Health
NGOs	=	Non Governmental Organizations
ODA	=	Official Development Assistance

OECD	=	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OXFAM	=	Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
PASDEP	=	Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty
PCAE	=	Pastoralist Concern Association
PFE	=	Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia
PHC	=	Primary Health Care
PHCU	=	Primary Health Care Unit
PPA	=	Poverty participatory Assessment
PRSP	=	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PSCAP	=	Public Sector Capacity Program
REB	=	Regional Education Bureau
RHB	=	Regional Health Bureau
RRA	=	Rural Road Authority
RWB	=	Regional Water Bureau
SNNP	=	South Nations and Nationalities People
SR	=	Somali Region
TB	=	Tuberculosis
TFR	=	Total Fertility Rate
UNCTAD	=	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	=	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	=	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
US\$	=	United States Dollar
WASH	=	water supply, sanitation and hygiene program

WB	=	World Bank
WFP	=	World Food Programme
WISP	=	World Initiative for Sustainable Development
WSDP	=	Water Sector Development Program

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Pastoralism is a lifestyle based on the breeding, rearing and grazing of camels, cattle, sheep and goats in dryland (Blench R. , 2001). Although there is a widespread assumption that pastoralists exist at marginal levels of subsistence, Bates (1998) states that pastoral lives are mostly found in marginal areas where agriculture is not possible. Pastoralists in areas with low agricultural production depend on animals which forage vegetation uneatable for humans and convert into a form suitable for human consumption (Bates, 1998).

Pastoralists move from one place to another in search of water and ample pasture for their livestock occasionally cross international borders as is the case in East Africa. This mobility, often in a radius of 100-500km, allows pastoralists to take advantage to different environments; thus allowing them to survive in volatile regions and supporting their livelihood (Bates, 1998).

Despite the fact that some policy makers categorize pastoralists as agriculturists, the pastoral life is fundamentally different and as such, can be taken as a wholly unique lifestyle. According to Wilson (1999), it is believed that the pastoralism is a sustainable approach to land use and is a competent strategy that supports populations in a difficult environment for humans.

As stated by Blench (2001:6):

“Pastoralists make substantial contributions to the economy of many developing countries, both in terms of supporting their own households and in supplying protein, both meat and milk, to villages and towns. The governments of those countries rarely recognize these contributions by a corresponding investment in the pastoral sector. The

pastoral economic system is under increasing threat from the globalization of the trade in livestock products and unpredictable import policies in many countries”.

Poverty in pastoral areas is different from the other rural communities but this is not well understood by both the general public and policy makers. The major roots of pastoral poverty stem from shortage of rainfall resulting water scarcity and loss of pasture, loss of land, conflict, and political marginalization (Little, McPeak, Barrett, & Kristjanson, 2008). Persistent droughts as well as frequency of the natural disasters in the arid and the semi-arid areas of the world have made already difficult living conditions for pastoralists even more perilous, and should therefore be considered to be among the most vulnerable societies in the world (Fareh, 2003).

Ethiopian pastoralists have endured a long history of political and socio-economical marginalization which has been aggravated by the complex natural catastrophes (PFE, 2002). According to PFE ¹(2002:2),

“Ethiopia is home for more than 12-15 million pastoralists who reside in 61% of the nation's landmass. The pastoral areas are estimated to comprise 42% of the national total livestock population. Moreover, the pastoral areas are rich in biodiversities, mineral and water resources as well as energy resources, and untapped tourist attractions. The major problems in pastoral areas include lack of appropriate livestock marketing, education, public health, veterinary services, and water both for human and for livestock and rural finance are the least developed. ...Similarly, road and communication are infrastructure development challenges in the pastoral regions. Population pressure and recurrent drought coupled with the lack/inadequacy of the social and economic services have

¹ PFE = Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia, a local NGO based in Ethiopia

exceeded the traditional mechanisms to cope with such harsh climatic conditions resulting in depletion of the pastoralists' assets (especially the livestock), food insecurity, and conflict”.

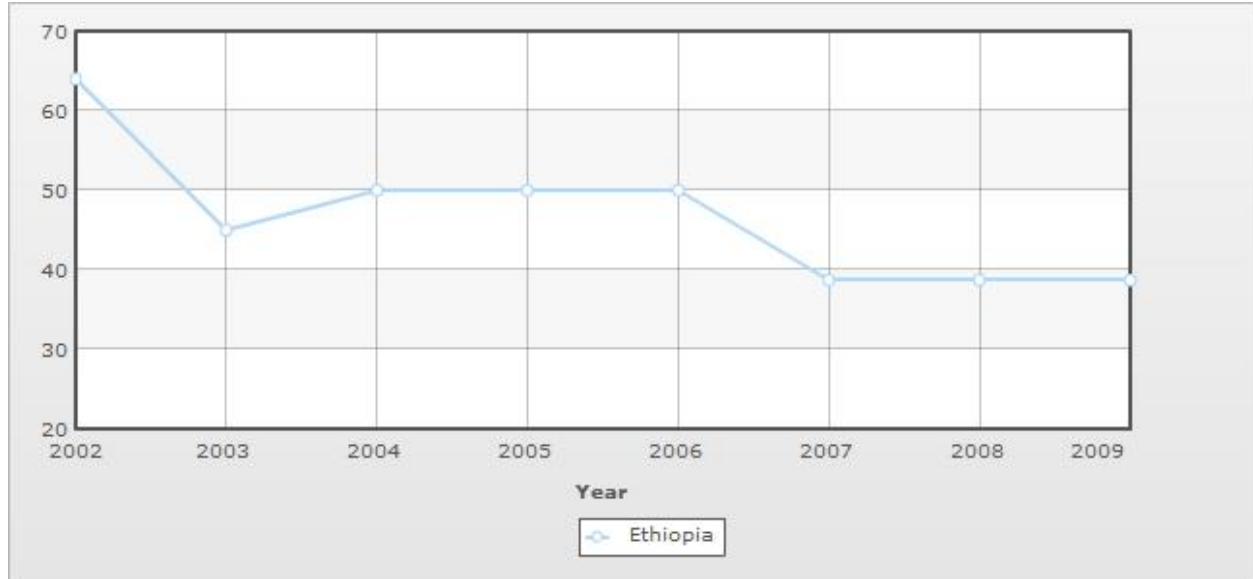
In order for a given country to achieve a more sustainable development; that society must develop its rural communities because rural areas are the primary production center which feed and support the urban industrial sectors of the country. This is true in Ethiopia where the majority of its people live in the rural areas as both pastoral and agrarian communities. The Somali Regional State is the region that hosts the largest number of the Ethiopian pastoralists and was therefore chose to be the study area of this research. This region cannot meet its long-term developmental plans unless it aids the development of the pastoral communities which account for 86% of the region's population.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Ethiopia is among the poorest countries in the world. It has come through deep rooted famine, hunger, economic crises, political instability, conflicts, and wars which have resulted in the backwardness and the poverty of the country. However, after the political shift resulting from the withdrawal of the socialist government in 1991, there has been considerable economic improvement. According to the CIA World Factbook and the International Monetary Fund (2011), the Ethiopia's GDP real growth rate was² 11.60% as of 2009 compared to the 5.50% in 2003. Despite these impressive figures, recent data shows that a significant number of the country's population remains below the poverty line (38.7%), the majority of which live in the rural areas.

² The recent data of the year 2011

Figure 1.1: Population below poverty line (%)



Source: CIA World Factbook, 2010

The Ethiopian government defines poverty in as a function of four different aspects: material deprivation (lack of opportunity); low achievement in education and health (low capabilities); vulnerability and exposure to risk or low level of security; and voicelessness and powerlessness (Woldehanna, 2004). Tassew Woldehanna further states that by taking the lowest income quartile households, the poverty line can be identified as the cost of the minimum calorie requirement for subsistence, which is 2200 kcal per adult per year (MoFED, 2005).

1.2.1 Historical Context

Pastoralists, whose their sources of income derive from livestock are among the poorest societies in the country. They live largely in the lowland areas where the level of the rainfall per annum is less than 200 mm (LCRDB, 2009). The Somali region is a lowland region that its rural population is dominated by pastoralists. A study carried out by Pastoralism Forum Ethiopia

(PFE)³ in 2006 showed that the pastoral poverty that exists in these geographically semi-arid areas is described as absolute poverty characterized by lack of livestock cultivation resources, insufficiently met basic needs (food, shelter and clothes), weak social infrastructure and conflict over limited resources.

Historically the government has done little to improve the lot of the societies in this region. However, with the fall of the Dergie⁴ regime, the situation has been changing. Decentralization of the political and economic governance of Ethiopia has opened new windows of opportunities for region to form a more autonomous regional state and develop its people by making use of its resources. Since its formation, the Region has made an effort to overcome poverty and improve the social and economic well-being of the population. Yet, there are still many problems facing the population resulting from the recurrent droughts and limited social infrastructure.

1.2.2 Current Policies

To tackle these problems, the government of Ethiopia has used different strategies intended to improve the existing situations of rural and urban populations. Among these is the poverty eradication strategy, currently known as the Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP), which was adopted by the current government beginning 2005. This is a broad strategy touching almost all the sectors including the pastoral communities. PASDEP was the country's guiding strategic framework for the five-year period of 2005/06-2009/10 and anticipated to lay out directions and policies to eradicate poverty (MoFED, 2005).

In PASDEP, the government has planned two alternative growth scenarios: the base scenario (7% annual growth) and the high case scenario which is set at an average real GDP growth of

³ PFE is an NGO based in Ethiopia that promotes pastoral rights and issues.

⁴ The socialist government that was ruling the country between 1976 to 1991

10 % (MDGs Plus). IMF (2010) reported that Ethiopia has made a significant progress in all areas of the Millennium Development Goals during the five years of PASDEP. However, the PASDEP has been highly criticized by giving less attention to the pastoral issues and, thus, a doubt on the contribution of the pastoralists to the GDP growth has emerged (PFE, 2006).

1.3 Research Questions

Documents related to the vulnerability and the existing situations of the pastoralists in Ethiopia were reviewed, specifically focused on the Somali region. The strategies that the government of Ethiopia has adopted starting from year 2000 were also reviewed. Based on these documents, research was conducted that assesses and analyzes the challenges and opportunities available for the implementation of the current poverty eradication strategy (PASDEP) in the pastoral areas of Ethiopia's Somali region. This study focuses on the following key research questions.

- What is the poverty condition unique to the pastoral communities of the region as a whole and the sampled district in particular?
- What are the main causes of this poverty?
- To what extent has the current poverty eradication strategy been effectively implemented and has it been effective in improving the lives of the pastoralists?
- What are the existing challenges and opportunities and policy gaps in implementing the poverty eradication strategy program in the pastoral areas?
- Which strategies should be employed to address the identified gaps to bring about development in pastoral areas?

The first two questions provide background to the study as it necessary to understand the living conditions of the community before assessing the policy options available to programs in the pastoral areas.

1.4 Objectives of the Research

The overall objective of this research is to assess and analyze the opportunities and challenges of implementing the poverty eradication strategy programs (PASDEP) used by the current Ethiopian government in the pastoral communities of the Somali Regional State. The specific objectives are:

- **Assess** the livelihood and the poverty condition of pastoral communities in the region focusing the selected district of Kebribeyah;
- **Identify** the major factors that lead to poverty in the pastoral areas;
- **Examine** the roles of the current PASDEP (poverty eradication strategy) in improving the living standard of these pastoral communities;
- **Analyze** the gaps, opportunities and the challenges of implementing PASDEP in the pastoral areas.
- **Recommend** appropriate and specific pastoral policies that the government and the donor agencies adopt in order to lessen poverty and the livelihood vulnerability in the region.

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study has economic and policy implication significance. The economic significance of this study lies on the fact that pastoralism is the dominant economic system in the Somali Regional State and the largest contributor to its economy. Thus, improving residents' livelihoods would

undoubtedly positively affect regional development. In terms of policy significance, this study enables the government to redesign and undertake appropriate policy design and implementation strategies based upon measures that could bring effective pastoral development.

Furthermore, this research has been conducted in order to increase the awareness and interest of the government and other development partners regarding the special needs of pastoral peoples and draws special attention to the myriad of problems they face. This research also supplements previous studies focused on poverty reduction programs in more general terms which do not address the issues specific to pastoral communities.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The scope of this research is limited only to the Somali Regional State of Ethiopia since the year 2005. The study specifically focuses on Kebribeyah district and purposively selected because it is representative of pastoral communities in Ethiopia as a whole. This district has also been selected for this study due to the accessibility of data and where security and time are accounted as major factors since there is political instability in many pastoral districts of the Somali region.

In recent years some of the pastoral districts have slowly transitioned into agro-pastoralists by engaging in agriculture along with the rearing of the livestock because of severe recurrent droughts that have resulted in a dramatic loss of their livestock. Therefore, this district was also chosen because it has begun making transition into this mixed farming system.

1.7 Research Methodology

This study uses both primary and secondary data obtained from mostly government sources including: The Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, The Ministry of Federal Affairs,

The Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, and Somali Regional development sector Bureaus such as Education Bureau, Health Bureau, Water Bureau, Livestock and Agriculture Bureau, and Finance & Economic Development Bureau. The research also used data and reports from NGOs including PFE (Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia), PCAE (Pastoralist Concern Association Ethiopia), WISP (World Initiative for Sustainable Pastoralism) and international organizations such as World Bank, UNDP, and OXFAM, etc.

In addition to these sources, primary data was collected in 5 villages during a field trip conducted between December, 2010 and January, 2011. After the data was collected, it was organized, analyzed and compiled into text, tables, graphs and diagrams found in this document.

Moreover, in evaluating the PASDEP's performance and its appropriateness in the pastoral areas, the research has used a "process evaluation method"⁵. This method has been adopted since the main focus of the study is to identify the effectiveness and the suitability of implementing the current poverty reduction strategy (PASDEP) in the pastoral areas. In this type of evaluation technique,

- We examine whether the targets of the development sectors set in the PASDEP document are achieved in the pastoralists areas of Somali region and whether the program has delivered to the pastoral communities the quality and the quantity of services as planned. The study evaluates the actual achievements against the planned sector-targets in PASDEP. This focuses on the effectiveness of this strategy in the pastoral areas of Somali region.

⁵ This type of evaluation was explained in section 2.5 of policy evaluation methodology in chapter two.

- We also explore how the PASDEP policy is implementable or can go in line with the pastoralism lifestyle. In this chapter, we give more emphasis to discuss about the relevancy and the sustainability of such type of poverty reduction policies in the pastoralist areas. By using the primary data and secondary documents, the study identifies the policy gaps, challenges and opportunities of implementing PASDEP in the pastoral areas.

Due to time and baseline data limitations, the study did not deeply evaluated the PASDEP using other evaluation criteria such as impact evaluation or cost-performance evaluation systems.

a) Data Collection System

The data collection method employed in the course of this study include: focus group discussions with the target communities groups; semi-structured interview schedule with the selected institutions as well as informal discussions and review of secondary data documents and literature sources.

Checklists were used for the assessment of socio-economic conditions at institution levels in order to guide discussions. Informal discussions and reviews of documentary sources include: field observations, key informant discussions, reports as well as review of documentary sources and studies.

b) Sample Design

The study specifically focused on Kebribeyah district. The selection of this district was done by adopting non-probability purposive sampling technique. Furthermore, five villages were selected from the district by using probability simple random sampling. These villages are Danaba, Qaaha,

Gilo, Horakalifo & Mula (see table 1.1). Danaba and Qaaha are agro-pastoral (mixed) villages where as the other three are more of pure Pastoralists. This sampling method was used due to cost, time, and logistical feasibility limitations. In this process, sampling was carried out in a way that ensured that all 29 villages in the district had an equal opportunity to be chosen. Finally, focus group discussions and observation work was carried out in the community.

Table 1.1 Sampled pastoral villages visited during the field trip in Kebribayah district

<i>S/n</i>	<i>Village Name</i>	<i>Distance to Kebribayah Town (km)</i>	<i>Direction from the Town</i>	<i>Mode of Pastoral Economy</i>
1	Danaba	7	East	Agro-pastoral
2	Qaaha	22	South	Agro-pastoral
3	Gilo	27	East	Pastoral
4	Horakalifo	45	South-east	Pastoral
5	Mula	45	South	Pastoral *

* When we say pastoral, we mean both nomadic pastoralists and transhumance

c) Data Analysis

The analysis of the data obtained in the study began with editing and coding. The data was compiled and summarized using descriptive analysis such as calculation of averages, ratios and percentage distributions. Thus, it was analyzed the results of the discussions, interviews observations and review of documentary sources in an understandable manner.

d) Limitations

It is the nature of any type of research to have some limitations due to unavoidable or unforeseen factors. Accordingly, this study focused only on five villages in Kebribayah district of the Somali region of Ethiopia that are considered to be ideal representatives of the pastoral communities.

However, it is fair to say that the study would have been much better if it had included more districts and samples in order to reveal more precise information out of the study. This was mainly due to the time, logistic, financial and safety constraints during the research.

e) Organization of the Research

This study has been organized into five chapters. Chapter one is the general background and methodology of the research. Chapter two is devoted to the literature review of poverty reduction and pastoralism as a way of life. In this chapter, the experience of Mongolia and Islamic Republic of Iran in alleviating poverty in the pastoral areas and the policies they adopted are surveyed. Chapter three gives a geographical and historical background to the study area. Chapter four deals with analysis and discussion of the results and findings of the field work of the study. This chapter emphasis the challenges, opportunities, and the policy implementing gaps facing poverty reduction strategies in the pastoral communities of the Somali Regional State. Finally, chapter five offers conclusions and policy recommendations.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Definition of Poverty

There is no universal definition of poverty accepted by all countries. According to the Poverty Participatory Assessment (PPA)⁶ conducted by the World Bank Group in 1999, poverty varies between socio-economic activities (E.g. farmers and pastoralists; urban and rural dwellers), gender (female and male), and age wise (old and young people). This means, poverty describes the condition that person or community lives. According to the PAA, poverty is defined as complex and multidimensional concept which includes a lack of material well-being; voiceless and powerlessness; an absence of basic infrastructure; and lack of possession or assets (World Bank, 1999).

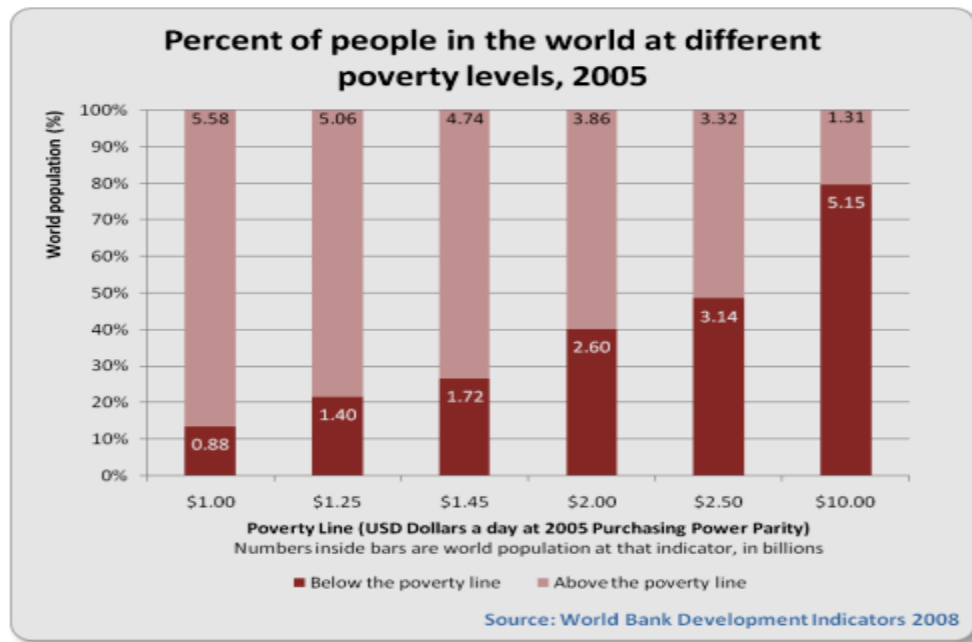
Moreover, the World Bank Group's assessment (PPAs) categorized poverty as either "generational" or "sudden" poverty. The poverty that exists in the developing countries is mostly generational meaning that it has existed over a long period of time. While many nations in the developing world judge the poverty as a matter of getting the basic subsistence (see also Barker, 1995), the better-off countries consider it in a different manner such as solid waste collection and disposal, street lighting, public telephones, etc (World Bank, 2001).

Based on such statements, one can see that the definition of poverty ranges from country to country. By definition, poverty is higher in the developing world where the majority of the population lives (UNDP, 2007). The following figure shows the percentage of the poor people of

⁶ An assessment entitled as "can anyone here us? Voices from 47 countries prepared for World Development Report, 1999. It is written by Deepa Naryan with Raj Patel, Kai Schaftt, Anne Rademacher, & Sarah KS.

the total world population as of 2005 and indicates that approximately 50% of the world's population lives on 3.14 US\$ per day (Chen & Ravallion, 2008).

Figure 2.1: Percentage of people in the world at different poverty levels



Source: from World Bank Development Indicators, 2008⁷

In the developing world, there is lack of basic social services including education, health, access to water, and the state of basic infrastructures. Moreover, lack of political participation among the poor and marginalized segments of the society in the decision making process also exacerbates the existence of the poverty, particularly in the rural areas (Khan, 2001).

In terms of poverty measurement, each country has its own social, economical and development characteristics that affect the indicators of poverty they adopt. However, there are certain indicators that have been more universally accepted. Barker (1997) defines the poverty line by the amount of money people spend to maintain their standard of living. In other words, since

⁷Also available at: <http://www.globalissues.org/article/26/poverty-facts-and-stats#src2>

poverty is a lack of command over necessary consumption, the poverty line should be defined as the degree to which basic needs can be met (Ravallion & Bidani, 1994).

2.1 Pastoral Poverty

For poor rural communities in developing countries, pastoralists are the most vulnerable groups for they suffer recurrent droughts and livestock lose during searching the water and pasture due to shortage of rainfall. But how does pastoralists' poverty was differ from the poverty of other segments of society? This issue is what we turn to next.

A study conducted in Kenya shows, a reliance on quantitative measurements that are highly questionable in the context of pastoralism and simple depictions of pastoralists as poor, leads to misperceptions about the nature and extent of poverty among pastoral populations (Little, McPeak, Barrett, & Kristjanson, 2008).

Peter D and his other colleague authors categorize pastoral poverty into two types: transitory poverty and chronic poverty. Transitory poverty is associated with better-off pastoralists that experience drought shocks but recover when the drought is over thus experiencing temporary movements into and out of poverty. On the other hand, the chronic poverty is a persistent one faced by the pastoral households with few animal assets during both years of drought and years of sufficient rainfall. Furthermore, from the findings of the Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA) conducted by the World Bank Group in 1999, rural poor who depend on livestock are categorized into permanent poor, temporary poor and the new poor (World Bank, 1999). Temporary poor are those who could feed themselves before the drought and can recover soon, while the new poor are people who were once not classified as poor but lost their animal and found themselves below the poverty line.

When we come to the causes and the roots of the chronic poverty in pastoral areas, there are several significant factors that need to be considered. The most important include the shortage of rainfall resulting in water scarcity and loss of pasture; loss of land for non-pastoral uses such as crop agriculture, forestry, and wildlife protection; conflict over the use of the scarcity resources, and political marginalization (Peter D., John M., Christopher B. and Patti K., 2008; see also Homewood et al., 2004; Lane, 1996; and Goldman, 2003).

2.2 Literatures on Pastoralism

2.2.1 Definition of Pastoralism

There has not been a consensus over the definition of pastoralism. In most cases, governments and policy makers consider pastoralism as an ancient lifestyle where many NGOs and donors see it as a viable way of life suitable to modern conditions (PFE, 2002). In Chapter one, we introduced some of its basic definitions and here, in this literature review, we seek to create a more robust the overall concept of the pastoralism based on the existing literature. As mentioned earlier, the term pastoralism has been defined in different ways by different scholars. For example, Elliot M.F (1998:7) describes pastoralists as “people who rely on domestic animals” for the consumption of their milk, meat and selling of their products. Pastoralism is distinguished from ranching because herds are taken by pastoralists to where open pasture and water are available rather than bringing fodder to animals in a fixed location. Roger Blench (2001) also notes that pastoralism is “the use of extensive grazing in rangelands for livestock production” which is widely practiced in the dryland areas of the world.

In addition, Oxfam (2008) defines pastoralism as “the finely-honed symbolic relationship between the local ecology, domesticated livestock and people in high variable conditions” and

represents a form that manages the natural resources and the ecology between pasture, water, livestock and people. The World Initiative for Sustainable Pastoralism⁸ (2006) labels pastoralism as a system of adaptation to environments that are hostile and enormously resilient during droughts. The Pastoralist Concern Association Ethiopia⁹ (2008) reminds us that pastoralism is “more than simply a mode of livestock production” but also a consumption strategy that supports around 200 million people in worldwide (WISP, 2006).

However, the exact definition of the term pastoralism depends on the nature of the unique pastoral societies being studied. Historically, pastoralism has different divisions. Some of the scholars divide into two types (Khazanov, A.M. 1984, and Halake Bante 2009) while others categorize into four categories (Roger Blench, 2001: 13-15). Khazanov separates into two groups: (1) pastoral nomadism proper (pure pastoralists), which is characterized by the absence of agriculture and (2) semi nomadic pastoralism (mixed farming). By using the degree of their movement and on the basis of the flexibility & the opportunistic nature of the pastoralists, Roger divided from high nomadic through transhumant to agro-pastoralists.

- **Nomadism:** defines those who are exclusively pastoralists and depended on livestock. Nomadic societies are mobile based on their opportunistic search for pasture and water largely because the resources they rely on are few and dispersed. Their mobile lifestyle is not only caused by a lack of resources for their livestock, but also because they move to avoid disease outbreak or security threats. According to Halake Bante (2009), nomadic people do not make enduring settlements, but they live in mobile houses like tents and they are somewhat self-sufficient compared to other rural dwellers.

⁸ World Initiative for Sustainable Pastoralism Policy Brief Paper No. 1 prepared in September 2006

⁹ Pastoralist Concern Association Ethiopia, a local active NGO in Ethiopian Pastoralist Regions

- **Transhumance:** Roger defines this type of pastoralists by those who make “regular movements between fixed points to exploit seasonal availability of pastures”. Another fundamental difference between transhumance and nomadic people include the possession of the permanent houses for elders, women and the small children who stay with portion of the livestock when the men take the remaining to grazing areas far from fixed settlements. Recently, people use trucks to transhumance their livestock, as is in North Africa and the Gulf states (Trautmann, 1985). In addition, transhumance pastoralists also practices limited crop productions. Bante (2009) states that transhumance pastoralists do not depend as much on their animals for food, rather they trade them in town markets in exchange for grain.
- **Agro-Pastoralism:** Agro-pastoralists are settled pastoralists with land property rights who sustain themselves from their own crop production. Agro-pastoralists value their livestock but in terms of less reliant on livestock than nomadic and transhumant pastoralists (Roger, 2001 P: 15). Elliot M.F (1998:8) also describes agro-pastoralists as,” those who combine dryland farming with livestock keeping”. In the case of Ethiopia, agro-pastoralists employ a mixed farming system in which they practices both crop cultivation and a small number of animals, mostly cows, sheep, goats and oxen; have permanent houses and are more settled compared to the other nomadic and transhumance pastoralists. They also act as brokers between sedentary and mobile communities (Fareh, 2003).
- **Enclosed Systems and Ranching:** it is a system where land is individually owned and fenced as is commonly practiced in Australia, North America and some parts of South America (Stricon, 1965). This also true for many in the horn Africa where people are

increasingly facing population pressure and have turned towards privately fenced property.

For their part the UNDP (2003) developed a very similar pastoralism categorization as shown in table 2.1. N.B.: the number of stars gives an idea of how commonly the two sets of criteria (degree of dependency and the degree of mobility) combine in livelihood systems.

Table 2.1: Types of Pastoralists

<i>Degree of Dependency</i>	<i>Degree of Mobility</i>		
	<i>Pastoral</i>	<i>Agro-Pastoral</i>	<i>Agricultural</i>
Nomadic	***	*	
Transhumant	***	***	*
Sedentary	*	***	***

Source: Adopted from UNDP (2003)

According to the UNDP, there are different forms of mobility which depend on the degree of direct environmental reliance. Societal movement could either be seasonal or regular that follow well-defined transhumant routes that have been used for centuries. Or mobility could be more near random based on following the erratic movement of rain clouds. As the UNDP describes in their pastoral categorizations, movement is more than for ecological season (pasture and water), rather than other factors such as moving away from animal diseases, conflicts, and bad neighbors. Elliot M.F (1998:9) also believes that mobility is based on ecological factors including “variation in terrain, rainfall, location of rivers, and variety of vegetation and salt resources”.

In table 2.1, the UNDP classifies as pastoral those households which receive more than 50% of their total gross household income from livestock related activities relying on normal pastures in pastoral areas. If a given household receives more than a 25% of their income from livestock and

more than 50% from crops, then it is agro-pastoral. Nomadic peoples are those whose movement has substantial irregularities, and regular movements (back and forward movements between two fixed locations) are labeled as transhumant and all other movements which do not fit these definitions are considered sedentary.

Many societies in the world practice pastoralism as a way of life. For examples, pure pastoralists include (Elliot M.F, 1998) the Maasai and Samburu in East Africa, the Fulani or Peul in West Africa, the Tuareg and Bedouins in North Africa, Qashq'ai and Baluch in Iran, the horse nomads of Mongolia, yak herders of Tibet, reindeer herders of Lapland and Siberia. The Somali people are also among the well-known pastoralists in East Africa (Lewis, 1961). Somalis are found in Somalia Republic, Eastern Ethiopia, Northern Kenya, and Djibouti. In addition, Turkana in Ethiopia & Kenya, Afar in Ethiopia, Djibouti and Eritrea and Borana in Ethiopia and Kenya are also considered as Pastoralists. On the other hand, according to Elliot (1998), agro-pastoralists also found many areas of the world and in particular in Africa like Nuer of Sudan and Tswana of Botswana, Masaai in Tanzania and Fulani in Niger.

Though Pastoralists (by definition) depend primarily on livestock, there are differences in the animals they herd depending on which regions in the world they live. According to Halake Bante (2009), in East Africa, people mostly herd cattle and camels; camels also dominate in the arid lowland areas of the Southwest Asia and North and East Africa; where sheep and goats are mainly found with the pastoralists in the mountainous regions of Southwest Asia. This difference exists because different animals have different grazing characteristics which allow them to live in a given ecology. Specifically “camels are prevalent in the driest areas, goats where shrubs and trees dominate; sheep on mountain or dry rangelands too rugged for cattle and where small ruminant readily convenient marketable animals; cattle on areas where open dry savannas

provide decent grass cover and adequate water” (UNDP, 2003:5). Table 2.2 describes the characteristics of the different species of the animals and their reproduction system.

Table 2.2: Animal species and their lifestyle

Animal	Biological Needs		Reproduction & productivity (Benefits)	
	Feed	Water	Reproduction	Benefits
Camel	Graze and browse, eating the branches and leaves of trees and shrubs	Best adapted to Semi-arid and arid zones, able to go for a week without food or water during the hottest times of yare and able to travel relatively long distances in a day	Deliver their young once a year, in the rainy season, a time when browse and water are readily available	Means of Transportation, Milk, Meat and Hide, Social status and Cultural values
Cattle	Require grass, but graze on shrubs and leaves when pasture is scarce	Can go for only two days without sustenance	Deliver their young once a year, in the rainy season, a time when pasture and water are readily available	Milk, Meat, Blood, Hide, Manure, Social status and Cultural values
Goat	Can live mostly on browsing	In the cool season can go without water for up to two weeks	Breed more than once a year	Meat, Hide, and Provide milk for most of the year unless conditions are exceptionally bad
Sheep	Require grass	Can go only for two days without sustenance	Breed more than once a year	Wool, Meat, Milk

Source: from Halake Bante writings on Avoid Misconception about Pastoralism (2009)

Table 2.2 notices that the difference between the biological needs of the different species. Bante (2009:2) describes that “conditions fatal to one species may be quite appropriate for the well-being of others”. This means that some of the species like cattle are threatened by a lack of pasture land, where as other species (e.g camel) may be better suited to inconsistent. From this you can see that the mobility of the pastoralists depends on the type of animal herded. In order to maximize their security, successful pastoralists cultivate social ties with other groups in large geographical areas through marriage, decent, or personal friendships (Elliot M.F, 1998).

2.3.2 Historical Background of Pastoralism

It is difficult to know how historical evolution of the pastoralists, but their way of life is considered to be among the most ancient life-styles for humans. Roger (2001) states that agriculture emerged before pastoralism in most parts of the world except in Africa where pastoralism emerged from herding of surplus animals (Roger B., 2001: 20). Whatever the case, Cribb (1991) indicated that Amorities were the first pastoralist people appeared by herding cattle, sheep and donkeys in the first half of the second millennium (Cribb, R. 1991:10). Based on archeological record, pastoralism in East and West Africa appeared around 4500-4000B.P¹⁰ (Marshall F, 2000) and in South Africa nearly 2000B.P (Baumann, 1998). Blench (2009) also claims that pastoralism began in Africa as early as 7000 BC, but begun to have a more profound impact in both West and East Africa beginning as early as 3000 BC. However, the evolution of the pastoral system requires more historical research but we can understand that pastoralism is a traditional way of life reaching deep into prehistory.

¹⁰ BP = Before Present

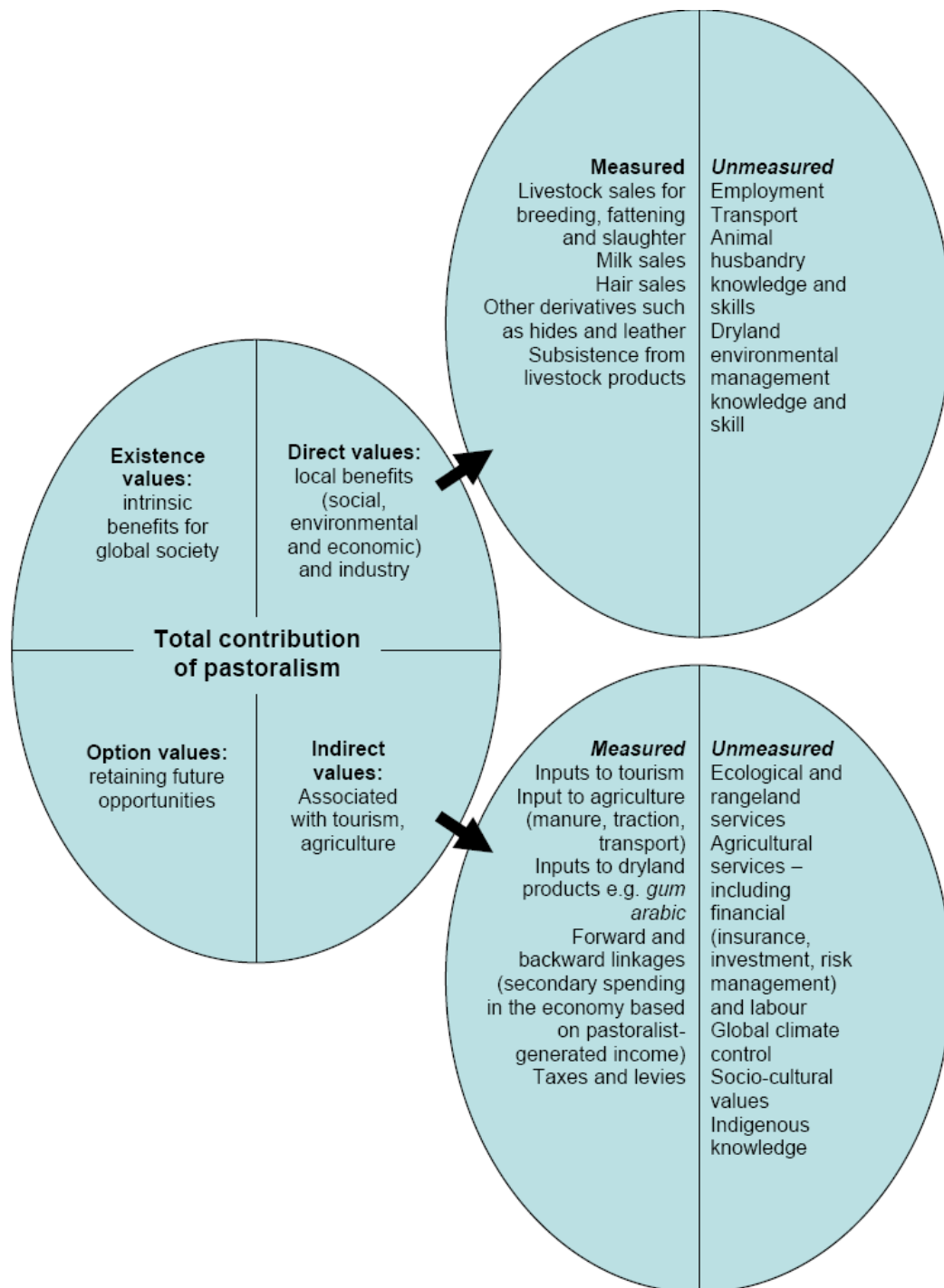
2.3.3 Pastoral Production

According to the World Initiative for Sustainable Pastoralism (WISP), pastoralism values can be divided into two categories (Bante, 2009): direct values are like producing milk, fiber (wool), meat, and hides; and indirect values such as the benefits of agricultural inputs (e.g. manure), and products that complement pastoral production from rangelands including honey and medicinal plants.

In most cases, pastoralists do not kill their animals for food rather they keep them and use their products. As literature cites, pastoralists in East Africa maintain a large number of animals for food to support their families and for the production of labor force (Elliot M.F 1998:7) to enlarge their lineage for the sake of security, watering and getting more grazing land. In his book of Ariaal pastoralists of Kenya, Elliot Also describes that they raise more female animals to produce milk while the male animals are kept for transport, meat, trade and to satisfy the social obligations like marriage ceremonies.

Table 2.2 explains more about the productivity of the different animal species and their benefits for the pastoralists and human being in general. For example, people use camel for transporting different animal products, goods and people themselves. They are also used as warfare. In the past, animals were the only means of moving large quantities of goods across land which shows that pastoralists had other major two livelihood strategies: trade and warfare (Roger Blench, 2001:16). Animals like camel, oxen and donkeys are also used for ploughing farms. Hides, skins and wool which are economically important and used highly in today's industrialized world are also among the major products of the animals. Pastoralists also see animals as a social status and cultural values.

Figure 2.2: Conceptual representation of the contribution of pastoralism (adapted from MacGregor and Hesse, 2006)



To maintain the requirements that we get from the livestock throughout the year, animal products could be diversified. In Mongolia, dairy products are diversified into different forms like: solidified dried curds, clotted cream, reduced butter, fermented butter, caramelized curd, boiled yogurt, yogurt, cheese, fermented mares' milk, boiled milk and dried yogurt (Blench R. M., 1996). Although in some cases, pastoral animal products, like the yield of the milk, is lower compared to farmed species in modern intensive system, but still pastoralism depends on about 200 million people in the world and they contribute much to the world's economy, in particular to the countries they live in. However, there are myths and misunderstandings towards the pastoralism.

WISP (2006) states that the “visible contributions of pastoralism to the economy are generally limited to the measurement of livestock sales and some by-products”, but this definition still does not capture the full value of pastoralism. From figure 2.2 above, you can see more clearly the productivity of the pastoralism and their contribution to the economy. This framework has been prepared MacGregor and Hesse, (2006) and it is a strong tool for understanding pastoral values.

2.4 Misunderstandings about Pastoralism

There are different views about pastoralism. Policy makers, government officials and many academicians see pastoralism as an outdated lifestyle that should be modernized. On the other hand, there are also groups who hope to maintain pastoralism because it is a way of life for millions of people around the world and has been practiced for centuries. These supporters consist of mainly the donors, and NGOs. Some of the common myths about pastoralism as seen by pastoral supporters and critics include:

- **Treating pastoralism and the mobility as a backward and outdated system.** As UNDP (2003) states, pastoralism was considered a historical anomaly, practiced by non-modern people who had been left behind by evolution. However, many NGOs and scholars are highly concerned about this view of pastoralism. According to UNDP (2003:9), “Animal domestication took place at the same time as, or later than, the domestication of plants”. Pastoralists live in arid and semi-arid areas of the world where consistent movement is an alternative strategy for survival to use assortment of pastures, water wells and other resources (UNDP 2003, R. Blench 2001, Bante 2009, and WISP 2006). In other words, in the dryland areas, the only alternative way of life for survival in the harsh environment is the mobile pastoral style.
- **A second myth is that pastoralists cause degradation through overgrazing.** Many authors suggest that the desertification and land degradation are the result of the overgrazing of the pastoral lands. Arntzen (1990) and Adams (1996) focused on the eradication of grassy areas and the spread of woody vegetation due to heavy grazing in Botswana. Other studies spotlighted the degradation and vegetation changes caused by overgrazing (Behnke R.H., 1994; Blench and Marriage, 1996). While on the other hand, much of the literature suggests that the extent of dryland degradation is greatly exaggerated and the underlying ecological dynamics have been misunderstood and unjustly blamed on pastoralists (I. Scoones and Behnke R.H., 1993). In addition, Behnke (1994) also advocates the source of misunderstanding due to the role of livestock that has been misunderstood.

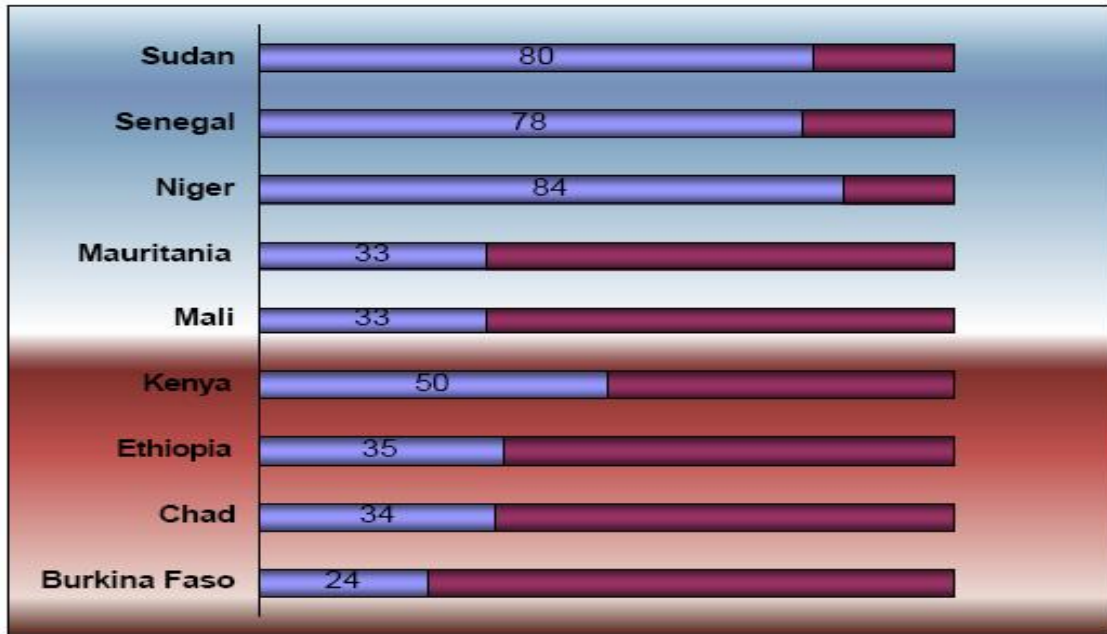
Moreover, the UNDP’s position emphasizes that land degradation and desertification are more serious around permanent settlements and water points, where livestock mobility is

reduced. In the case of East Africa and pastoral areas in the Horn of Africa, undergrazing is leading to degradation. This is because, the conditions that pastoralists in East Africa are currently facing including loss of animals due to drought, insecurity & conflicts, have resulted in the invasion of formerly productive pastures by indigestible shrubs, vegetables and trees, abandoning them from grazing.

- **The productivity of the pastoralism and its contribution to the economy is low.** There is debate among researchers concerning the level of the economic contribution of the pastoral livelihood systems to GDP. For example, (UNDP, 2003) stated that in Mongolia, pastoral livestock contribute for 1/3 of GDP and is the second largest source of export earnings (32%). In Ethiopia, pastoral dominated livestock sector contributes more than 20% to the GDP (WISP, 2006). Bante (2009) also note that, in Ethiopia, the annual gross product of the pastoral sector accounts for 560 million US\$. In Kazakhstan, the livestock sector in the dryland provides 42% of the GDP (World Bank, 2005).

However, Blench (2001:34) states that “milk yields in pastoral herds are universally very low compared to farmed species in modern intensive systems”. He took an example of the West African cattle that give about one liter of milk a day compared to the highly intensive stall-fed systems that produce up to sixty liters a day. On the other hand, mobile pastoral systems have higher economic returns than ranching (UNDP, 2003). In Ethiopia, as Oromo Pastoralist Commission (2007) indicated the “per capita for pastoralist, is more than 2000 birr, which is far better than national, Ethiopia” (AMIPRA, 2007:6).

Figure 2.3: Pastoralism as a percentage of agricultural GDP (Adopted from WISP, 2006)



According to UNDP (2003), in Sudan and Mali, sedentary cattle herders have lower productivity (milk, meat, butter, etc) than the mobile pastoralists, while also in the Sahelian, during droughts those family who moved their livestock long distances to find better pastures fared much better than those who stayed to wait out the drought. Whatever the case, the conclusion is that the contribution of the pastoralists to the national economy is huge in the dryland, but needs more research and better documentation.

- **Pastoralists' resettlements.** There is a long history of attempting to settle pastoralists but these projects often have limited success (Blench R. , 2001). In the horn of Africa, there have been different attempts to settle pastoralists, but they have largely failed. In Somalia the government engaged in large-scale settlement schemes for displaced nomads because of the persistence of droughts and wars (Samatar M.S., 1991). Policy-makers argue that it

is difficult to provide services to nomadic pastoralists, and they cannot be easily contacted unless settled.

Other studies (UNDP, 2003; PCAE, 2008; and PFE, 2006) show that pastoralists could be provided social service such as education, health and water while preserving their mobility and traditions. The UNDP (2003) takes examples of mobile tent schools in Iran, Radio education for pastoral children and adults in Australia and Mongolia, mobile *yurt* libraries found in the summer pastures in Kyrgyzstan and mobile health outreach units in Northern Kenya. So this group argues that the policy of resettlement in the drylands has resulted in increased environmental degradation; reduced economic potential and eroded social and cultural systems. However, the middle ground between these two policies would be supporting voluntary resettlement from the pastoralists themselves to diversify their income.

2.5 Policy Assessment Methodology:

Policy or program evaluation is generally referred to as a structured assessment of its implementation. The evaluation of poverty reduction policies is a complex process and the methodology to be used differs depending on the aim of the evaluation: an administrative purpose or accountability purpose (Miyoshi, 2005; Miyoshi K., 2008).

There are different types of evaluating the general public policies and are mostly classified based on its perspective. In the evaluation handbook for ODA loans programs, Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC) has classified policy evaluation systems into three types (JBIC, 2003). These are:

1. **Process evaluation:** an evaluation that questions how the program or the project was implemented. It examines the appropriateness of the program and whether it was implemented as per the initial design. Process evaluation also looks at whether the program has delivered “the quantity and the quality of services as planned” (Rayu and Sasaki, 2000).
2. **Impact evaluation:** it asks the beneficial and ripple-effects that the program caused in the beneficiaries. It uses basic concepts of “with/without” and “before/after” comparisons to investigate the changes (positive or negative) generated by the program.
3. **Cost-performance evaluation:** This evaluation type looks at the cost efficiency of a program by examining whether the benefits/effects correspond to input costs. Such evaluation can be carried out into two forms:
 - a. *Cost-benefit analysis:* converting costs and benefits into monetary value by using net present value (NPV) or Internal Rate of Return (IRR).
 - b. *Cost-effective analysis:* used when it is difficult to convert benefits into monetary values and determines the least cost plan as the most cost-effectiveness.

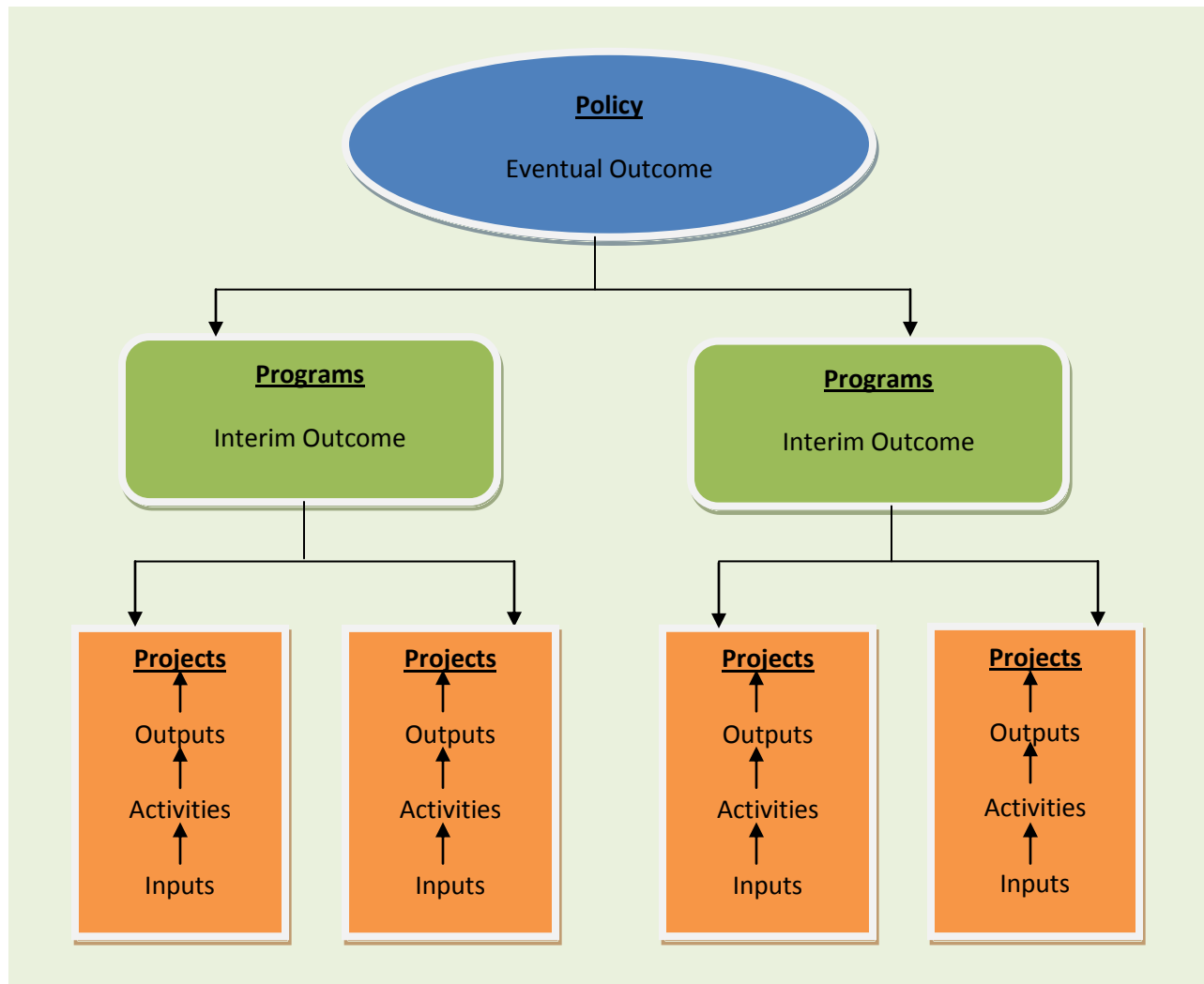
In addition to this, according to OECD/DAC (2002), evaluations can also be classified by:

- **Subject:** policy evaluation, program evaluation or project evaluation
- **Timing:** ex-ante evaluation, mid-term evaluation, and ex-post evaluation
- **Evaluating body:** internal evaluation, external evaluation, and joint evaluation.

According to Miyoshi (2008), mostly the policy evaluation methods are carried out by using “program theory” or “logical model” through addressing the casual relationship between the

policy elements: eventual outcome, intermediate outcome, outputs, activities and inputs. Figure 2.4 describes the structure of the policy system.

Figure 2.4 Policy system adopted from Miyoshi Kochi (2008)



Source: Translation from MIYOSHI Koichi (2008) Hayoka-ron wo Manabu Hito no tamni

Furthermore, the evaluation approach is determined by its level: policy, program or project level. For instance, “policy evaluation primarily uses eventual outcomes as a starting point for assessing the distribution and combination of intermediate outcomes” while on the other hand program evaluation uses intermediate outcomes as its starting point to assess the outputs and its influence on outcomes (Miyoshi K., 2008:6).

Internationally, aid agencies use the DAC (Development Assistance Committee) evaluation criteria (Miyoshi, 2005):

- **Relevancy:** refers to the policy's necessity, priority and appropriateness in terms of addressing the target issue;
- **Effectiveness:** seeks whether the intermediate outcomes were achieved as planned and whether the target group are benefiting;
- **Efficiency:** questions the economic use of the resources to produce outputs;
- **Impact:** looks at the actual effects of the end outcome (positive or negative results); and
- **Sustainability:** focuses on the continuation of the program and the possibility of developing it further.

However, various organizations adopt different policy evaluation approaches. For instance, Japanese government has recently developed standardized guidelines for its policy evaluations which are somewhat different from the DAC evaluation criteria (Miyoshi, 2005). These guidelines have five criteria for policy evaluations namely necessity, efficiency, effectiveness, fairness, and priority. Whatever, we can understand from this section that the type of the policy evaluation criteria and the techniques to be used depends on the kind of the evaluation or assessment that the researcher or the evaluator is intended to carry out.

2.6 Policy Strategies Regarding Pastoralism

Government policies towards pastoralism vary among regions. Some of the countries adopted a system to actively settle pastoralists to eradicate its practice, while others have adopted policies that they retain pastoral economies but hope to improve their living standards by providing the

necessary services and infrastructures required in pastoral areas. In this section, we will examine the existing pastoralism policies adopted by Mongolia and Iran.

2.5.1 Mongolian Poverty Reduction Strategies in Pastoral Areas

In 1990s when the socialist regime ended and began the economic transition period associated with the break-up of the Soviet Union, Mongolia went through political and economic reforms. However, Mongolia experienced economic shocks based on the failure to obtain the Soviet subsidies that the country was reliant on during the Soviet period. In the post-Soviet era, once collectivized pastoral livestock commons were privatized and people migrated from urban to rural to participate in the booming livestock sector which doubled the number of herding households between 1990 and 1997, and doing so pastoral herds increased to one-third of the total population of the country and raised the total livestock by 75% (R. Mears, 2004). According to Mears, after 1995, these patterns have changed and people have again started to migrate to urban centers. This has been caused by several factors including failure of many to maintain a viable herd, inequality among livestock owners, severe droughts, and decline in the productivity of agricultural sector in which livestock alone accounts for 83% (NSO, 2002). In addition, the low availability of basic social services from the government further enticed pastoral people into the city (see Mears, 2004, pp: 118-120).

To survive these shocks, the Mongolian government proposed a new strategy called “Mongolia’s Poverty Reduction Strategy” with special emphasis given to rural development by introducing a program called “Government’s Household Livelihoods Capacity Support Program-HLCBP” (Roben M., 2004; World Bank, 2002). In this program, the pastoral livestock sector has been given a special consideration by focusing areas like:

- A renewed emphasis on pastoral risk management (early warning system, contingency planning strategy, and better response system);
- Special support for herder self-help groups/cooperatives;
- Fostering private sector fodder production and marketing and at the same time providing emergency fodder during severe snow storms;
- Community based pasture land tenure and management;
- Expanding basic infrastructure & providing microfinance services to herders.

These strategies have been adopted in Mongolia because the country's overall poverty reduction depends on the development of this important sector of the economy. In addition to this, Roben Mears (2004) has proposed other policy recommendations to the Mongolian administration so that sustainable pastoral development is more likely to be achieved. These recommendations include:

- ❖ **Livelihood intensification:** supplementary feed approach, breed improvement, & veterinary services;
- ❖ **Livelihood extensification:** use of the large areas of the high quality pasture, rehabilitation of wells & handover to the pastoralists for their operation and maintenance;
- ❖ **Livelihood diversification:** introduction of new and value adding activities mostly around livestock product processing, and
- ❖ **Migration:** fostering new sources of livelihood.

2.5.2 Iranian Poverty Reduction Strategies for Pastoral Areas:

In Iran, over 90% of its land is classified as arid or semi-arid and is the home for mobile pastoralists who account for approximately a third of the country's livestock products demand (CENESTA¹¹). The Qashqai people are one of the pastoral societies in Iran for which mobility has been the primary way of life for centuries. In early 1920s, an unpopular government policy to introduce market-based production system was adopted. In addition, forced resettlement started in 1925 and further land-reforms were made in 1963 which nationalized natural resources, including rangelands, forests, water and wildlife. These policies alienated the Qashqai from their common property land and customary rights (Roger Blench, 2001; and CENESTA). This has resulted in the loss of the pastoralists' lands and has degraded the lands under cultivation, which subsequently faced increased amounts of soil erosion, fragmentation of ecosystems by sedentary agriculture and social distress. In spite of these policies, pastoralists in Iran have still maintained their traditional land management systems thus blunting resettlement attempts (Blench R. , 2001).

Recently, the Iranian government has come to realize the importance of developing these mobile pastoral societies and has begun providing service to them that accommodate their mobile lifestyle. For example, a partnership has been forged between mobile communities and the government to ensure that education is available through mobile schools whilst meeting and even exceeding national standards (WISP, 2006).

¹¹ CENESTA = Iran Center for Sustainable Development, available at: <http://cenesta.org/>

CHAPTER III: BACKGROUND OF THE SOMALI REGIONAL STATE OF ETHIOPIA

3.1 Introduction

Ethiopia, officially known as the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, is a landlocked country in the horn of Africa and the 3rd most populous in Africa with more than 80 million people (CSA, 2008)¹². The capital city of the country, Addis Ababa, is also the headquarter of the African Union. Apart from its status of being the only African country to retain its independence through the colonial period, it is also one of the most ancient nations in the world. Ethiopia shares a border with Kenya to the south, Somalia to the east, Eretria¹³ and Djibouti to north, and Sudan to the west.

Ethiopia consists of nine states and two administrative councils with their own administrative structure under a federal system. There are about eighty-four indigenous languages from which Amharic was chosen as the national language since many people can understand it throughout the different regions in the country, though regional states also use their local languages for administrative purposes.

The Somali region is one of the nine regional states that constitute the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and is the case study area for this research. It is located in east and south-eastern part of Ethiopia bordered in the east and south-east by the Republic of Somalia, in the north by the Republic of Djibouti and Afar Region, in the south by Kenya and in the west by the

¹² 2010 estimates calculated from the CSA census data of 2007.

¹³ Eretria was part of Ethiopia before 1993

Oromia¹⁴ Region. The Somali Region is the second largest Regional State in Ethiopia with an approximate area of 350,000 km² and lies between 4 and 11 degrees N latitude and 40 and 48 degrees E longitude (Regional Investment Bureau, 2010). Administratively, the region consists of nine zones, 67 districts which further divided into 713 Kebeles (villages). Out of the 67 districts, 15 were established in March 2011 by the regional parliament.

Fig 3.1: Physical political satellite map of Ethiopia



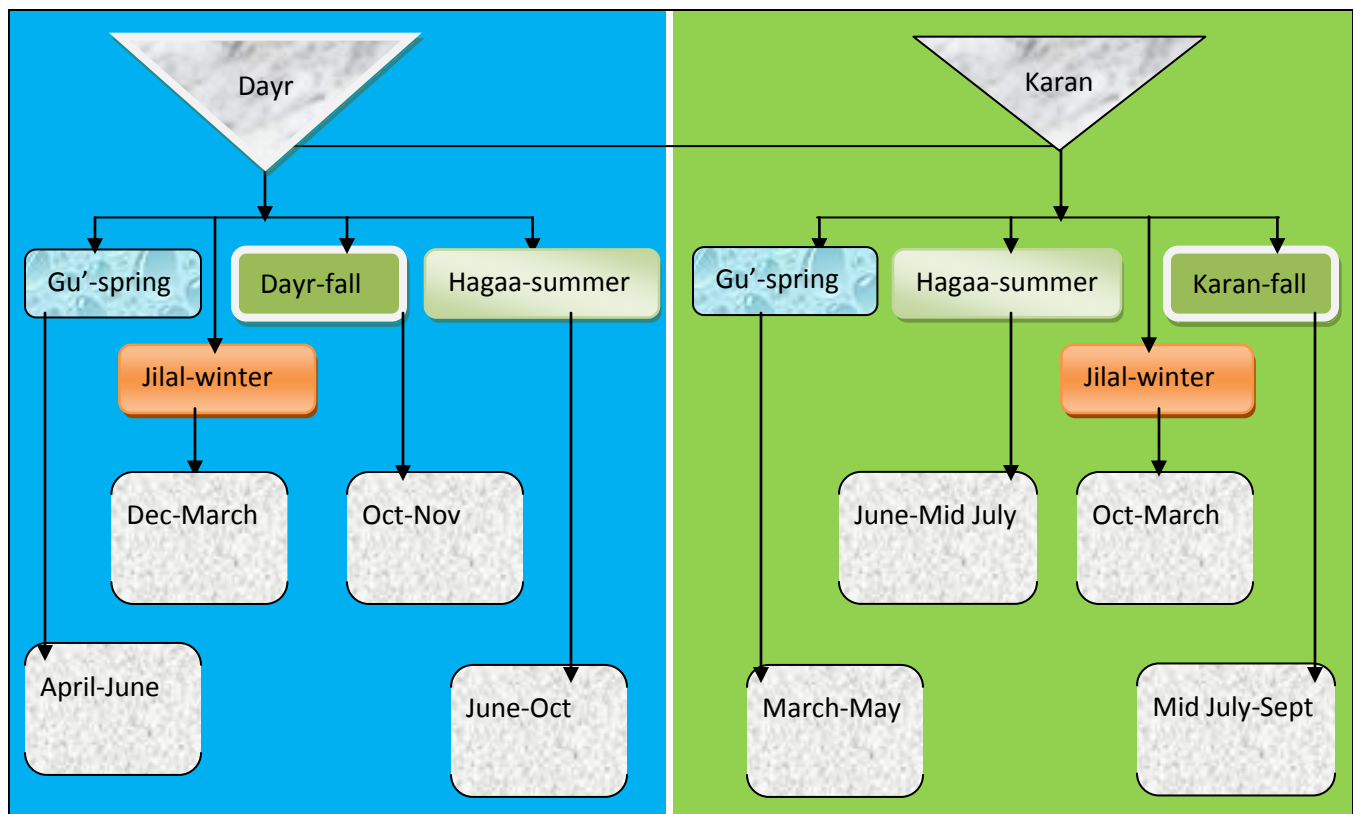
Source: Satellite image at <http://geology.com/world/ethiopia-satellite-image.shtml>

¹⁴ Afar and Oromia are among the regional states of Ethiopia

3.2 Climate

The Somali region has an arid (dry) and semi-arid climate. The region is hot in most of the year, with mean temperatures ranging from a low of 18 to 45 C⁰. Temperatures are cooler in the high altitudes especially in Jigjiga zone and parts of Afder zone (e.g. Elkare); and are hotter in areas around the main rivers of the region including Wayb, Genale, Shabele and Dawa rivers (BoFED, 2010). Annual rainfall ranges from 150mm in the low lying areas of the region to 660mm received in high altitude areas (LCRDB, 2009). The Region is divided into two ecological zones¹⁵ namely the *dayr* catchment areas and the *karan* catchment areas.

Figure 3.2: Climatic zones and periods of Somali Region



Source: Design based on the data from the Somali Regional Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Bureau (DPPB, 2011) and the community focus group discussions.

¹⁵ Dayr and Karan are local names called the two rainy seasons in the region, particularly at the autumn season

Dayr catchment areas consist of 7 zones namely, the Dagahbur, Korahe, Warder, Gode, Afder, Liban and Fik zones. They receive the *gu* (*spring*) rains, during the main rainy season, usually from April to June followed by the *dayr* rains from October to November. Similarly, the short dry season known as the *hagaa* falls between June and October, with the *jilaal*, the main dry season, stretching from December to March. For the karan, the Jigjiga and Shinile are the catchment zones and follow climate patterns more similar to the highland areas of the country. In these sub-regions, the *gu* falls between March and late May and is followed by the *hagaa* which continues to mid July. The *karan* rains fall from mid July to late September. The *jilaal* season which is normally the most difficult time of the year makes the most testing period for pastoralists and agro-pastoralists, lasts from October to mid March.

In the Somali region, rainfall is unevenly distributed. As mentioned earlier, the western and northern parts of the region receive an average annual rainfall ranging between 600 to 650 mm while, on the other hand, the south-eastern part of the region receives less than 200 mm of rainfall annually. In recent decades, the region has experienced a shortage of rainfall and there has been a total absence of rainfall for one to two years occurring every eight to ten years (LCRDB, 2009). The Ethiopian government believes that the global warming has contributed a lot to the recent shocks and rain failures.

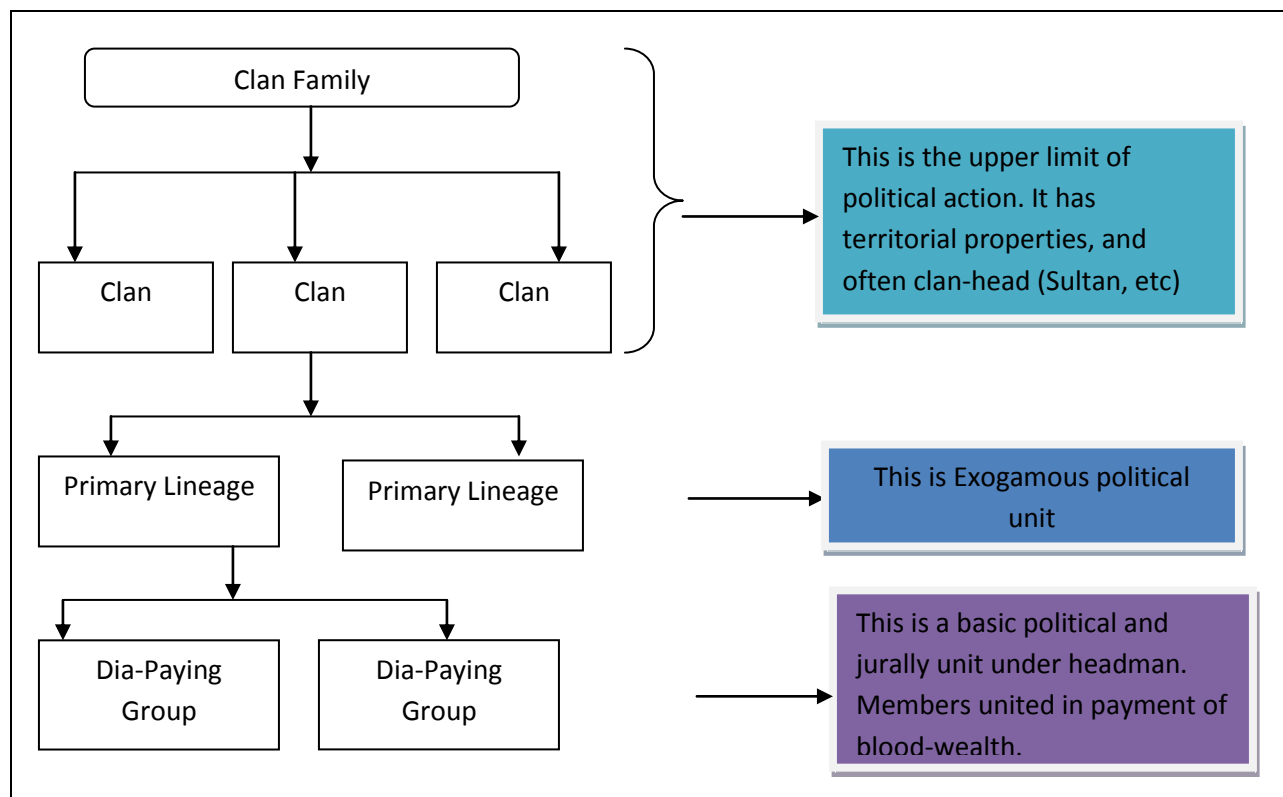
3.3 Social Setup

This section gives a brief explanation of the social structure of the pastoralists in the Somali region of Ethiopia because for any policy analysis towards a given community, it is necessary to know the role of the social organizations and their setup. If policies and strategies do not match

and go in line with the society's value, customs, habits and norms, then its practicality is under question.

Pastoral societies in the horn of Africa in general and the Somali region in particular have historically maintained a tightly organized social structure based kinship, clans and sub-clans. Administratively, clans have had powerful traditional governments headed by the leadership of Sultans, Ugazs, Garads and Wabars¹⁶. Under the management of the clan head, the community elders and religious people act as conflict arbitrators within and between clans. By using their own constitution, locally known as “*Heer*”, they manage resource conflicts and other social issues while the local government administrators execute their decisions on such matters.

Figure 3.3: Somali clan kinship system



Source: Adopted from I.M. Lewis (1961)

¹⁶ The name of heads is different with the different tribes. E.g. the head of Abaskul community who are based mainly in Jigjiga and D/Bur zones have Sultan while Issie and Ogaden clans have Ugases.

Based on the discussions made between the researcher and Kebribayah pastoralists, the clans of pastoralists are organized into groups that share many things like dia¹⁷ paying, communal labor (Guus) during harvesting or livestock watering, marriage support (Kaalo), Qaadhan/Halogoyo (contribution given to people lose their wealth) regardless of sex.

Traditionally in pastoral communities, women and men share tasks; however, they have also some gender assigned responsibilities. Women are responsible for domestic activities such as preparing food, collecting firewood, fetching water and taking care of the children while men do tasks like herding, watering, farming, and so on. Women have higher value in the pastoral societies and insulting or hurting a woman may result in conflicts that cause the loss of many lives and assets.

As previously stated, pastoralists have mobility pattern based on looking for water and pasture. Their destination, schedule of mobility and the distance travelled each day all depends on the rainfall. In the dry season, they move where water is available. Example, according to group discussions with Kebribayah visited communities, pastoralists move to Jarar and Fafan streams during the dry season or when there is shortage of water. Their radius movement ranges between 50 to 200km and based on the water availability. Before they move, they send a group of selected individuals called Sahan (scouts) who assess the potential areas that have water or pasture land. These scouts report their findings to the community and will determine where the group will move.

Movement declines whenever there is water and pasture for the livestock or when the community starts practicing other income diversification activities like farming. This is true to the pastoral

¹⁷ Dia paying is a payment of blood compensation when someone in a given lineage kills another one in other lineage. Dia paying group is interconnected 6 up to 10 generations deep (UNDP/RRC, 1984).

groups who live in the higher rainfall areas of Awbare, Tuliguled, Gursum, Babile and some parts of Jigjiga district. In Kebribayah district, in the areas that birkas (cisterns) are highly practiced are less mobile than areas that have lower birkas or other water points.

3.4 Population

Based on the 3rd Ethiopian Population and Housing census carried out in 2007, the total population of the country was estimated about 73,918,505 (CSA, 2008). According to this census, there are significant variations in the distribution of the population among regions. The estimated population size in diagram 3.4 which is calculated from 2007 census shows that the largest populated region is Oromia followed by Amhara and SNNP, while Harari region is lowest. In terms of nationality, Somali people are the 3rd largest in Ethiopia behind Oromia and Amhara.

The population of the Somali region is estimated at 4.8 million out of which 44 percent are females and the remaining 56 percent are males. Though there are areas that the 2007 census did not cover, but have been estimated indirectly.

The Somali region has a low population density with an average of 14 persons per square km, which also have further major variations among the districts of the region. In terms of the density, Afder and Warder Zones are the lowest with 10 and 6 P/Km² respectively, where Jigjiga is the highest with 53 P/km². As figure 3.4 shows, population concentration is highest in Jigjiga zone where about a quarter of the region's population lives. This is followed by Shinile and the riverine areas of Gode, Afder and Liban zones. The least populated zone is Warder which hosts about 330,000 people and the average household size in the region is 6.6. The urban population is also estimated to be 14 percent of the total population.

Figure 3.4: Percentage distribution of population by the regions of Ethiopia estimated from 2007 census¹⁸

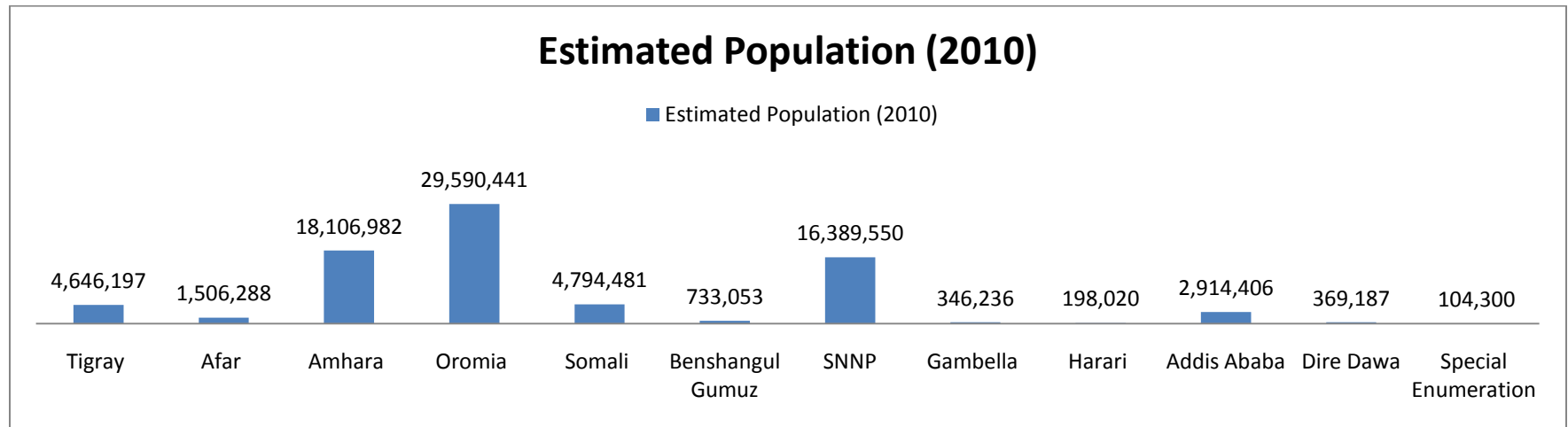
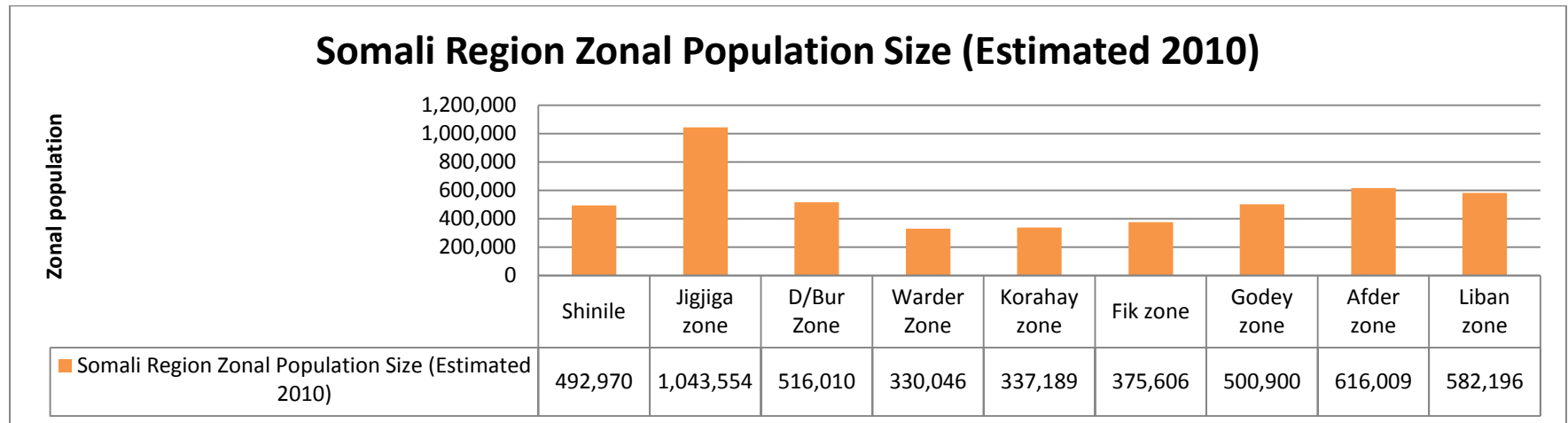


Figure 3.5: Zonal population distribution of Somali Region estimated from the 2007 census



¹⁸ Source of the above two diagrams are based on the researcher's own calculation and drawings

3.5 Poverty Condition and Wealth Characterization in Somali Region

3.5.1 Poverty Condition

A study carried out by Pastoralism Forum Ethiopia (PFE)¹⁹ in 2006 showed that pastoral poverty exists primarily in the geographically semi-arid areas of the country, such as the Somali region, where absolute poverty exists. This absolute poverty is characterized of lack/loss of livestock resources, basic needs (food, shelter and clothes), social infrastructure and instable security condition due to conflict over the limited resources. Though the rural population of Ethiopia depends on both agriculture and livestock along with the support of food aid during the drought years, pastoralists are among the poorest societies in the country. “Nomadic pastoral areas have the highest rate of poverty and least access to basic social services” (PACT-Ethiopia, 2008)

Pastoralists in the Somali region have been historically marginalized. Though there are no updated figures about poverty measurement in this region, it is estimated the poverty level in the region to be 35% and 20% in rural and urban areas respectively (Stefan Dercon, 1997; HHICES: 1995/96 data). However, there is a big concern on the accuracy of this data at that time.

According to the focus group discussions with Kebribeyah visited pastoral communities, pastoral poverty is based on livestock threats since pastoralists basically depend on livestock for their livelihood in terms of food, cash income, source of wealth saving, means of transport and plough power for land cultivation. The harsh environment (arid and semi-arid) with low and the erratic rainfall also characterize their poverty compared to the farmers live in highland areas that have enough annual rainfall with different harvesting periods.

¹⁹ PFE is an NGO based in Ethiopia that promotes pastoral rights and issues.

3.5.2 Wealth Characterization among Pastoralists in the Somali Region

Based on the discussions with pastoral communities in Kebribeyah, the condition of being poor or rich is defined in terms of the number and type of animals owned by the households. BULADARI pastoral community believes that as the number of animal increases, the greater will be the coping and adaptive ability of the household. In addition, households with camels and goats are wealthier than those with cattle or sheep since camel has various benefits and survive long in the drought seasons.

Furthermore, there are cases where social network and cultural values have significant contribution in characterization of the wealth groups. Clan chiefs and religious leaders are example in this case where every one year or two years community grants them amount of livestock.

On the other hand, for the agro-pastoral communities in Kebribeyah district, like the Qaaha and Danaba communities, wealth is a function of some amount of cattle and ox and land holding for crop cultivation. According to the discussions with the community elders, most poor agro-pastoralists households are, in one way or another, those who lost their animals through repeated shocks.

Pastoralists and agrarians often perceive each other as though the other group's life style is an inferior and transitory livelihood system that should be replaced. An elder from Qaaha Village reported during the discussion that in the past pastoralists and agrarians refused to marry one another, but this attitude is now changing in a mutual understanding manner. This shows that pastoralists and the other rural communities differ from each other and how every community needs its own policy considerations and interventions.

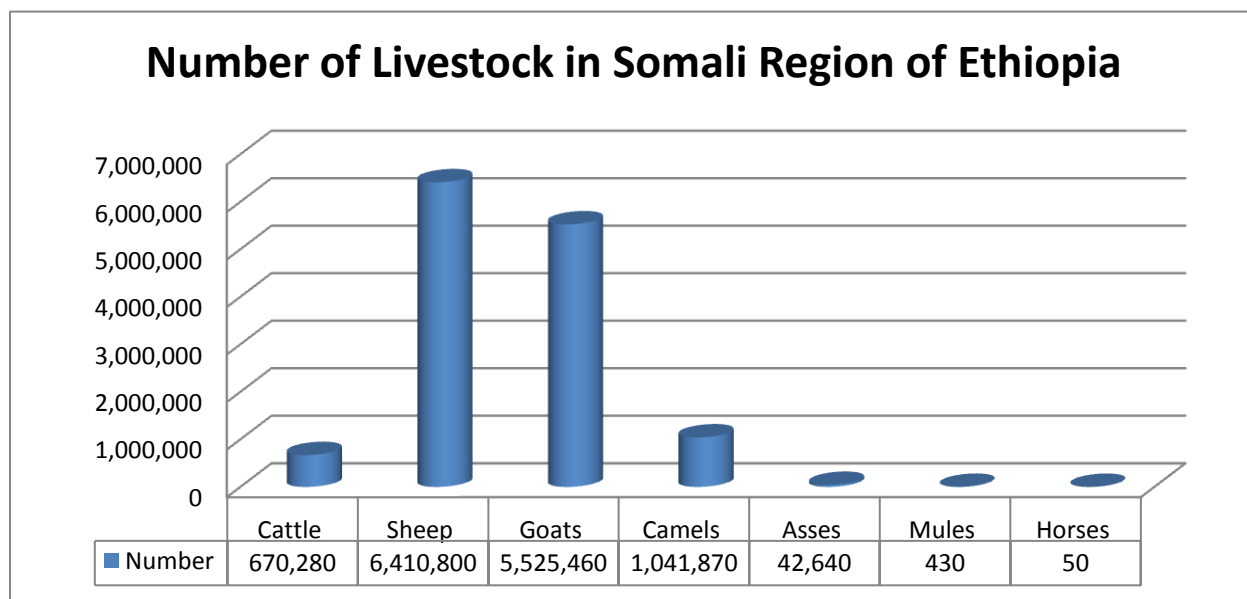
3.6 General Socio-Economic Situation of the Somali Region

Historically, the Somali region has suffered from political instability, harsh climatic conditions, mobility for survival, and low basic infrastructures that have left socio-economically underdeveloped. The vast majority of the population of the region is pastoralists and agro-pastoralists dependent on livestock and mixed farming for their survival. The region has various rural livelihood classifications divided into pastoral, agro-pastoral, riverine and sedentary farming areas. The major sources of income, as would be expected in such a region, include livestock and livestock product sales, crop sales, firewood and charcoal sales, petty trade and remittances from the diaspora of the region.

3.6.1 Agriculture & Livestock Sector:

The state of agriculture in the Somali region is, like other parts of Ethiopia, underdeveloped. Although agricultural growth in the highland areas is driven mainly by grain production, livestock remains the chief economic driver in the Somali region. According to an aerial survey carried out by Central Statistical Authority of Ethiopia in November 2003, Somali Regional State is among the top regions that possess the largest number of the Ethiopian livestock and estimated about 14 million heads (see figure 3.6). The regional BOFED (2010:33) reports a different number and estimates the number of the livestock in the region about 23.6 million heads comprising of cattle, sheep, goat, camel, and equines.

Figure 3.6: The Estimated Number of Livestock in Somali Pastoralist Area 2003



Source: CSA, Ethiopia

Though the region has these vast resources, it was not fully successful in providing the maximum benefit from its livestock. Political marginalization, instability & conflicts, water driven stress, market failure (due to domestic and international factors), high prevalence of plant and animal diseases and inefficient husbandry practices are the primary factors for the low productivity in the sector. Poor genetic make-up and environmental factors are also other contributing factors causing asset depletion and destitution in the region.

3.6.2 Food Security:

Food insecurity in the region has been a major concern in the last two decades, making pastoral life unsustainable and due to the gradual degradation of the rangelands and the depletion of the pasture/vegetation. The Somali Regional BOFED (2010) reported that for the last five years, the recurrent drought affected nearly 1.5 million people in the region annually and poverty worsened

dramatically. This problem can only be addressed if the region's immense resources are efficiently used.

In addition to the ability of the Somali region to support livestock resources, the region is adequately endowed with arable land that can produce various crop types including rice, wheat, and maize. It is also endowed with river basins such as the Wabi Shabelle, Genale, Wayb and Dawa and streams of which the most prospective are the Dakata, Fafan, Jarar, and Erar valleys. Each of these areas is rich with alluvial soils and moderate ecology that potentially able to support both livestock and crop production activities (LCRDB, 2009). According to the Somali Regional Water Bureau (2010), these rivers and streams have around 600,000 hectares of arable and fertile land along their banks.

Despite the existence of these major rivers and seasonal streams with vast arable and grazing land, production is entirely rain-fed and the population is enormously market-dependent on access to food and cash income. In other words, the region has not yet benefited from these huge resources in order to break the vicious circle of the prolonged food insecurity issues in the rural pastoral areas.

3.6.3 Social Service:

A. *Access to Water Supply:*

Water is the fundamental constraint for the living things on the earth. It is the basic and the entry point of any development. Water security is a major concern in the developing world. Ethiopia, like the other developing nations, has a very low base of sustainable, adequate and potable water. The nine regional states of Ethiopia have different geological and geographical characteristics and thus their water coverage varies as well. The Somali Regional State is one of the most water

scarce and drought prone areas in Ethiopia marked by low rainfall and high evaporation. Thus, as mentioned earlier, drought has become more frequent and tends to be a major problem in terms of asset loss and resources depletion.

Apart from river water and seasonal streams which are unsanitary for humans to drink, ground water is the main source of water for both domestic and livestock in the region. Traditional communities owned hand dug wells (HDW) and Birkas which are widely practiced in the region but are both environmentally unfriendly and unsanitary. Rain water is also harvested commonly when and where there is no ground water or if it is too deep for the people to reach. Moreover, in most parts of the region ground water is too deep to reach while in some areas is so shallow but with saline water that is unfit for domestic and livestock consumption.

Despite the fact that many attempts were done in improving the water sector during the last decade, the region continues to face ever increasing challenges for managing its resources in a socially, environmentally and economically acceptable & efficient manner.

B. Access to Education:

Education is the cornerstone for any meaningful development in any country whether developed or developing. Pastoralists have the lowest enrollment in education in Ethiopia. In some of the Somali pastoral areas and in many other pastoral communities in Ethiopia, there is no school available at all, and in areas with schools, enrollment is only around 20% or 30% of school aged children (PACT-Ethiopia, 2008). Apart from the low enrollment rates of the pastoralists' children in Somali region, there is a high dropout rate particularly during the dry seasons.

Little has been done in the preprimary education. The access and the quality of primary and the secondary educations are very limited and below the national standards set in PASDEP.

The Somali region in collaboration with the federal government and the NGOs has been trying to improve the access, quality, equity, efficiency, and relevance of education sector to the pastoralist people of the region who lacked education opportunities in the previous regimes of Ethiopia. Though the region is still far from the desired level, there are some positive changes in the education sector in terms of the basic education facilities, general enrolment rate at different levels, access and gender equity in education, awareness of public of the importance of education and their participation and contributions.

C. Access to Health Service:

The major health problems of the region have historically been preventable communicable diseases and nutritional disorders. Malaria, TB, maternal health-related complications, diarrhea, and malnutrition cases are the leading causes of both outpatients' admissions and deaths in the pastoral areas of the region. Though significant progress were made in tackling these diseases in the last decade and a half to improve the health of the population; yet, region's population, especially the pastoralists, still faces high morbidity rates relatively compared to the other regional states of Ethiopia.

To improve the access to health services, a four-tiered system has been introduced and implemented in the country including the Somali region. According to the Ethiopian health sector development program one (HSDP-I), the first level of the primary health care (PHC) unit comprises of outfitting one health center and five satellite health posts per 25,000 people, while district, zonal and regional referral hospitals expected to serve 250,000, 1,000,000 and 5,000,000 people respectively.

Recently, the Ethiopian Federal Ministry of Health (MOH) has introduced a three-tier health care delivery system characterized by a primary district health system comprising a hospital to serve a population coverage of 60,000-100,000 people, health centers to serve 15,000-25,000 and smaller satellite health posts for 3,000-5,000 connected to one another through a unified referral system. The primary hospital, health center and health posts form a primary health care unit (PHCU) with each health center serviced by five satellite health posts.

Offices at different levels of the health sector in Somali region from regional health bureau to the district health offices share divided responsibilities and duties in decision-making process. The FMOH and regional health bureaus (RHBs) focus more on policy matters and technical support while district health offices concentrate on practical roles of managing and coordinating the daily operations of district health systems under their jurisdiction.

3.6.4 Infrastructure Sector:

Road construction plays a central role in realizing economic development through decreasing travel time, minimizing travelling expenses and improving trade, education and health sectors. In Somali region, the state of transportation infrastructure is very primitive and most of the people in rural pastoral areas use pack animal such as camels and donkeys for transportation. Due to this, the transportation costs are high which subsequently raises the cost of the food items & raw materials in the inter-district or zonal trade which then makes the whole marketing system to become logistically difficult for the poor pastoralists and agro-pastoralists. However, there are currently few asphalt roads under-construction that are capable of connecting the main towns of the region. One of these roads connects Jigjiga to Godey through Kebribeyah district to the

D/Bur and K/Dahar zones. This road also connects to the neighboring regions and to the rest of the country.

The same is true of the low level of the access to electricity. Few towns in Jigjiga and Shinile zones have regular electricity while most of the regional towns have generators that are used for a few hours at nights. Communication systems have been improving more quickly in the last few years though adequate communication service are lacking. Telephone lines, mobiles, video conferencing systems, and internet connection are moving fast to the regional districts. Yet there remains much to improve in this sector.

3.6.5 Governance Sector:

Ethiopia, officially known as the “Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia”, adopted ethnic based federalism system in 1991, after the fall of Marxism government. Based on this new organizational system, nine regional states have been formed and devolution of power has taken place. Each region has the three government branches: the Legislative, Judiciary and Executive bodies. The Amharic language was taken as the national language, while regional states use their own local languages in all administrative and social aspects. Regional states have also decentralized their power to lower level tiers. Nevertheless, each government level has its own duties and responsibilities. This has been illustrated in figure 4.10 of chapter four, section 4.3.6.1.

In the Somali region, the Constitution of the region grants the regional parliament the power of legislating, oversight and controlling governmental bodies and to take measures it deems necessary; approving the appointment of government officials and facilitating the conditions for members to meet with the electorate in the respective constituencies. To ensure the role of the people guaranteed by the constitution, regional and local elections are convened. Thus, in

2010, parliamentary electorate took place at regional, district and village level governments and new governments were established. Yet, the implementation capacity is a real challenge in the pastoral areas of Somali region due to shortage of skilled manpower, infrastructure, and inappropriate policies for the nomadic pastoralists.

To sum up, poor social services, inferior basic infrastructures, deep-rooted instability, lack of pastoral development policies in the past and many other factors have caused pastoral drop-outs, leading to chronic dependence on humanitarian assistance for survival. In general, the region is substantially underdeveloped and its population is under-served.

To solve these problems, there are many efforts being undertaken by both the Federal and the Regional governments. The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia has introduced poverty reduction strategies intended to enhance the economics of the country and achieve the MDGs. Among these was the last poverty reduction strategy named as the Plan for accelerated and Sustained Development to end Poverty (PASDEP). However, many are doubtful about the effectiveness of this strategy in some areas of the country, sighting mostly the pastoral regions like the Somali Region. Therefore, in the next chapter, we plan to analyze the opportunities and challenges of PASDEP in implementing pastoral communities by focusing largely the Somali Region.

CHAPTER IV: DISCUSSION AND FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

Since the main research question set at the outset was to identify the challenges, opportunities and policy gaps of implementing poverty reduction strategy (PASDEP) in the pastoral areas of Somali region of Ethiopia, this chapter, therefore, deals with the findings related to this issue. In this chapter, we also examine the performance of PASDEP by evaluating the actual achievements against the planned sector targets.

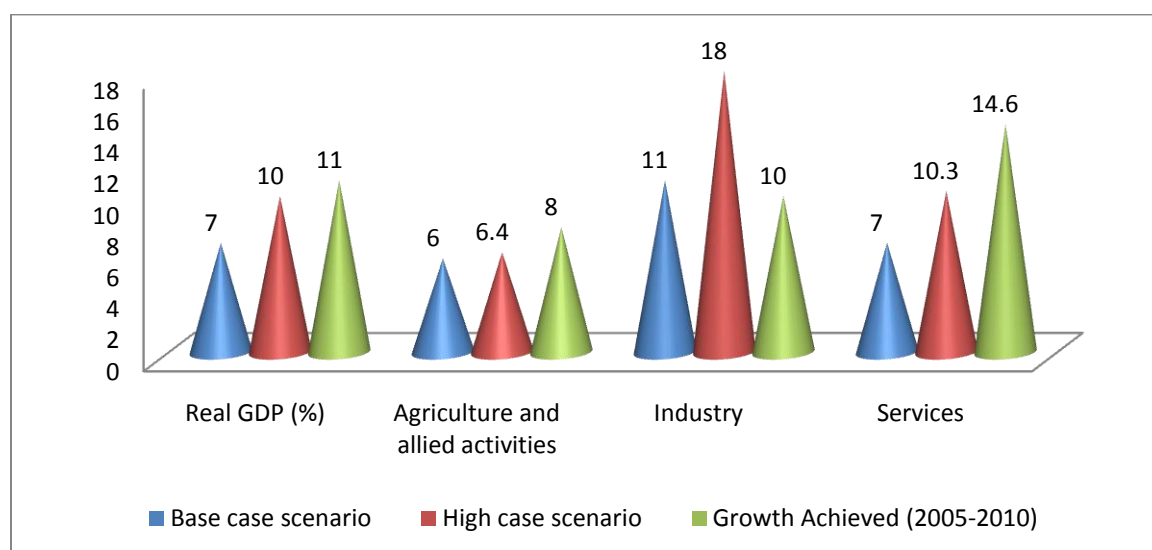
4.2 Major Achievements of the Development Interventions in the Somali Region

Before we go into analyzing the performance of PASDEP in the pastoral areas of Somali region of Ethiopia, we briefly discuss about this strategy and its overall status in Ethiopia. This poverty reduction strategy is known as the Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP). It is a broad strategy touching almost all the sectors including the pastoral communities. Being the country's guiding strategic framework for the five-year period of 2005/06-2009/10, PASDEP was intended to define the nation's overall strategy, lay out the directions, programs and policies to eradicate poverty, achieve people centered economic development and pave the ground for the MDGs' attainment (MoFED, 2005).

The PASDEP's main pillars are building all-inclusive implementation capacity; accelerating economic growth; and balancing between the two growths- the economic and population growth; investing in women involvement; developing the human resource and infrastructure; generating employment opportunities and controlling risk and volatility (MOFED, 2005:57).

According to MOFED (2010:4), to realize the main objectives of PASDEP at country level, the government has established two alternative growth scenarios: the base scenario and the high case scenario. In the base scenario which is based on Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) requirements, 7 % annual average real GDP growth was targeted while the target in the higher case scenario was set at an average real GDP growth of 10 % (MDGs Plus). Based on the IMF reports (2010), Ethiopia made a significant progress in all areas of the Millennium Development Goals during the five years of PASDEP.

Figure 4.1: Growth Targets and Performance under PASDEP



Source: MOFED 2010 (GTP 2010/11-2014/15)

Figure 4.1 illustrates that during PASDEP period, the average real GDP growth achieved was 11.0 % which is higher than the growth targets set under both scenarios. As per the MOFED report (2010:05), this growth was due to a “combination of emphasis on diversification and commercialization of small scale agriculture; expansion of non-agricultural production in services and industry; capacity building and good governance; off farm employment especially through small enterprises, massive investment in infrastructure”.

Nevertheless, since the pastoral communities highly depend on livestock and its products, the doubt here is to the extent that pastoralists contributed to the GDP which, in other words, implies the real performance of PASDEP in the pastoral communities. Furthermore, NGOs and donors disagree over the current development blue print plan and have been highly criticized the PASDEP by the lack of appropriate consideration to some important sectors. The pastoral issues have received little attention in the PASDEP (PFE, 2006). In the following sub-units, we will analyze the implementation of the PASDEP in the pastoral areas of the Somali region and at the same time identify its challenges, opportunities and policy gaps.

4.2.1 Agriculture, Livestock and Food Security Development

4.2.1.1 Agriculture and Livestock

After the fall of the dictatorship government in 1991, the regional government put in various efforts towards the development of the agriculture sector by focusing on research interventions, formation of cooperatives and integrated development activities. According to the Somali Regional Livestock, Crop and Rural Development Bureau's (LCRDB) 2010 report, there are some tangible state of development in the region's livestock & agriculture sector. Livestock health coverage is currently 50.6% with livestock population per veterinarian and per clinic being 10,760.6 and 738,781 head respectively. This far below the target set of 80% to achieve at the end of PASDEP period, 2010. In the region, there are about 31 animal health clinics and 273 animal health posts. The population of livestock per animal health post is also 82,660 animals.

It is important to notice here that the coverage calculation is not based on the exact livestock population that gets service, but rather based on the estimated capacity that could utilize the existing facilities. Furthermore, these facilities do not cover the region equally as districts in Fik

and Korahay zones²⁰ have lower livestock health coverage than other districts that are better off. In Kebribayah district, there are 24 health posts and two livestock forage multiplication centers in which the district officials reported that about 399,000 of animals were treated in first half of the year of 2010 by using these facilities (Kebribayah Administration, 2010). In most cases, there is debate on the districts reports of the number of the animals treated or vaccinated. In the dry season, livestock resources are often depleted due to either lack of water and pasture, or diseases resulting from the drought or a combination of both.

In terms of the farmers' knowledge improvement activities and the other related capacity building programs, there are about 73 farmers' training centers and 8 development agency (DA) training centers in the region. Of the villages of Kebribayah district included in the study area, three villages (Qaaha, Gilo & Horakalifo) have their own farmers' training centers. Gilo and Horakalifo were more of pastoral communities rather farmers but due to the recent frequency droughts in the region, some of the households lost their livestock and are trying to adopt a mixed farming system in order to survive. Thus, the farmers' training centers support these communities so that the new farmers can adopt the new livelihood system that they have switched to.

On top of this, in order to improve the efficiency and the effectiveness in the production of the livestock and the agriculture sector, the region has established five actively functioning research centers (Jigjiga, Fafen, Godey, Dabafayd-Camel and pasture- and Dolo-ado), and 4 sub- centers (Kalafo, Jarrati, and Yicib-Bookh) in Jigjiga, Liban, Afder, Godey and Warder Zones. These centers and sub-centers engage in crop and livestock production and development, and the development of natural resources. More specifically, the centers research on livestock cross-

²⁰ The coverage of these zones is low due to security concerns

breeding for increasing milk and meat yields; livestock fattening techniques; improvement of camels reproduction; introduction and adaptation of new crop and livestock technologies; multiplication of improved crop and forage seeds; development of forests, soil and water conservation techniques; conservation of endangered plant species, forests and rangelands; and technology dissemination.

The regional Livestock, Crop and rural Development Bureau (LCRDB) has also established soil and livestock disease laboratories that test soil and the livestock diseases services that were not available in the region previously. Moreover, there is one quarantine facility under-construction that will provide an animal health checkpoint near Harorays town in Jigjiga district to improve health and quality of the livestock and also to combat transnational animal and plant diseases.

4.2.1.2 Food Security

As we have mentioned in the introduction chapter, the region is endowed with fertile and arable land and huge river basins such as Wabi Shabelle, Genale, Wayb and Dawa but not get used so far. To benefit from the huge river waters and the ample resources of the arable land, the Ethiopian government has declared a Pastoral Development Policy²¹ in 2008. This strategy is meant to diversify pastoral livelihoods from exclusively rearing livestock to stable sedentary system. To this effect, the regional government began large scale joint river basin development schemes and resettlement program by devising the region into five distinct development corridors. Each corridor has its own specific needs depending on the prevailing socio-economic

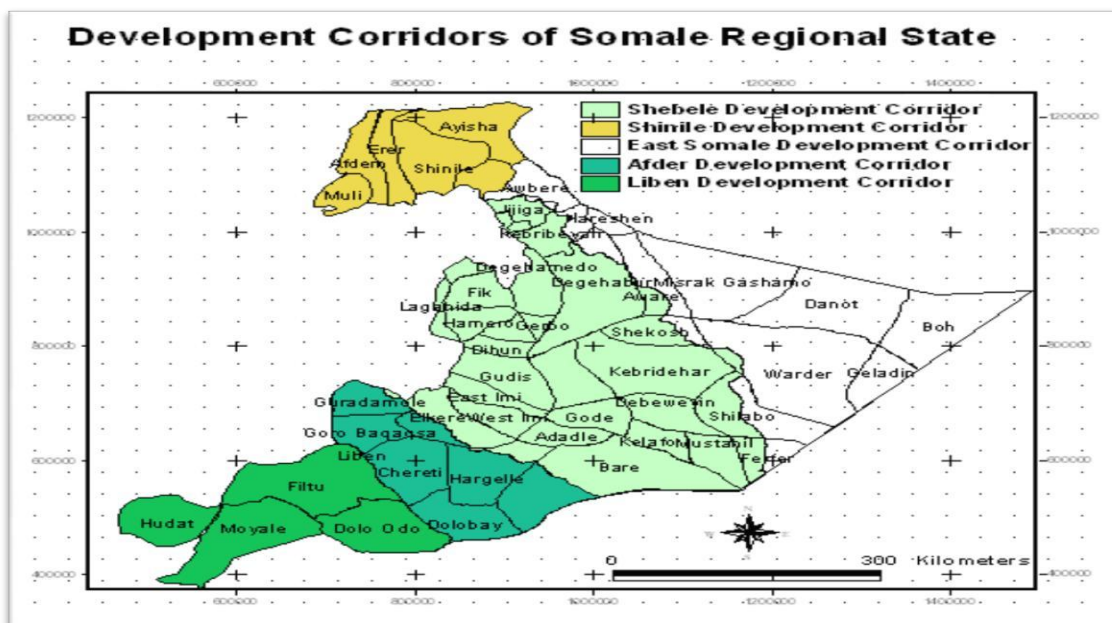
²¹ PASDEP did not cover well about Pastoral food security issues and that is why this Pastoral Policy Development was initiated though it was at the last years of PASDEP period.

characteristics, resource potentials, and agro-ecology and topography characteristics of the region (BDCO, 2011)²².

The five development corridors are:

- 1) **The Shinile Development Corridor** - Covers part of the Somali region in Awash Basin;
- 2) **The Shebel Basin Development Corridor** - This corridor covers most parts of the Shebele basin in the region;
- 3) **The Liben Development Corridor** - This corridor covers most parts of the Dawa basin and partly Ganale River;
- 4) **The Afder Development Corridor** - covers part of the Genale Basin in Somali region,
- 5) **The East Somali Development Corridor** - Consisting in the Eastern part of the region and South of Shinile.

Figure 4.2: Development Corridors of the Somali Regional State



Source: Regional Basin Development Office Document (2011).

²² BDCO = Basin Development Coordination Office of the Somali region

In late 2009, the basin development programme was fully launched in the Somali region. At the river basin of Liban, Afder and Godey zones, there has been mobilization of resources to resettle pastoralists in that area along the river banks. The plan called to settling 99,300 households but, as per the regional BDCO's report of 2011, it became successful to resettle about 86,000 (87%) households and more than 37,000 hectares were converted into plantations (refer table 4.2).

Figure 4.3 Photo of the Baran settlement



Source: Picture from Somali Regional BDCO (2011)

Table 4.1 illustrates the planned resettlement activities and the achievements as of 2011. Nearly half million people have resettled around the Wabi Shabelle, Genale, Wayb and Dawa river basins. Figure 4.3 shows Baran resettlement area where people have already started living in

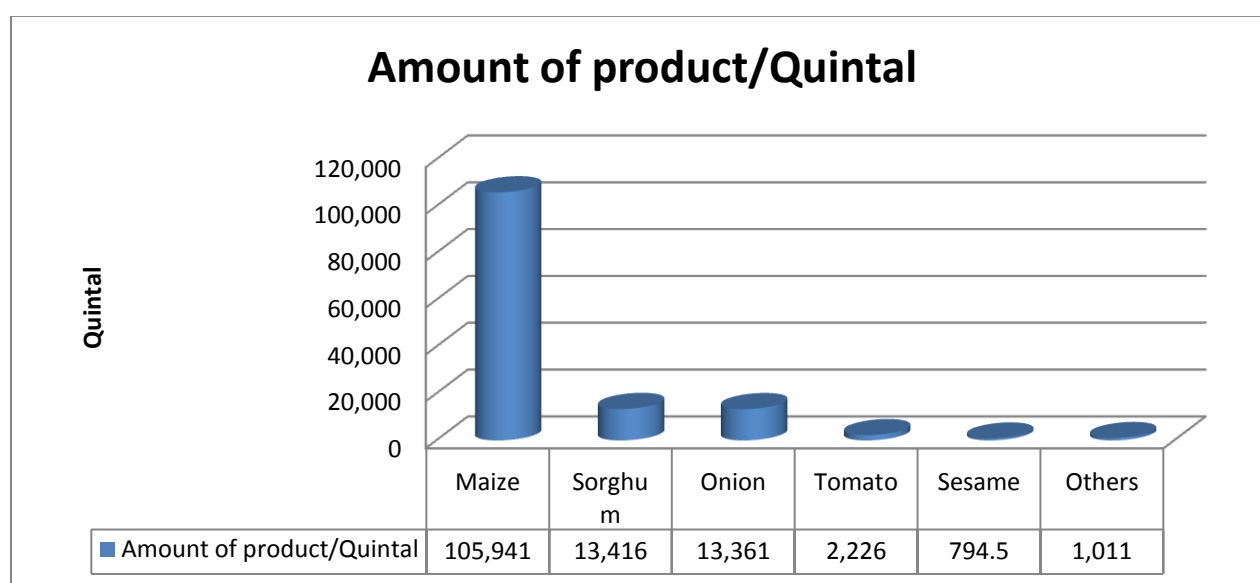
settled communities. These resettled communities have produced about 136,749.5 quintals of crops since 2010 (see figure 4.4).

Table 4.1: Mass Resettlement Program in Riverine Areas of Somali Region

S/n	Name of the Zone	Resettlement Sites	Planned Households to settle	Total Households settled	Land Prepared and Developed			
					Irrigable land	Distributed land	Prepared land	Harvested land
	Liban	36	27500	17112	45788	8397	5178	1994
	Afder	36	37,000	32,092	46790	13632	28454	14347
	Godey	52	34800	35857	66460	28550	35950	20754
	Total	122	99,300	85861	159738	50579	69582	37095

Source: Data from Somali Regional BDCO (2011)

Figure 4.4: Production as a result of the resettlement program is summarized



Source: Basic Development Coordination Office (2011)

To encourage the resettlement process, the government has provided basic social services. In these areas, there are 233 schools, 125 water schemes, 92 animal health posts, 118 human health posts, 23 FTC centers and 10 stores as well as 160 Development Agencies (DA), 500 health extension workers and 270 teachers were also deployed. Where permanent facilities do not exist to provide these services, temporary services were prepared in tents. Trainings on agricultural practices on farm demonstration sites are also given. With regard to the introduction of new technologies to these resettling pastoralists, nearly 50,000 units of various agricultural hand tools and about 6,000 units of dewatering (irrigation) pumps were supplied.

On the other hand, there are enormous tasks in Shinile zone in which the government is constructing water points for about 200 km land. The objective of this work is to enhance the rangelands in that zone, provide water to the people and the livestock and to reduce the mobility of pastoralists.

As we have discussed in the review of literature chapter, the issue that NGOs and donors are concerned is whether the resettlements were forced or voluntary. But the regional government reported that the resettlement program was conducted on a voluntary basis on the part of both recipient community and the settlers. On the other hand, some misunderstood the pastoral life as a choice or inherited cultural character. During the field research, pastoralists described their mobility as a copying mechanism to deal with persistent droughts and conflicts (see figure 4.5). Pastoral elders stated that if they were able to obtain sufficient water, fodder and pasture for their animals, there is no reason to move to distant areas unless there are wars or conflicts between different tribes and clans.

The supporters of the resettlement policy also focus on the livelihood diversification aspects which received limited policy attention in the past. The PASDEP emphasis on livelihood diversification within the agriculture sector and it is one of its challenges towards pastoral development strategies. Still, the new pastoral development policy declared recently focuses on the resettlement of the pastoralists around rivers and water potential areas and gives poor consideration in targeting the nomadic pastoralists in the arid parts of the region where access to water is the main challenge.

Figure 4.5: Mobile pastoralists in Buladari area, Kebribayah district



Source: Picture from Buladari site

Thus, sustainable development and poverty reduction could be realized in the arid pastoral areas if the diversification issue moves beyond farming and promotes livestock and livestock product based trade of milk, hides and skins, and animals. Yet, the current resettlement program has

challenges which hindered the expected production capacity. Some of the main challenges include:

- A lack of community awareness on the advantages of resettlement program,
- Land ownership claims by the clans settled there,
- Extensive drought and dryness of the rivers,
- Shortage of the skilled manpower and the agricultural materials,
- Inadequate basic social facilities, and
- Flooding of the rivers after rains started

We can see from here that the implementation of the resettlement policy creates strategic challenges. The availability of water in most parts of the corridors will be a bottlenecked for the foreseeable future. Water development for irrigation, whether for channeling groundwater flows, river diversion or runoff catchments will all require investments in infrastructure and management capacity. Effective sustainable land use management combined with transport, communication and market infrastructural development will also be required. A crucial challenge is the parallel to improve the productivity of livestock and develop special intervention programs in the arid pastoral areas to transform into settled livelihood and improve their standard of living.

On the other hand, the diversification or the mixed farming system is not new to the region however only recently have these areas been used for resettlement on such a large scale. In most areas of the Jigjiga zone including Kebribayah district, agro-pastoralism has been a booming cultivation strategy. In an interview with Kebribayah district officials, they informed me that nearly 20,000 hectares were cultivated land during the rainy season. There are two streams, the Jarar and Fafan that flow through Kebribayah district, which remains underutilized for

agricultural use. It is vital to introduce the same resettlement program to these pastoral communities around these two streams so that to enhance their living standard.

4.2.1.3 Agriculture, Livestock and Food Security Challenges

Despite the efforts towards development being undertaken in the region, there are number of lingering problems and challenges impeding the progress of agriculture and livestock sector. From the interviews and focus group discussions made with the different groups, the major PASDEP gaps and challenges are discussed below regarding the planning period for implementing agricultural and livestock policies in the pastoral areas. The challenges are discussed as follows:

- ❖ During the planning period, there was absence of a coherent rural development strategy compatible with local pastoral conditions in the region. Under PASDEP, there was no clear strategy of how to develop more effective livestock rearing techniques while at the same time transforming the society from traditional pastoral subsistence livestock production system into settled one. The PASDEP is only concerned with livelihood diversification within the agriculture sector.
- ❖ According to a study made by PCDP (2007), there is also absence of existing policies and strategies to institutionalize people centered participatory development approaches as well as lack of clear strategy regarding communal rangeland tenure. In pastoral areas, since the land belongs to the clans, there was no defined strategy with regard to the pastoral land use policy.
- ❖ There is an ever-increasing frequency of climatic hazards, especially droughts and land degradation, in the pastoral areas which always leads to water shortage and in turn results

in losses in production and income as well as acute and chronic food insecurity which are worsened by population growth, and land competition driven by limited grazing pursuits.

- ❖ In addition, the absence of the basic infrastructures like roads, communication network, electrification, rural credit facilities, marketing facilities and the lack of access to financial institutions in most parts of the region have also worsened the region's low productivity of the agriculture and the livestock sector.
- ❖ A shortage of skilled human resource, funding and agricultural inputs are essential issues limiting the implementation of PASDEP in the pastoral areas.

4.2.2 Water Sector Development in Somali Region

Ethiopians have a very low base of access to potable drinking water. In PASDEP, the plan was to increase the access of rural water supply from 44% to 80% within a radius of 1.5 km while for the urban planned from 80.6% to 92.5% within a radius of 0.5 km at the end of 2009/10 (MOFED, 2005). Both federal and the region governments are struggling to meet the MDGs target of improving access to safe water within a reasonable distance by the year 2015.

According to the discussion with the Somali Regional Water Bureau officials, the major achievements of Water Sector Development Programme Plan of the region include: the drilling and construction of deep and shallow wells, river intakes, Haffir dams and installations of water supply systems in the pastoral villages and urban towns. Table 4.2 shows the major achievements of the region for the last two decades.

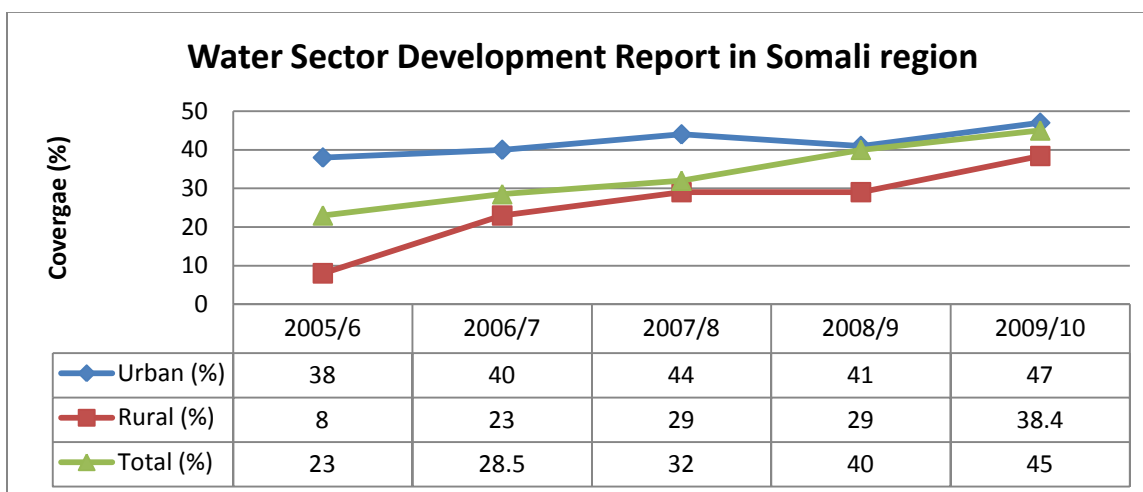
Table 4.2: Major water sector achievements in Somali region in the last 20 years

<i>Description</i>	<i>Progress</i>
Drilling and construction of underground water points	-325 deep and shallow wells completed and 6 are under progress
Construction of surface water	-6 Haffir dams completed and 6 are in construction -14 river intakes of which 3 are under construction
Water supply system installation	-16 rural villages are on the verge of completion -9 urban town water supply projects are under progress

Source: Data from regional Water Bureau (2010)

The water supply, sanitation and hygiene program (WASH)²³ funded by the World Bank has also made a major contribution to improving the regional water sector development. This program is active in 31 districts of the region and has become an important source for financial aid and capacity building for the regional water bureau. These efforts have increased the access of water in many parts of the region. Figure 4.6 shows the regional progress made in terms of the water coverage for the last five years (2005-2010).

Figure 4.6: Water Coverage in Somali Regional State (2005-2010)



Source: WSDP report of the Somali Region (2005-2010).

²³ The program is designed to enhance the water coverage of the region and at the same time decentralize the water activities by building the capacity of local governments and grassroots level communities.

As shown in figure 4.6, water is available for 45% of the total population (47% for urban areas and 38.4% for rural areas) benefiting nearly 2 million people of the 4.8 million in the region (Regional WB, 2010). The performance of PASDEP's water intervention in the pastoral areas of the Somali region is very low compared to the set targets which are 80% and 92.5% for rural and urban areas respectively. However, even such kind of coverage²⁴ is based on calculations from the existing facilities regardless of whether they are utilized (functional) or not. In most cases, water schemes are un-functional for several reasons including the lack of spare parts; poor community awareness in terms of its utilization; and limited knowledge towards operation and maintenance of the facilities.

Distribution of the water facilities is uneven throughout the regional districts. In Harshin district, the only water source comes from traditional wells (*birkas*). Harshin does not have ground water facilities because it is too deep to drill. However, in Kebribeyah, the situation is different. It has 12 underground water schemes and many more traditional wells. But as mentioned above, half of these wells are not in use for they are damaged. In the visited areas of Kebribeyah district, they don't have enough water schemes for consumption, except in Qaaha village which has 7 boreholes and Horakalifo which has one borehole. They mostly depend on the traditional *birkas* which holds water for short-period of time (see figure 4.7). These *birkas* hold the water in the rainy season and mostly dry up in the dry season.

²⁴ This coverage is calculated based on the Ethiopian standard (1.5 and 0.5 radius km in rural and urban areas respectively). In addition, each water facility has an standard population that it can give service.

Figure 4.7: Picture on traditional birka in Kebribeyah district



In the case of Qaaha village, boreholes have been dug by UNHCR to utilize underground water for Somalia refugee in Kebribeyah and also for as compensation to the host community. These boreholes supply water in the dry season to some of the surrounding districts like Harshin, Gashamo and Dhegahbur and the remaining Kebribeyah villages which do not have access to water but in most cases, they have technical problems due to poor staff knowledge on the operation and the maintenance of boreholes.

In Horkalifo village, there is only one borehole which has not in use for the last two years. The local elders interviewed reported that the regional water bureau trained some community members for the operation and maintenance of the well but in most cases it not been in use because the training was not comprehensive enough to deal with major problems. The elders said that, they repeatedly go to the regional bureau (95 km) to ask them to maintain the water supply infrastructure and wait for weeks or months to get response. Elders also reported that they don't have spare parts, enough knowledge, experts and financial capabilities to take care of this water schemes. In the dry season or when that borehole is not functioning, these communities have no chance but to go for about 30-45 km in search of water. Even if there is water, when there is no

grass to forage in the dry season, they always move to a long distance to provide adequate pasture for their livestock.

As we have mentioned earlier, pastoralists in the region suffer tremendously from frequently recurrent droughts and they lose their livestock assets because of a lack of water and pasture land and in some cases conflicts as well as epidemic diseases that result from such droughts. Such a problem could be solved if there is access to water. Water is the major concern for the pastoralists. If these communities can access pasture and drinking water easily, they will have a better opportunity to access markets for their livestock and thus enhance their standard of living. To this purpose, the federal and the regional government have come to realize the importance of providing sufficient and sustainable water for the pastoral communities. Currently, the Somali regional government has given their highest priority to providing water for human consumption, for livestock consumption and for irrigation.

4.2.2.1 *Water Development Challenges*

To provide access to potable water for personal consumption for the livestock in the pastoral areas, it is very important to identify the major challenges and factors that have led to the current problem. Through interviews, group discussions and field observations, I have noted some of the PASDEP's basic challenges and policy gaps in developing the water sector in the pastoral areas. A brief summary of these challenges is listed below:

1. Because of the physical geography in the region and because the ground water is too deep in many areas to drill, the region faces high implementation capacity limitations in terms of drilling machines, management, and manpower, material, finance, and know-how gaps. The PASDEP does not have a clear policy instruments for arid and semi-arid pastoral

areas which focus on improving the implementation capacity of the regional and district water offices.

2. Most of the water schemes are not in use due to maintenance problems largely stemming from a deficiency of spare parts and construction materials available in the region. To rehabilitate wells, it takes months to order, deliver and install the spare parts needed from abroad. In such a situation, pastoralists move to a distant to search water and even sometimes cross the border to the neighboring countries like Kenya.
3. The regional water Bureau and the other concerned federal institutions do not have adequate data regarding the state of water sector in the pastoral areas.
4. The sustainability of the water schemes depends on the level of the community participation in a given locality. In the pastoral areas, it is rare to involve the community from the early planning stages to the implementation of the water projects. The current projects are implemented from top down which has resulted in low community buy-in to the schemes, especially in preparing for future operations and maintenance.
5. The policy focus towards low cost labor-based water schemes, such as excavation of ponds, has become impractical as there was no pre-defined strategy of community awareness.
6. The community has the responsibility to collect tariffs from water scheme users and save for maintenance and other important related issues as well as to be a source of revenue for the government. The policies intent to implement a permit and the water charge system in the pastoral areas, however, this was unsuccessful due to lack of sufficient awareness creation and absence of involvement of pastoralists at policy development level.

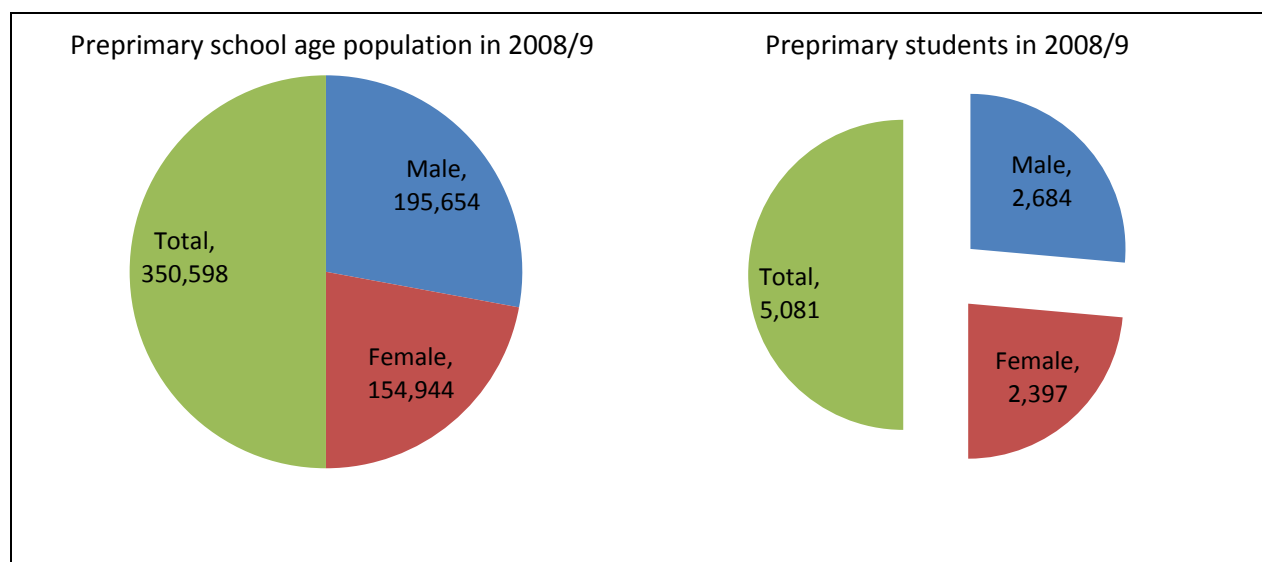
7. There is low management capacity and absence of incentive for the staff in the sector.
This led to low morale and to the loss of many well trained and experienced professionals and skilled technicians.
8. Contractors in the sector have a very low base of knowledge which also exacerbates the water problems in the pastoral areas. Though the region has recently procured high capacity drilling machines, but there is still need to hire competent contractors.
9. The fragile situation is aggravated by poor transportation infrastructure and communication networks in the region.

4.2.3 Education Sector Development

4.2.3.1 Preprimary Education Program

In Somali Region the preprimary education was presumably left for the private sector due to the scarcity of resources. However, due to the capacity constraints in the private sector, preprimary education was mainly limited to religious education such as the Quran schools in the Kebribeyah District. But recently there is the nascent appearance of modern preprimary and primary schools administrated by the private sector. According to the regional education Bureau, in the 2008/09 academic year, only 5,801 children (1.5%) have enrolled in the preprimary schools. Figure 4.8 illustrates the preprimary population and enrollment of preprimary students in 2008/9.

Figure 4.8 Preprimary students in 2008/9



Source: Somali regional Education Bureau (2010)

Moreover, the private preprimary education opportunities are currently concentrated almost entirely in regional capital of Jigjiga. At the preparation stage of PASDEP, there was no clear strategy for extending preprimary education in the pastoral areas. Hence, equity of educational opportunities has been deficient in the region. To overcome this challenge, currently there is a regional initiative towards the expansion of the preprimary education within the existing primary schools. Additional facilities to accommodate the preprimary school age kids are being built in five districts including Kebribeyah. Moreover, the preprimary education policy and a curriculum framework have been formulated and are ready for implementation.

4.2.3.2 Primary Education: Access and Equity

In Ethiopia, the Somali region is one of the regional states with the lowest primary gross enrollment rate (GER). As of 2010, the primary GER for school-age children aged 7-14 is 63.8% which is below the national average of 85.0%. Unfortunately, these low numbers excluded the high dropout and withdrawal rates of the pastoralist students who receive little or no formal

education. Despite these low attendance numbers, the number of the primary schools increased from 694 (385 formal and 309 Alternative Basic Education -ABE- schools) in 2005 to 2,609 (689 formal and 1,920 ABE schools of which 102 and 804 are tents and shelters schools respectively) in 2010 (BoFED, 2010). Similarly in Kebribeyah district, the number of schools increased from 85 in 2005 to 193 (ABE = 172, secondary = 2, primary = 19) in 2010 (see table 4.3).

Table 4.3: Number of Teachers and Students of Kebribeyah District, 2010

<i>S/n</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>High Schools</i>	<i>Primary (Formal)</i>	<i>Alternative Basic Education (ABE)</i>	<i>Total</i>
1	Number of Schools	2	19	172	193
2	Number of teachers	291		270	561
3	Number of students	1,064	10,005	22,543	33,612

Source: Data from Kebribayah district Education Office (2010)

Despite these modest efforts, the quality and efficiency of primary education in the region remain major dilemmas of the education sector. Although the student-textbook ratio reduced to 3:1 in 2010 from 5:1 in 2005, it is very much below the standard. The ABE (alternative basic education) student-teacher ratio is about 1: 84 in Kebribayah district as shown in table 4.4 which far below the average Ethiopian ration of 1:50. Moreover, achievement in grades 4 and 8 was very low where 29.5% of students in Somali region and in particular 45% of Kebribeyah students who sat for 8th grade national examination in 2009 failed and were not successful. This is far below the PASDEP target of increasing the primary school completion rate to 63% by 2009/10. There are currently around 11,070 (see table 4.4) primary teachers and ABE facilitators. However, this number is not adequate for the number of students and teacher qualifications and

trainings are not up to the required standard set by the Ministry of Education, as was reported during focus group discussions in Kebribayah district.

Table 4.4 Number of primary teachers and their qualifications at regional level

Level of Qualification	Number of Teachers			Percentage of Female (%)
	Total	Male	Female	
Degree	397	365	27	6.8
Diploma	923	792	131	14.2
Certificate	4,809	3,996	813	14.2
ABE Facilitators	4,941	4,503	438	8.9
Total	11,070	9,656	1,414	12.8

Source: Regional Education Bureau (2010)

In addition to poor attendance, examination results and qualified teachers, there is also deficiency of teaching materials in all the sites. Those interviewed blamed the situation to poor supervision and monitoring from the concerned government agencies at all levels.

Moreover, the region education bureau (REB) reported that among the total primary school-age (age 7-14) children, 10 to 20 % are estimated to be children with special needs who have not been given adequate attention in education system as a whole in the pastoral areas of the region. However, because education is increasingly seen as a human right as described in the Ethiopian constitution, it is the responsibility of the regional government to facilitate special needs education to mentally challenge groups. To date, two centers for special need education have been established.

Girls' education in particular is a major challenge in the region and gender equity in education remains only a slogan for the education sector in the region. Factors such as socio-cultural,

economic and pedagogical traditions combine to limit the primary educational participation of girls leading to higher dropouts and repetition rates compared to men.

Despite the above difficulties of the primary education in the Somali region, the regional education bureau (REB) has done some modest achievements in enhancing the primary education access, quality and efficiency. These include improved supervision and support services to district education offices (DEOs) and schools which developed and instituted to improve the teaching-learning process. Moreover, positive moves towards pastoral community mobilization have been undertaken and according to the REB report of 2010, more than 2,961 teachers were recruited to reduce the student-teacher ratio as early as in 2009.

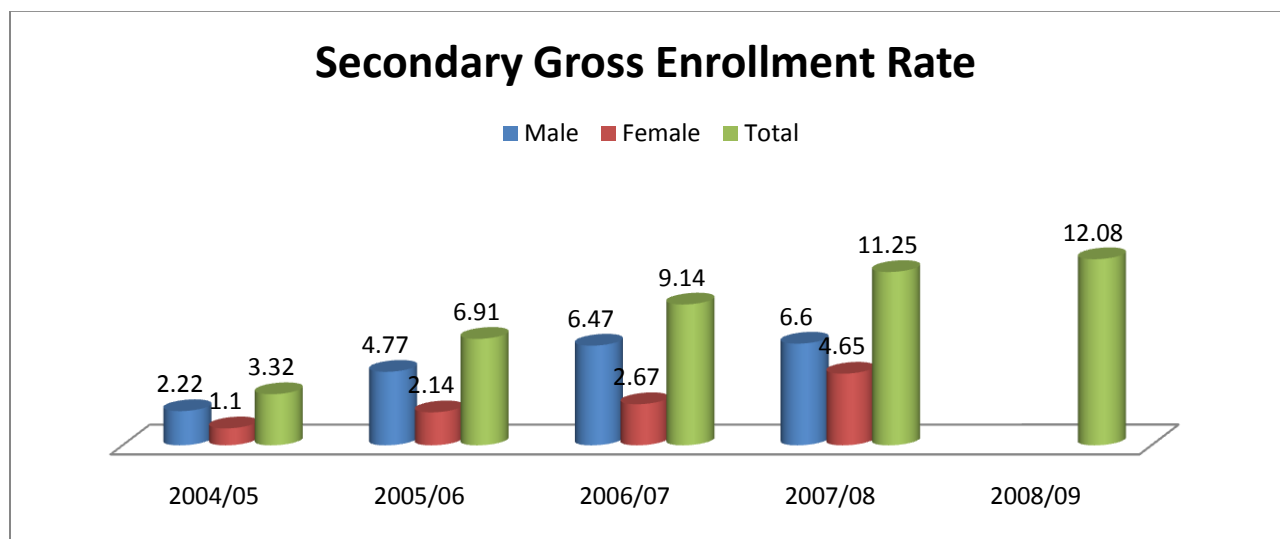
4.2.3.3 Secondary Schools: Access & Quality

Like primary education, substantial expansion of secondary education has been accomplished over the last 5 years in the region. The secondary GER has been increased from 2.13 % in 2005 to 12.08 % in 2010, but remains below the national average of 35.0 %. The number of secondary schools has increased from 21 secondary schools in 2005 to 39 secondary schools in 2010. Some of the new secondary schools were initiated, constructed and functionalized by the pastoral communities themselves. The regional government has recognized these schools and has assigned teachers and equipped with basic facilities including curriculum, teaching materials, text books and furniture.

In general, there have been seen some progress in the education sector during the last planning period. This progress includes:

- ♣ Pastoral community participation and involvement with reference to the expansion of five secondary schools financed and constructed by the community they serve;
- ♣ The regional government constructed 17 secondary schools to increase access to secondary education, and
- ♣ A sizeable number of bachelors' degree graduates have been recruited and deployed to secondary schools to improve the quality and efficiency of the secondary education in the region. To this, the number of qualified secondary school teachers increased from 38.0 % in 2005 to 82.6 % in 2008, a notable success.

Figure 4.9: Secondary Gross Enrollment Rate (%)



Source: Regional Education Bureau (2010)

However, like the primary education, the quality and efficiency in the secondary education of the Somali region remains a major challenge. According to the REB 2010 report, grade 10 examination results only 19.71 % (21.74 % of males and 13.58 % of females) of the student who sat for the exam scored 2.00 point and above while the remaining 80.29 % students scored below 2.00 point. The 2009 academic year scores are more or less consistent with scores 5 years ago in

2005, when 18.42 % of students who sat for the exam (20.08 % of male and 13.16 % of female students) and scored 2.00 point and above.

With regards to 12th grade and higher education entrance, 70.5 % of students (76.2 % of male and 54.8 % of female candidates) who sat for higher education entrance exams entered higher education institutions in 2009, while in 2005, 96.5 % of the students who took entrance exams joined higher education institutions. Thus, we can see that the quality of secondary education has been declining rather than increasing in recent years. Furthermore, there is no laboratory facility in all secondary schools. Student-teacher ratio is currently 64:1 while student-textbook ratio is very low. To accommodate the increasing number of students, double-shift approach was applied in all secondary schools. Moreover, to enhance the quality and efficiency of secondary education, secondary supervisors and directors were trained and deployed.

Besides, secondary schools are not evenly distributed throughout all districts in the Somali region. Some of the districts do not have high schools which has raised their dropout rates, while some other districts have comparatively better educational opportunities. For example, Kebribeyah district has only 2 secondary schools which are located in the town while the remaining 28 villages of the district do not have any high schools.

Sadly, students in the villages visited on the case study do not have access to secondary or junior high schools because they are too far from the town, with the exception of Danaba village which is 7 km from the East. The Horkalifo and Qoran primary schools ended at 4th grade level while Danaba and Gilo village schools have classes up to 6th grade and Qaaha up to 8th grade. Only the main town has continuous access up 12th grade.

Due to these grade ceilings, students discontinue their studies unless a patron or a relative provides for them (*Jilid*) to attend schools in the main town as also few individuals who cannot afford to pay the living cost of their children find NGO sponsorship. Interview with a Danaba village 15 years old student informed me that he decided to walk seven km to continue his education because he does not have relatives to provide for him to live in the main town as a student. Horkalifo elder told me, during a focus group discussion, that the people in their villages are not interested in sending their children to the schools since they don't have a chance to go beyond 4th grade.

The inadequate secondary and junior secondary schools, especially in pastoral/rural villages, have also exacerbated the problem of the adult illiteracy in the region. The Somali region is one of the lowest in terms of adult literacy rate which is currently 7.96 % (4.61 % of women and 10.75 % of men) compared with the national average of 41.0 % and so far no mentionable effort has been directed to this issue (REB, 2010).

4.2.3.4 Tertiary Education

With regard to the tertiary level schools, the federal and regional commitments have increased access to tertiary education in order to graduate more skilled labor. For this reason, Jigjiga University was established in 2007 in Somali region, the first of its kind in this pastoral area. This university is expected to play a great role in human resource development of the region through the provision of adequate training of the regions' youths mainly in modern agriculture such as agro-pastoralism, engineering, dry land farming, soil and water conservation techniques, etc. In addition, there are few regional level administered colleges and institutes such as Management Institute, Nursing College, Teacher Training Institute and a technical and

vocational college. These colleges and institutes provide short-term and on-job trainings to the regional and district employees and also give diploma level education to those students who do not get chance to join to the universities. However, since the Somali region is vast with 67 districts of which their majorities are pastoralists, these few institutions cannot cover the demand of the people for tertiary education. Moreover, all these institutes are mainly based on the regional capital city, Jigjiga, except two of them that have branches in Godey town. This has contributed the high dropout rates of the pastoralists for they don't have the financial capacity to send their children to far places for advanced education. On top of this, in the pastoral communities, children support their families by rearing the livestock or by doing other domestic work.

For all educational levels, the responsibility for the provision of education rests with the federal, regional and local governments. The federal government regulates post-secondary education and develops the overall education policies and guidance, whereas regional governments are responsible for the educational activities of the region particularly towards constructing schools and administering training programs. At the district level, authorities are concerned with regulating and supervising primary and secondary schools at their localities.

However, there is no clear definition of the roles, responsibilities and accountability in education among the various departments in the regional government. This is coupled with the limited financial resources and human capacity in the districts to provide quality, equitable and efficient access to universal education. Moreover, due to the working conditions at district level, there is less willingness and commitment to work at the grassroots levels and hence there is a high turnover of educational professionals especially teachers. The region has been trying to minimize

these challenges through a number of initiatives including regular training sessions and incentive programs but these efforts have been in vain.

4.2.3.5 Education Sector Challenges

Based on the secondary information and the field visits made to the selected villages, here are summarized the major obstacles of the education sector during PASDEP period in the Somali Region and particularly in Kebribeyah district. As part of my field observation and the secondary data sources, there is:

- ❖ Absence of preprimary education curriculum and textbooks. Here, the only preprimary education in Kebribeyah district is the Quran schools that the Somali pastoral communities send their children as part of their religious education. On top of this, as per our focus group discussions with the elders, people believe that the child's understanding capacities improves if he/she first attends the Quran Schools. The same is true to the other districts in the region.
- ❖ In PASDEP, there is no as such concrete strategy to solve education related shortages in the pastoral communities in the region. It does not clarify in detail of whether and how education is provided to these mobile communities.
- ❖ Shortage of financial resources to expand access and improve equality and equity;
- ❖ High dropout rate of up to 30 % in the pastoral areas due to the inherently mobile lifestyle of the community. When pastoralists move in search of water and pasture, children move with their families and command the livestock. If effective mobile schools existed, the dropout might not be as high as is the case in the current condition.

- ❖ There is lack of basic school facilities (e.g. laboratories, equipment, chemicals. etc) and a shortage of educational materials to create an environment conducive to learning for the students, teachers and facilitators;
- ❖ Most schools are not student-friendly in that they lack toilets, desks, water, and other basic amenities;
- ❖ There is shortage of primary school teachers particularly in grades 5-8 due to high turnover of teachers and staff;
- ❖ The absence of stable operating budget for primary schools from either the government, NGOs or the local community limits educational investments;
- ❖ Communication gaps exists between regional education bureau and districts as well as between districts and schools;
- ❖ There is limited pre-service and in-service teachers training programs and inadequate supply of textbooks;
- ❖ The high cost of school construction and on the procurement of furniture & equipment to enhance the access and quality of education in this pastoral region is another main challenge.

4.2.4 Health Sector Development

Vital health indicators from Demographic Health Survey (DHS) 2005 show that life expectancy of the region is 58.7 years for men and 55.4 years for women, Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) of 57deaths per 1000 population, the under-five mortality rate of 93/1000, a Child Mortality Rate (CMR) of 39/1000 and Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR) of 673/100,000. These indicators are

critical among the pastoral communities. Table 4.5 details the selected vital health indicators compared to the national levels.

Table 4.5 Somali Region Vital Statistics

<i>Region</i>	<i>CBR</i>	<i>CMR</i>	<i>TFR</i>	<i>IMR</i>	<i>Under 5 MR</i>	<i>Male LE</i>	<i>Female LE</i>
Somali	37.3	39	6.0	57	93	58.7	55.4
National	35.7	50	5.4	77	123	53.4	55.4

Source: Regional Health Bureau (2010)

N.B: CBR = Crude Birth Rate; CMR = Child Mortality Rate; TFR = Total Fertility Rate; IMR = Infant Mortality Rate; MR = Mortality Rate; LE = Life Expectancy.

The potential service coverage for hospitals, health posts, and health centers in the Somali region are estimated at 12%, 67% and 76% of optimal capacity respectively. This potential coverage is calculated based on the maximum estimated pastoral population which the facilities can give service. Even so, PASDEP did not succeed of achieving the primary health coverage set at 100% at the year 2009/10. In the region, there are currently 7 hospitals (1 referral hospital is under construction), 145 health centers (38 HC are fully functional and others are under construction), and 711 health posts. Table 4.6 gives the details of the current existing facilities and its ratio to the total population of the region. However, such coverage on the existing facilities varies substantially among the pastoral districts in the region based on their number of health facilities and demographic characteristics. In Kebribayah district, there are 2 health centers and 34 health posts that have potential service coverage of 22% and 74% respectively. The Qoran village in Kebribayah district has only one health post which can maximum give service for less than half of its pastoral community.

Table 4.6 Health facilities and total population ratio

<i>Region</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Hospital</i>	<i>Population/ Hospital</i>	<i>Health Centers</i>	<i>Population/ Health Center</i>	<i>Health Posts</i>	<i>Population/ Health Post</i>
Somali	4,794,481	6	799,080	145	33,065	711	6,996

Source: Somali Regional Health Bureau (2010)

Moreover, I observed that the utilization of formal health services by the pastoral population is very low. As I found from the discussions with district officials and pastoral communities in the villages, the major factors that account for the low utilization of the provided health care services include:

- The pastoral life style combined with generally low level of education and awareness;
- Shortages of health sector skilled manpower and essential drugs and supplies;
- The geographical distance to a health facility is still presenting a barrier for almost majority population of the region. For example, some residents in the hamlets in Qoran village must walk on foot to health posts for about 30 km.
- Security problem in some of the remote villages make journeys to health centers dangerous as anti-government insurgents burnt the health center in Horakalifo village, Kebribayah district. They sometimes hurt people going to health services by identifying those who use the facility as pro-government sympathizers.

To achieve the health sector's MDGs, health education and awareness in the communities need to be improved. Thus, the Federal government has created Health Service Extension Program (HSEP) applies to pastoralist and agro-pastoralist regions. There are 16 different packages under the program and its implementation manual has been adapted and made available in the local Somali language. Seven training sites for health extension workers (HEWs) were established in

Jigjiga HSC, Gode, Filtu, Kabridahar, and Dhagahur hospitals; and Erer and Awbarre health centers and after six months of implementation 1,437 HEWs have been trained and deployed throughout the health posts and pastoral villages of the region (RHB, 2010).

4.2.4.1 Family Health Services

Maternal and child health services are very low in the pastoralists areas of the Somali region compared to other regional states. However, major indicators of the family health care related services have significantly improved during the last five years (RHB, 2010). Table 4.7 illustrates the major family health indicators and their status coverage in the Somali pastoralists.

Table 4.7 Somali regional family health Indicators

<i>Indicators</i>	<i>Achievements</i>	<i>Indicators</i>	<i>Achievements</i>
contraceptive prevalence rate	9	Under 1 year Pentavalent-3 immunization coverage	51
antenatal care coverage	30	Measles immunization coverage	58
delivery attended by skilled birth attendants	13	fully immunization coverage	38
TT2+ immunization coverage of pregnant women	23	Vitamin A supplementation for 6-59months of age	70
		Dewormed Children under Age group 2-5 years	46

Source: Somali Regional Health Bureau (2010)

4.2.4.2 Health Sector Challenges:

According to a review of policies and the strategies towards pastoral areas that have been done by the Pastoral Community Development Project, Ethiopia (PCDP), the PASDEP challenges in

the health sector are primarily related to the low level of educational knowledge of pastoral people. The document states that pastoralists need special attention or affirmative action but did not prescribe how and which services could be rendered. In addition, the application of the Health Service Extension Program (HSEP) itself is difficult for the pastoralists because it recommends strategies, concepts and illustrations foreign to the pastoral areas. Some of them are: Iddir (a credit system used in the highlands), the housing model (town-based model), the use of refrigerators (where there is no electricity), the establishment of recreational places and so on.

In general, the society that the HSEP envisions does not seem visible with the conditions in the pastoral areas because it is essentially a strategy for health care assuming permanent settlements in towns. Thus, more cultural sensitivity to the values, norms and the culture of the target population needs to be made towards health policies.

In addition, there is inadequately skilled staff in the health sector, particularly general practice doctors and specialists. Thus, only those people able to afford the high cost of visiting hospitals for medication are traveling to other major cities of Ethiopia with better medical facilities and quality (like Oromia, Harari and Dire Dawa or to the Capital city-Addis Ababa).

4.2.5 Infrastructure Development

4.2.5.1 Transportation Infrastructure

As we have discussed in chapter three, section 3.6.4, the state of transportation system in pastoral areas of Somali region is very low. Nevertheless, the regional Rural Road Authority (RRA) has made efforts to improve rural roads-network in the region. Since 2000, about 3,669 km (1,487 km by the RRA) were constructed, upgraded, and rehabilitated making the regional road density

to 9.97 km per 1000 km² which is below the PASDEP target of 3.2 km per 1000km². This means that pastoral people must still travel long distances to reach the main roads.

Thus, in the current state, pastoralists are unable to obtain inputs or sale their products to better markets due to the poor state of the transportation infrastructure. To be more specific, in the visited villages of Kebribayah district, only Gilo village can be accessed by the asphalt road connecting the Dhegahbur and Qorahay zones. In the other four visited villages, there are very rough roads which are hard for the vehicles to use. This is true and even sometimes worse for most of the other districts in the Somali region.

The existing roads constructed in the region will also become unusable if they are not rehabilitated soon because with the exception of the few asphalt roads, most of the roads are built on low quality foundations. Major challenges associated with rural (pastoral) roads include:

- ❖ Limited implementation capacity of both RRA and contractors;
- ❖ Security challenges;
- ❖ Shortage of supply of community roads, and
- ❖ Shortage of resources with regards to manpower, material and money

4.2.5.2 State of Financial Services

The state of financial service is very low in the region, particularly in the remote pastoral areas. In the whole region, the commercial bank of Ethiopia only has branches in three districts (Jigjiga, Kebridahar and Godey districts) where the remaining 64 districts do not have access to formal banking services. People in the towns primarily use privately owned informal financial services, locally known as “*Hawala*” which is costly and inconsistent.

Furthermore, pastoralists cannot benefit for a long time from micro-finance institutions that exist in Ethiopia due to Islamic restrictions on interest rates. Recently, the regional government has established a new micro-finance system consistent with the Islamic financial procedures. This new institution is expected to play an important role in the pastoral poverty reduction by enhancing the living standards of millions of pastoralists, provided that services are adequately expanded through the 67 districts and is well managed.

4.2.5.3 Telecommunication and Electricity

In addition to the other sectors discussed in the study, the telecommunication network and the electrification state of the region are similarly very underdeveloped. Less than 10% of the regional districts' main towns²⁵ have regular electricity and the rest of the major region cities depend on diesel generators used for six hours in the evening. This service is totally non-existence in the pastoral areas where people use traditional lightings (*faynus*) at nights. This is contrary to the PASDEP's target which was to increase the population with access to electricity to about 50% by the end of the year 2010.

Mobile phone services are available in very few districts where as in most of the districts people use public telephones in the telecommunication centers. This service is not available at all for the remote pastoralists. The federal government is currently expanding the communication networks in the country by providing telephone and mobile services to households & individuals in the districts.

²⁵ This confined only to 10 towns in 10 districts but the other villages in these districts as well as the rest of districts do not have regular electricity.

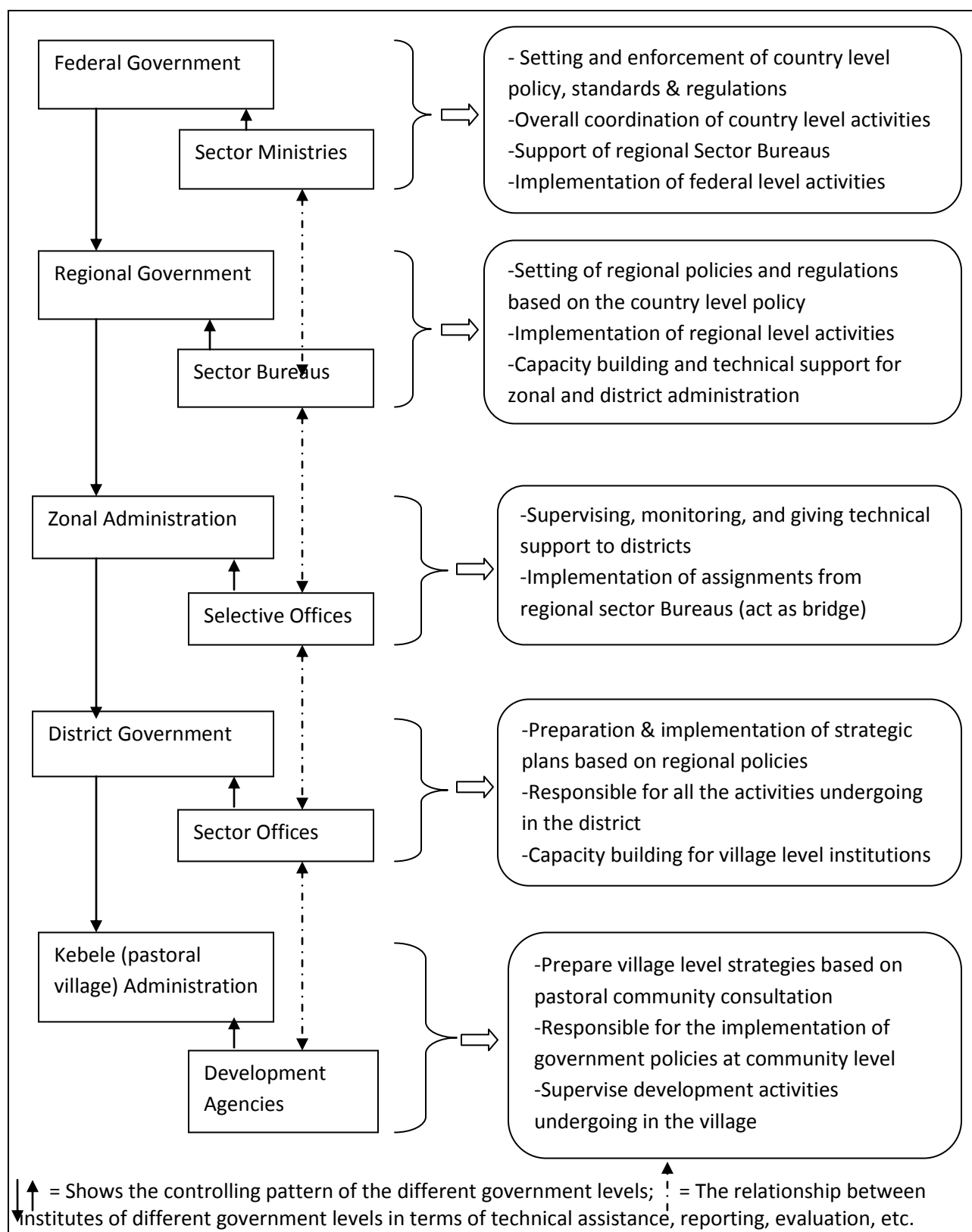
4.2.6 Governance, Decentralization and Implementation Capacity

4.2.6.1 Governance and Decentralization

As mentioned earlier, it was after 1991 that regional states were formed and the devolution of power has undertaken allowing each government level to exercise its authority. Since then, a number of activities were enacted to deepen the democratic governance. According to a 2010 regional Capacity Building Bureau (CBB) report, the performance of regional judiciary organ in particular was highlighted for improvement. Regular parliament meetings were conducted both at regional and district levels to evaluate the performance and achievements of executive organs. This was inspired by the capacity building strategies based on both local and international experiences. 26 legal documents and proclamations were enacted. A children's parliament was established in collaboration with Institution of Ombudsman.

Decentralizing decision making power to lower tiers of government was one of fundamental political goals since 2005. Hence, in the PASDEP planning period (2005-2010), decision-making powers have been devolved to district administrations to allow them to take full responsibility over the development issues particularly the pastoralists' livelihood improvements (see figure 4.10). Major achievements include: the development of districts legal frameworks for functional and fiscal assignments. Functions, budgets and human resources have been transferred from the regional to districts levels (CBB 2010). Furthermore, the creation of additional 15 districts was approved on March 2011 in order to meet pastoral community demands. To enhance political decision making at local level, the 52 districts (excluding the newly established 15 districts) of the Somali region have executive organs, district courts and councils elected by the people.

Figure 4.10: Roles and responsibilities of the different government levels



Source: Author Design

In fact, the implementation capacity of the districts, particularly the organizational structure and human resource capacities are below the standards set in the Ethiopian service delivery program and needs significant measures in the future. In addition, there is poor capacity of the local governments to carry out their political and socio-economic responsibilities and efficiently deliver services at the local level. Moreover, according to the regional Capacity Building Bureau, qualification upgrading and training programs were offered to district civil servants; district organizational structures have been revised and improved (see figure 4.11); some office equipment and furniture was supplied; and various technical and professional assistance was provided by regional and federal experts.

To advance the government's good governance agenda, in 2009, the region issued a pastoral policy package to be implemented at the district and village levels. The policy guideline package outlines the fundamental principles of good governance and offers solutions to possible problems that may arise in institutionalizing democratic practices at the local level. The package addresses issues of responsiveness, transparency and accountability; fairness in the rule of law; efficiency and effectiveness as foundations for the practice of good governance that need to be institutionalized at district and village administrative levels. However, this pastoral good governance package has been criticized as a blue print from non-pastoral regions which is incompatible to the historical pastoral traditional system. Since its implementation is at initial stage, it is inevitable to revise and redesign in a manner that considers the pastoral administrative system.

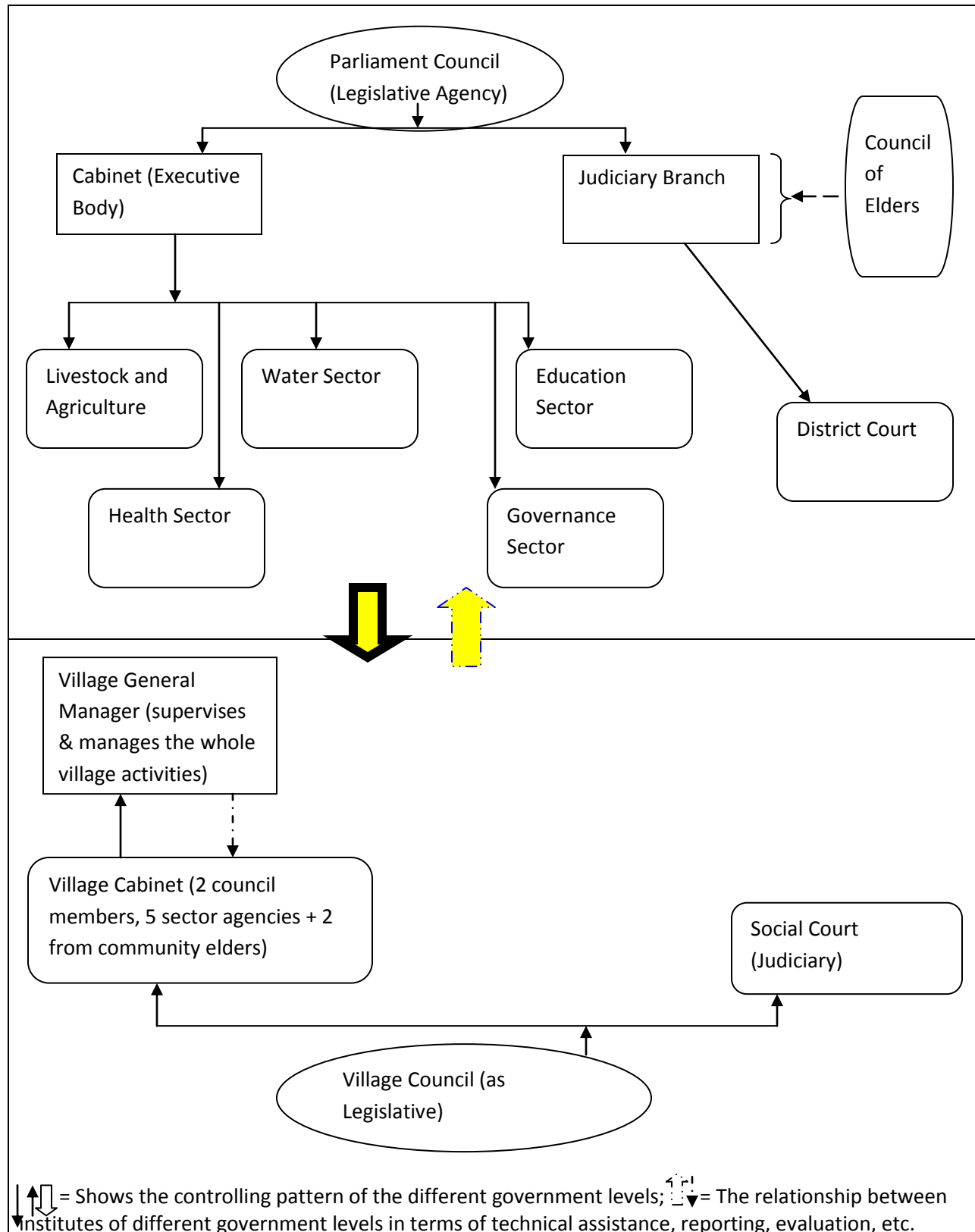
With regards to Kebele (village) capacity building, pastoral Kebele administrative borders of the region were revised and re-organized again and consolidated the number of Kebeles from 2,100

to only 713 Kebeles in order to more effectively provide basic services for the community. In 2010, new Kebele councils were elected and a new cabinet was established.

Figure 4.11 illustrates the structures that exist at local level governments (districts and villages/Kebeles). As mentioned earlier, the government structure at Kebeles level were just established in late 2009. The objective of this establishment was to enhance the participation of the pastoral communities in the development process. Pastoral community involvement is an essential for any intervention intended to improve their living standard. Any development project should be based on community involvement starting from its planning phase to the implementation so that society feels a sense of ownership and responsibility. Yet, apart from the framework, the structure at village level is not fully practically implemented, and this was among the basic challenges of PASDEP in the pastoral areas.

On the other hand, as described in figure 3.3 in chapter three, pastoralists have their own traditional administrative system headed by Sultan or Ugas and etc. The Sultan has the final say or decision in any type of issue that has impact on the clan he headed. For instance, the Kebribayah district is predominantly inhabited by the Absakul clan headed by Sultan Abdirahman Bade. This clan is found also in Jigjiga and Gursum districts, and in parts of Dhegahbur and Fik zones. Wherever the Abaskul clan is, the basic decisions affecting the clan in any manner are decided finally by the Sultan in consultation with the selected elder council. Under the Sultan, there are chiefs administered the sub-clans and the primary lineages who are also supposed to take some of the decisions.

Figure 4.11 Structure of the Local Government (source: Author design)



This shows how the decentralization system works in the pastoral areas and how they are interconnected. We can also understand from here the importance of the traditional (informal) pastoral institutions in realizing any development agenda. Thus, as shown in figure 4.11, these informal administrations, in the form of elders, were included in the structure to help decision making process, but this is yet fully impractical in most of the districts in the region. Therefore, it is inevitable to consider such traditional ruling system in the modern administrative governments to achieve sustainable development.

On the other hand, in order to enhance the levels of participation of pastoralists in the policy & decision making process, the current government has undertaken some policy steps assumed as opportunities for implementing PASDEP in the pastoral areas. As stated by (MoFA, 2008)²⁶, these policy steps include securing the constitutional land rights for pastoralists, decentralizing political power to lower levels and the formation of new pastoral institutions, establishing the Pastoral Affairs Standing Committee in the Parliament and creating Pastoralist Area Development Department (PADD).

4.2.6.2 Implementation Capacity

Implementation capacity is a real challenge in the pastoral areas of Somali region. There is shortage of skilled manpower, infrastructure, and policies that cannot match with the pastoralists' conditions to facilitate the service delivery. During the PASDEP period, the regional government with the help of the federal institutions and donors has undertaken many activities so that to enhance the implementation capacity of the region.

²⁶ MOFA = the Ministry of Federal Affairs of Ethiopia (2008)

According to CBB (2010), approximately 3,000 regional and district civil servants have been granted diplomas, Bachelor and Masters through the Ethiopian Civil Service College, Haromaya University, Jima University, by the International leadership Institute and abroad. In addition, more than 16,000 regional and districts staff members were given various short-term training sessions in related disciplines. Furthermore, 595 mid-level professionals who graduated from the Institute of Management and Development studies of the region in the fields of human resource management (HRM), information communication technology (ICT), and accounting were deployed at districts and regional administrative levels. However, because of the large geographic area to service, human capacity remains a key challenge to governance and decentralization.

Following the formulation of the capacity building program, the regional government has replicated the Public Sector Capacity Program (PSCAP). This program is funded by the World Bank and is intended to enhance the implementation capacity of the regional institutions as well as strengthen the democratization and decentralization process in the region. The main components of the program include: civil service reform, district level decentralization program, urban management reform, justice system reform, tax system reform, and information communication technology improvements. In our discussion here, we focus specifically on the status of civil service reform and information communication technology in the region.

Effective implementation of civil service reform was one of the major thematic areas concentrated as part of the last five-year plan (PASDEP). Hence, a number of steps have been taken and improvements have been made in service delivery during the PASDEP period. As per the CBB report (2010), the government has carried out initial positive steps on the revision and improvement of the regional and district government structure, publishing various working

manuals, issuing directives, making laws, and the implementation of customer-oriented service delivery system.

However, the practicality of the implementing the aforementioned manuals, systems and programs are not seen on the ground. Kebribeyah district officials reported that implementation of civil service program is not yet secured. From the interviews with these officials, the recruitment, selection, job allocation and orientation of employees required at district level are still done at regional level though they are supposed to be decentralized to district level. Nevertheless, the districts evaluate the employees' performance after the recruitment and take disciplinary measures when necessary.

Recently, in 2009, the Somali region has embarked on the Business Process Reengineering (BPR)²⁷ program with the prime objective of bringing institutional transformation to the performance of civil service. The preparation of BPR documents for all 31 government bureaus, commissions, agencies and offices at regional level was finalized and pilot testing was conducted by all regional bureaus and some have already started full implementation.

Generally, despite the fact that a number of activities were undertaken, the service delivery did not materially improve across the board and the civil service reform program did not achieve its stated goal to support the implementation capacity of the government at all levels (BOFED, 2010:55). The slight change to civil service capacity was related to other factors including the increase of new graduates recruited.

With regard to the expansion and utilization of information communication technology for development and good governance, there has been modest progress including provisions of basic

²⁷ The objective of this program is to make full assessment on the working system and develop a new system that can speed up the service delivery and the achievements of the development targets of the region.

computer training to civil servants at both the regional and district levels; the procurement of ICT infrastructure for district and regional offices; the establishment of one regional data centre and one centre of excellence; and installation of district net in 42 districts. Moreover district net training was given to all district ICT experts.

4.2.6.3 Corruption

Corruption including nepotism and personalization of the public property are also important factors of the underdevelopment of the Somali pastoralists. It is rare that a civil servant or officer at regional or district level can maintain his/her position in the government for more than one year due to corruption related misconduct. This is the main cause of the high turnover of the employees in the region. For instance, though there are no recorded figures on corruption, in the last nineteen years, the last ten presidents were removed due to corruption issues.

Thus, it is critical to build appropriate institutions in order to tackle the existing high level of corruption. Although the best mechanism of tackling corruption is through building the capacity of the civil servants in the long run, establishing an anti-corruption commission at regional level is also a priority in the short-term. In fact, anti-corruption commission has been operational at federal level for the last decade and some significant achievements are already registered to tackle corruption. Similar anti-corruption commissions have been recently set up in three regional states of Ethiopia for the same purpose. Hence, the Somali region of Ethiopia should follow their steps and be ready to establish the anti-corruption commission along a continuous effort in building the capacity of the civil servants through education and by implementing better reward system. Indeed, unless such kind of concerted effort undertaken in the area of anti-corruption, it would be difficult to translate policies on paper into actions.

4.2.6.4 Key Governance Sector Challenges:

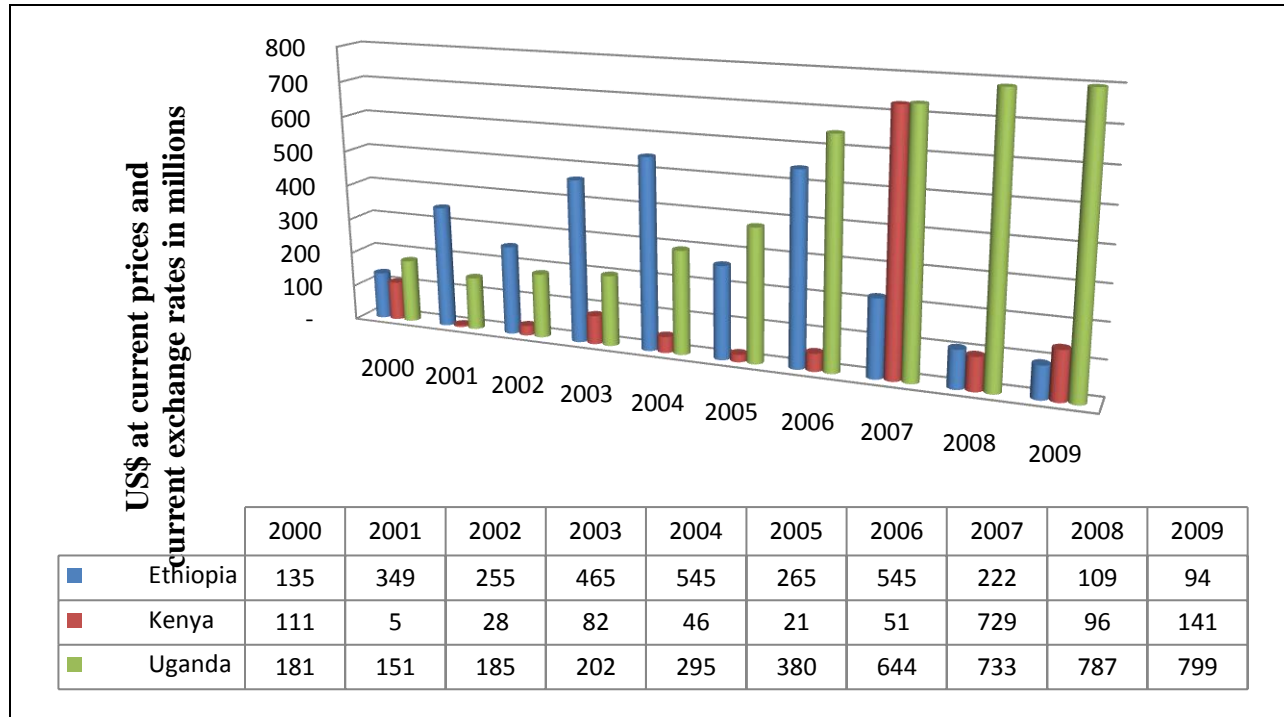
The main good governance and capacity building challenges experienced during the implementation of PASDEP in the pastoral areas of the Somali region include:

- ❖ Lack of ownership and implementation coordination for reform programs;
- ❖ Adoption of a blue print for pastoral good governance policy from non-pastoral regions;
- ❖ Low morale and desire for behavioral changes in the pastoral areas;
- ❖ Lack of inclusiveness of the pastoral traditional administrative style in the government structures;
- ❖ Weak monitoring, evaluation, and impact assessment of the program;
- ❖ High leadership turnover of civil servants;
- ❖ Nepotism and tribalism that results in the spread of the corruption cases;
- ❖ Routine work orientation and absence of strategic thinking and strategic planning;
- ❖ Poor infrastructure and security problem.

4.2.7 Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) Flow

According to 2009 FDI data derived from the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), between 2000 and 2006, FDI flows were the important source of external finance for Ethiopia, growing from an estimated \$135 million in 2000 rising to \$545 million in 2006 (figure 4.12). However, due to mostly to the financial recession, FDI has declined to as low as \$94 million in 2009 which affected the country's foreign hard currency and imports and in turn led to inflation. Nevertheless, recent growth of Ethiopia is thought to have improved the capital flows of foreign direct investment (FDI), portfolio investment flows, worker remittances, private charity, and the foreign aid.

Figure 4.12: Inward and Outward FDI Flows in Ethiopia, 2000-2009



Source:²⁸ (UNCTAD, 2009)

However, most of the foreign investments flow into the capital city, Addis Ababa, and its surroundings because of the availability of the basic infrastructures like roads, power/electricity, banking and communication systems. Thus, the foreign investors were rarely interested in the pastoral areas, particularly the Somali region due to a lack of infrastructure coupled with security and political stability issues. Recently, there are few investors who have submitted their proposals to the regional investment bureau and interested in the livestock sector and crop productions along the river banks. On top of this, the regional diaspora are also returning back with adopted technologies to make investment into their own lands (Investment Office, 2010).

²⁸ The data is derived from the statistical overview of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development available at <http://www.unctad.org/templates/Page.asp?intItemID=1584&lang=1>

4.2.8 Summary of Opportunities and Challenges

Here in table 4.8 below, we summarize the major challenges and opportunities discussed in the topics above.

Table 4.8: Summary of the Opportunities and Challenges to the implementation of PASDEP (2005-2010) in the pastoral areas

<i>Sector Name</i>	<i>Opportunities</i>	<i>Challenges</i>
Livestock and Agriculture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Huge livestock resources (23.6 million heads) -Traditional pastoralists knowledge in livestock health (medication) -Potential range lands in some zones -Potential river basins and steams suitable for Agriculture -Ample arable & fertile land 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Droughts, shortage of rainfall and degradation of rangelands & depletion of pasture -Poor genetic make-up & environmental factors -Instability and conflicts in some areas -Policies not in line with pastoral conditions (mobility) -Shortage of skilled manpower & facilities -Poor trade and marketing policy
Water	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Potential Perennial rivers & streams -Huge underground water in some zones -Areas suitable for rainwater harvesting -Rich traditional pastoralists knowledge in the small scheme water projects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Complex environment & ecology -Too deep underground water in some areas -Poor implementation capacity of RWB, contractors and other stakeholders -No clear water policy towards pastoral areas -Deficiency of water schemes' spare parts & other construction materials -Inadequate research & data in the water sector -Lack of community participation (top down) -Poor infrastructure & communication network
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Enhancing the understanding level of the society -High number of the school-age 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Incompatibility of the education policy to the pastoral condition -Absence of preprimary education

<i>Sector Name</i>	<i>Opportunities</i>	<i>Challenges</i>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> children -Availability of Quran schools in the pastoral areas (could be an alternative) -Expansion of the tertiary education in the country -Number of NGOs, CBOs interested to involve in the education sector 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Limited teachers training programs -Lack of basic school facilities & education materials -Shortage of teachers & low quality of the existing ones -Poor financial resources
Health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Pastoralists have traditional sanitation & hygiene practices -Donors & NGOs are interested to fund -Awareness through media 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Low utilization of the health facilities -Shortage of manpower, facilities & their materials -Policy gap in the sector
Roads and Infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Government determination for the development of this sector -The growing demand & the market expansion -The increasing FDI & -Donors Involvement (but limited) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Yet budget shortage (particularly the investment projects in the resettlement areas since donors & NGOs do not support that policy) -Limited implementation capacity of both RRA and contractors; and Security challenges
Governance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Adoption of the democracy system -Decentralization -The positive increment of number of skilled manpower -Creation of Federal & Regional pastoral institutions -Strong pastoralists traditional administrative system (if considered positively and realize its role) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The region is large to reach grassroots level -Poor infrastructure -Poor attitude and behavioral changes -Lack of adequate consideration of the pastoral traditional ruling system -Lack of ownership and coordination among implementers of reform programs; -High turnover of leadership and civil servants; -Routine work orientation and absence of strategic thinking -Security and financial challenges

Source: Summarized by the author

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

In the findings section, we analyzed the implementation of poverty reduction strategy programs, particularly the PASDEP (Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty) in the pastoral areas of Ethiopia and examined its opportunities and challenges. We have taken as a case study the Somali Regional State and sampled five systematically selected villages in the Kebribayah district. In our analysis we focused the status of basic social and development sectors like agriculture & livestock, education, health, water, infrastructure and governance. In this chapter, we will conclude the study and summarize the crucial findings of the paper. Finally, we take the conclusions from this research to propose policy recommendations to support poverty reduction in pastoral areas of Ethiopia in general and the Somali region in particular.

5.1 Conclusion of the Study

The Somali region is endowed with livestock resources but the inhabitants of the region have not benefited from these resources and much of the region's population are food insecure and receive food handouts provided by humanitarian organizations. Besides, development progresses were undertaken by the regional government in terms of constructing number of animal health posts and clinics, training and recruiting veterinary, animal production and range professionals, the ongoing rangelands improvement and accelerating fodder production. However, still livestock production is done traditional methods and the sector faces huge challenges which need to be addressed. The main challenges to livestock cultivation include wide spread livestock diseases, inadequacy of animal health infrastructure and professionals, rangeland degradation, livestock trade bans, lack of adequate livestock markets, absence of abattoirs and quarantine stations. As a result, the sector has not moved to more productive which could lead formalized employment.

Productivity in the agriculture sector in the region is very low. This is because of the inadequate irrigation development, subsistence crop production, severe moisture stress in certain areas, and an absence of adequate quality seed adaptable to the different agro-ecological zones of the region. This low productivity is exacerbated by rainfall failures, diseases outbreaks, lack of agro-processing facilities, unreliable markets and an absence of efficient extension system in the region.

However, the regional government is committed to improving food security in the coming years as part of fulfilling the country's vision of joining middle income countries by 2020. To this end, there are massive projects going on in the region which include resettlement programs and investments on the basin development, rangeland management and research activities that are expected to contribute more towards meeting this goal.

The Somali region is characterized as an arid and semi-arid region prone to drought. Pastoralists in the region move from one place to another in search of water and pasture for their livestock. During such situations, they are vulnerable to a variety of challenges and capital loss. Nevertheless, the region possesses considerable untapped ground and surface water resource bases that can contribute a lot to the poverty reduction, if properly utilized. It has four major river basins and a number of seasonal streams. Recently greater efforts have been made in the region to develop its water resource so that to reduce the severity of the water and the food insecurity. However, because of the region's complex physical geography, poor community participation as well as financial, technical & capacity limitations meant that modest progress has been made so far. In addition, in PASDEP, there was not a sufficiently lucid policy strategy for facing these challenges and providing service to mobile people and their livestock.

In Ethiopia, pastoralists are among the populations with the lowest enrollment in education and in some areas no schools at all. Education is a proven fundamental base for human development, yet the PASDEP has not well defined the details on how a mobile community can have access to education at all levels. Still the Somali region has been trying to develop a more effective education sector in terms of access, quality, equity, efficiency and relevance to the pastoralist people of the region who haven't been extended education opportunities during the previous regimes in Ethiopia.

The health service facilities and their utilization are very low. This is due to poor understanding of health care among pastoralists. The health promotional policy was also prepared in a manner inappropriate to the social context of the pastoral culture. In addition, there is inadequate skilled manpower in the health sector, particularly the general medical practice and other specialists.

There is hope that decentralization and capacity building measures will bring positive achievements at all levels, but there are significant remaining challenges in the implementation capacity of the region especially at lower levels. In the PASDEP, the governance system planned for pastoralists was nearly identical to the blueprint for Ethiopia's non-pastoral societies. The traditional governance system which has existed in the pastoral areas for centuries has not been given due attention. Thus, the implementation of good governance systems, decentralization and capacity building programs, need to be revised and redesigned to fit particulars of pastoral conditions in the region. Doing so will strengthen the current improvements and lead to a more stability and sustainable development.

Telecommunications network and the electrifications projects are very much underdeveloped in pastoralist areas compared to other regions. Furthermore, poor road networks are not only a

development problem, but also hinder emergency operations and drought management and response. Relief operations incur high transaction cost when attempting to deliver drought assistance to remote areas of the region.

5.2 Policy Recommendations

Since nearly 88% of the population in Somali region lives in rural areas either as Pastoralists or Agro-Pastoralists and are mainly depend on the livestock resources with mixed farming system in some areas, and according to the problems and the policy gaps we have analyzed in Chapter Four, here I recommend some key policy recommendations. I have classified the recommendations into two types: recommendations for the pastoralists who are not likely to settle in the near future and live in the arid dryland areas; and recommendations for those who live near rivers & streams and currently for those undergoing or expected to undergo the resettlement process. I have developed two policy models for each of these two scenarios. These recommendations are also meant to be input to the regional five years strategic plan (2011-2015) which is currently under preparation and upon its completion is expected to feed the national five-year strategic plan named the “Growth and Transformation Plan”.

A. For the mobile pastoralists unlikely to switch to settled agriculture:

- The government should revise its pastoral policies and develop a special and sound policies compatible to the mobile pastoralist livelihoods through social research with the pastoral community involvement;
- Such a policy should come up with clear directions focusing on the improvement of livestock productivity by enhancing fodder production, improving livestock breeds, and constructing water points for the livestock in the rural areas;

- Since the region is drought prone, water infrastructure development is crucial for any development. The region should maintain its current water strategy by constructing new water schemes and rehabilitating the existing systems by using technology suitable to pastoralists. In such projects, it is important to fully involve the pastoral community and build the implementation capacity of the water sector stakeholders. Unless the communities involved in this sector and build their ownership, the sustainability of the schemes are highly susceptible;
- The experience of the WASH (Water Supply, Sanitation & Hygiene) Programme funded primarily by the World Bank and other donors should be scaled up since it focuses on full community participation, local level capacity building and water system decentralization;
- Keeping the rights of the pastoralists on the rangelands and developing them will be a better alternative for the mobile pastoralists to improve their animal productivity. By assuring the sustainability of the rangelands through involving the pastoral communities, the Shinile zone rangeland project should be replicated and scaled up to other dryland areas, especially Warder, D/Bur, Qorahay and Fik zones.
- The policy should also augment animal health services by establishing adequate livestock health infrastructures and training the required manpower. Furthermore, since pastoralists are mobile and sometimes cross international borders (E.g from Ethiopia to Kenya or from Sudan into Ethiopia) can bring diseases across boundaries, the Government of Ethiopia should cooperate with the neighboring countries and adopt common health policies;

- Special attention should be given to improving livestock markets by constructing more markets, quarantine stations and holding grounds. Efforts should also be made to introduce pastoral entrepreneurs with domestic and foreign investors to improve their livelihoods;
- The government should develop a clear system that it could provide basic social services to the pastoralists. These include mobile schools and mobile health service which have been successfully implemented in Mongolia, Iran and Kenya. Furthermore, traditional Quran schools can be strengthened and combined with mobile schools particularly for preprimary education;
- Access to the secondary schools and the tertiary education should be increased in the pastoral areas by constructing more schools, colleges, and universities and equipping them with the necessary teaching materials;
- The gap between male and female students in the pastoral areas should be reduced by encouraging female students through providing incentives. The World Food Programme (WFP) experience in the special feedings to the female students in the pastoral areas can be scaled up, but as a short-term strategy, so that to enhance the pastoralists' understandings to the importance of the education;
- More health facilities should be built and awareness of their usefulness should be given to the pastoralists. Moreover, the government needs to revise its health sector policy in a way that is compatible to the pastoralists conditions;
- The government should improve the service delivery system in the pastoral districts and villages by speeding up the full-scale implementation of the Business Process Reengineering (BPR) which is currently being adopted at national level to improve

the service delivery. Since it is still in its test period, pastoralists should fully take part in the evaluation of the program before its full implementation.

- Furthermore, since there are many critiques of the pastoral good governance program²⁹ in the region (a blue print of the other regions), it should be revised to be in line with the lifestyle of the mobile pastoralists' conditions and emphasis its full implementation. On top of this, the role of the pastoral traditional institutions should be considered and included in the decision making processes;
- The implementation capacity of the pastoral institutions at district and village levels should be strengthened through capacity building programs in short and long term trainings on health, education, water, livestock & agriculture, service delivery, governance, rule of law and justice system, community participation, information technology, and other related skills;
- Moreover, infrastructure should be strengthened by constructing more interlinking roads in the remote pastoral areas and by implementing the Universal Rural Roads Access Program, which expands access to rural electrification, telecommunication and the banking systems. Specifically, the regional government should expand the newly established micro-financing institute to these areas so that other income diversification programs for the pastoralists can be realized.

i. Model Development Illustration for Mobile Pastoralists: Buladari Village

Figure 5.1 illustrates the policy recommendations for mobile pastoralists in an easy and understandable manner by taking “Buladari Village” of Kebribeyah district as model mobile pastoralist. Buladari is among the villages that I have visited during the field trip and was taken

²⁹ There are 21 packages developed for the effective implementation of the good governance system in the pastoral areas. This was prepared late 2009 compared to other non-pastoral regions.

as a sample for the pure pastoralists. This pastoral development model passes through three stages supposed to undertake within a period of ten years. The first two stages can be done within the five-year period of the “Ethiopian Growth and Transformation Plan” i.e 2011-2015. The third stage should be included in the 4th development plan of the country (2016-2020).

Stage one focuses on the increasing of the livestock productivity by providing adequate potable water to the pastoral communities and their livestock. The main activities to increase productivity are also developing rangelands for the livestock; introducing pastoralists to adoptable fodder production system; and improving the animal health services through expanding and constructing veterinaries and other livestock health facilities. The proposed policy recommendations for adopting mobile schools and health services are supposed to take on at this stage.

After carrying out the activities in stage one, it is expected that pastoralists will choose a somewhat more settle life and begin livelihood diversification by creating more mini towns, and producing surplus products for the market. At this stage, we recommend to creating conducive environment to attract investors and encourage pastoralists to produce more livestock products for domestic and international markets. This could be realized by establishing a stronger governance system that considers the traditional pastoral administrative systems and building the implementation capacity of the local governments.

In stage three moves towards a full transformation from mobile systems to sedentary ones, from rural settlement to urbanization, and from subsistence livestock production system to an export-led economy. At this stage, more international investors and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) are

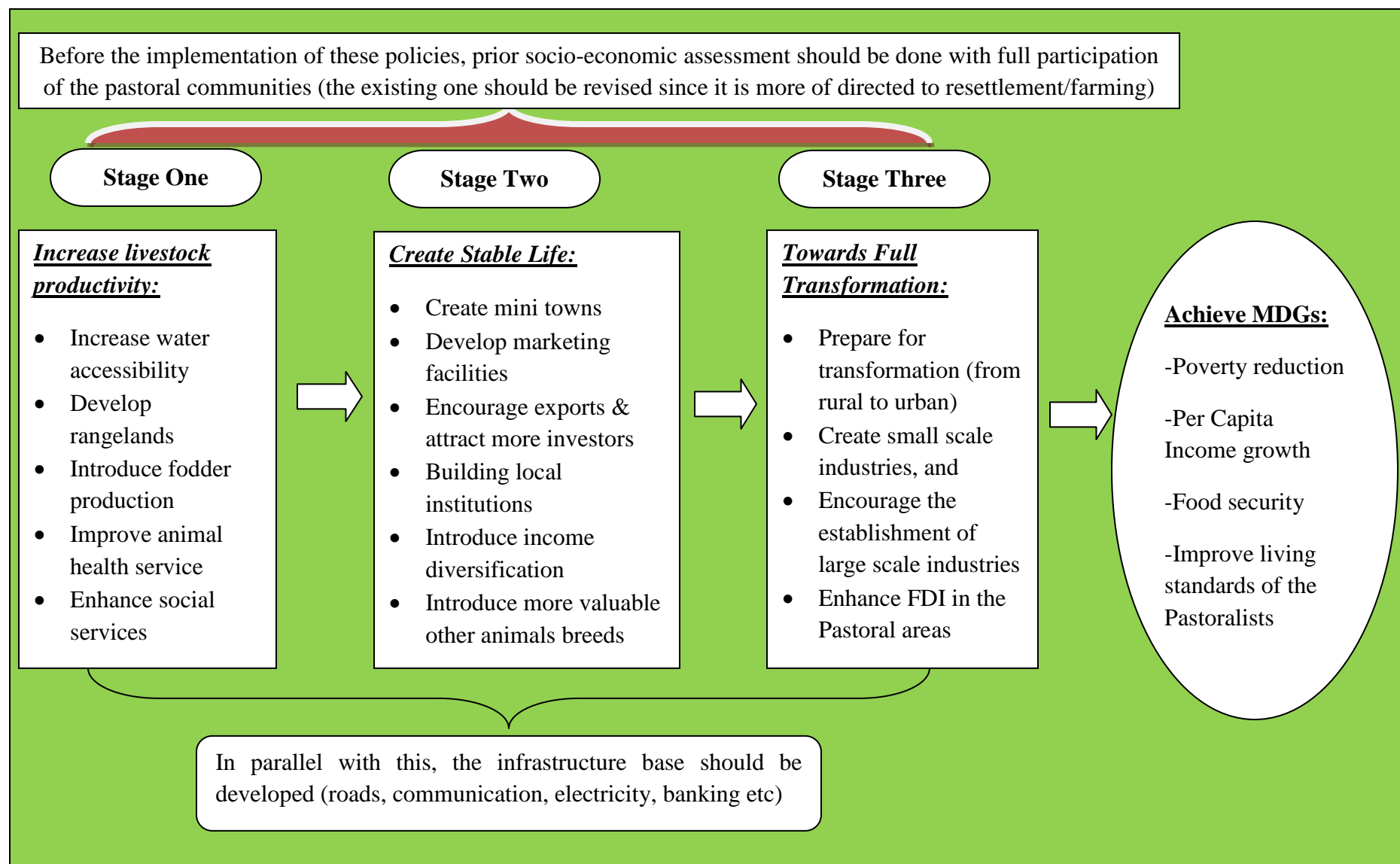
expected because of increased demand on livestock production. During this stage, the formation of higher value added industries should also occur.

Infrastructure development should continuously undertake in all the three stages. Inter-connected roads and those linking towns to the main highways should be constructed to ease the transportation of pastoral livestock products. Developing the communication network and the electricity will also entice investors to contribute to the economic development.

In the first two stages, the establishment of rural banking system will lead to livelihood diversification in mobile communities. The micro-finance institute recently established at the regional level should be further decentralized to the districts and pastoral village levels so that pastoralists will have the opportunity of accessing credits and savings accounts for future investments.

These steps will contribute to livelihood improvements for pastoralists and towards poverty eradication through food security improvement and raise per capita incomes in the communities. By following these recommendations, millennium development goals (MDGs) have a greater chance of being fully realized in Ethiopia and in particular in mobile pastoralists.

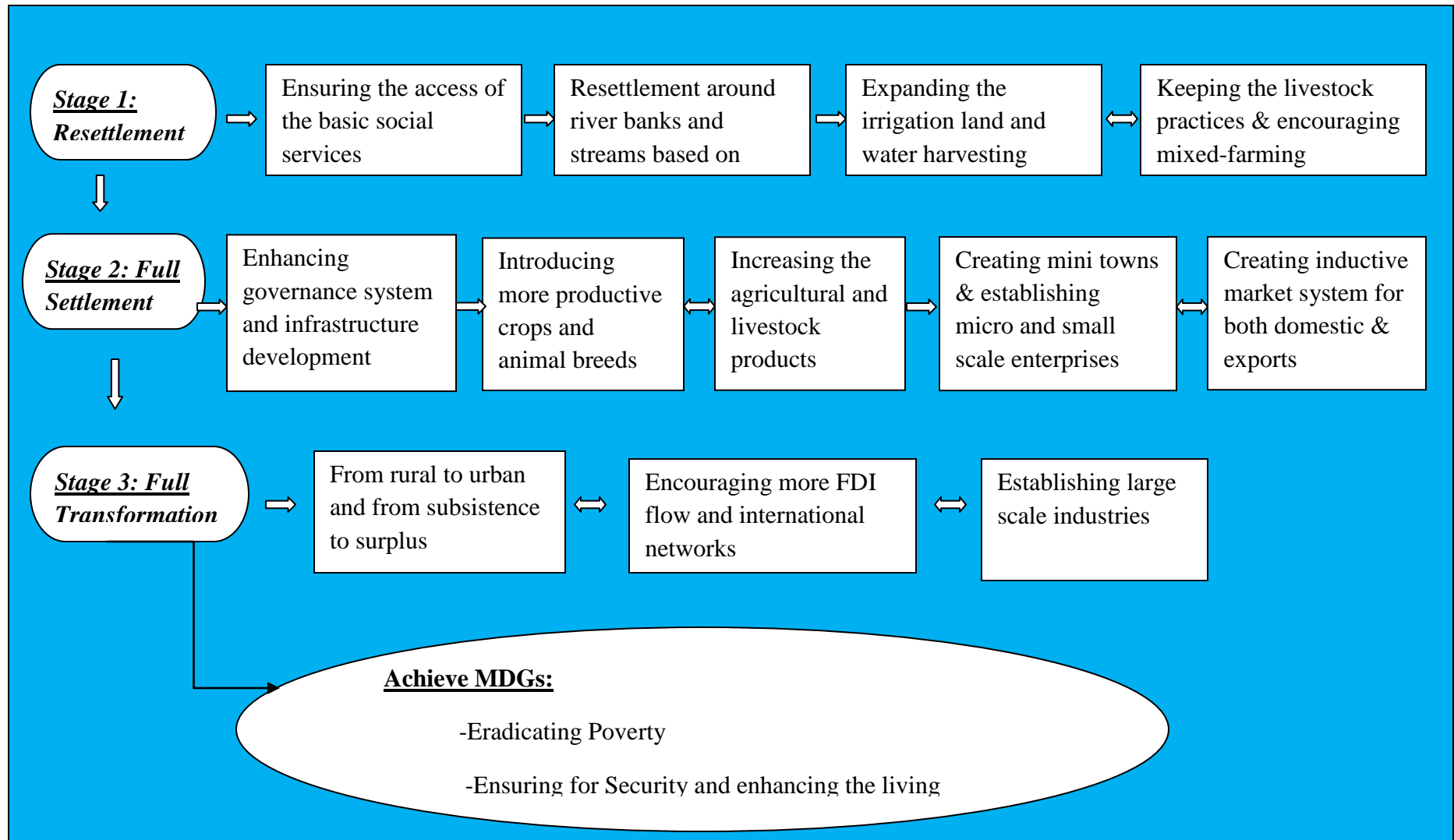
Figure 5.1: Policy Recommendation Illustration Model for Mobile Pastoralists: Buladair Village



B. Regarding resettling pastoralists around wet areas

- The region needs to focus more on boosting value farm production in areas around the river basin and in the rain abundant areas so that to increase the food self-sufficiency in the agro-pastoral areas.
- Resettling will increase pastoralists' livelihood diversification which can be a solution for repetitive problems. Therefore, the current resettlement programme should be strengthened and expanded to the applicable zones by improving and expanding irrigation land and water harvesting infrastructure but careful study and focus on sustainability. Resettlement should also be based on the voluntary willingness of the pastoral community;
- Resettlement in these areas will be more practical if the region puts in place the necessary social services ahead of community mobilization;
- Agricultural and the livestock products should be commercialized for domestic and export and establishment of agro-business enterprises in the region;
- The social structure and the governance system should be strengthened in a way that one supports the other and not in opposition to one another;
- Without infrastructure improvements, it is difficult to achieve the objectives of this policy and therefore, it is very crucial to focus on the development of road networks, communication system, electricity, and banking system for these areas.

Figure 5.2: Policy Recommendation Illustration Model for Resettlement (Pastoralist Resettlement): Qaaha Village



ii. Model Development Illustration for Resettlement: Qaaha Village

Figure 5.2 describes the chronological order of the policy recommendations proposed for the resettlement program taking in Qaaha village in Kebribeyah district. Qaaha is located on the bank of Jarar stream and also have potential underground water resources. The people in this village grow crops but only in the rainy season. During the droughts, they are pastoralists like those in Buladari village. A high scale irrigation system could be developed in Jarar valley since it is in the inter-zonal transboundary stream that passes through Jigjiga, Dhegahbur and Korahay zones. Thus, the people in Qaaha and its sub-villages can be resettled to benefit from these ample resources.

The Qaaha village development plan passes through three stages: from resettlement to full transformation. The implementation of stage one and stage two leads to full settlement of pastoralists while in stage three full transformation will occur. Likewise, stage one and stage two are also short and medium term strategies respectively (2011-2015) whereas stage three is a long term strategy which is achievable within 2016-2020.

The recommendations illustrated in both figure 5.1 and figure 5.2 model rural communities in the Somali Regional State of Ethiopia who are mainly pastoralists and agro-pastoralists. Best practices can be identified and extended to other similar rural communities across Ethiopia.

Lastly, the solution for the development problems in the pastoral societies of the Somali region of Ethiopia requires government's political willingness & commitment, pastoralists' involvement, and a coordinated effort among all stakeholders to translate these policies into action.

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APPENDIX

A. Semi-Structured Interview Guideline at Institutional Level

Name of the Institution: _____

Name of the Interviewee: _____

1. How is the poverty condition in the pastoral areas of the Somali Region?
2. How the pastoral poverty is different from the poverty of the other communities in Ethiopia? How do you define the pastoral poverty?
3. What is the role of your institution in the planning and the implementation of the poverty reduction strategy program?
4. How far the pastoral issues are included in the current Poverty Reduction Strategy program, PASDEP?
5. Were pastoralists involved during the preparation of this program, PASDEP?
6. What are the main programs designed and planned in PASDEP to mitigate the pastoral problems and generally enhancing their living condition? Could you please specify the main interventions (water, health, education, rural infrastructure and communication, micro credit and financing, livestock marketing)?
7. To what extent are these programs implemented in the pastoral areas, particularly in Kebribeyah District?
8. What are the main challenges in implementing the projects in the pastoral communities?
9. Do you experience any special opportunities in implementing the program in the pastoralist areas? If yes, what are they?

10. Do you think that there is policy planning or implementation gap in the pastoral areas in general?
11. If yes, could you please identify the gaps?
12. What kind of recommendation you give for future consideration of the pastoral issues?

.....THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME AND VOLUNTARINESS.....

N.B:

- *These questions were subjective to change as need arises*
- *This guideline was also used for the secondary data collection as well as the field observation work.*

B. Interview Guideline for Focus Group Community Discussion,

1. How is the poverty condition in your area (pastoral areas)?
2. How do you define poverty? Who is poor in the pastoral community?
3. How pastoral poverty differs from the poverty in other rural communities (like agrarians)?
4. Do you know about the current poverty reduction strategy program of the country, PASDEP?
5. Did you involve in the preparation of this program?
6. How far the program is implemented in your area? What kinds of projects were implemented so far (water, health, education, rural infrastructure, micro credit, livestock marketing... etc)?
7. What is your contribution in implementing poverty reduction projects in your area?
8. Are there any challenges or opportunities in implementing such kind of programs and generally developmental programs in your area (social, cultural, economical, technical, religion, or other natural phenomena...)? Specify?
9. If there are challenges, how do you think they can be solved?
10. Do you feel that there is a gap or insufficient consideration of the pastoral issues in the poverty reduction strategy of the country?
11. If yes, what is your recommendation for further improvement of the policy and poverty reduction strategy program interventions in the pastoral communities?

.....THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME AND VOLUNTARINESS.....

N.B: These questions were subjective to change as per the condition.