



**A Literature Review Report on Understanding the Context
of People Transitioning out of Pastoralism (TOPs) in
Ethiopia**

An activity of the
PRIME
PASTORALIST AREAS RESILIENCE
IMPROVEMENT THROUGH MARKET EXPANSION
PROJECT

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Executive Summary

Pastoralists and agro-pastoralists in Ethiopia occupy a large proportion of landmass although they lead unstable life in arid and semi-arid areas of the country. Mobility being inherent in their day to day life in the process of livestock production, they have been challenged from a growing change in ecological conditions and human interference where they tend to lose land available for grazing for investment purposes as they often could not put a claim on communal land. Hence, there are environmental and institutional pressures that are putting greater threats to pastoral way of life. A gradual conversion of pastoral households into agro-pastoralism is also evident in many parts of pastoral areas where such conversion induces shifts in livestock production strategies and land use. Land allocated to farming has relatively increased over the last few decades where some proponents of pastoralism labelled such a move as invasion of farming to the dry land areas characterized by fragile ecology and unstable rainfall conditions. While such changes seem to be evolutionary, some claims underline that state development policies and political interventions in extending formal systems of governance has sped up the process of change.

Ethiopian pastoralists are responding to the social, political, and economic challenges with increased economic diversification including agro-pastoralism, wage labor, increased social and economic stratification, and market integration.

Two opposite views are reflected in the discourse on the future of pastoralism. One view shared by many development planners and even African governments, recommends abandoning pastoralism altogether and encouraging former herders to plant forage crops, cereals, and fodder to raise livestock in private and sedentary settings in order to better integrate into an urbanizing, market based economy. An alternative view, articulated by some anthropologists and indigenous pastoralist associations, emphasizes the restoration and protection of traditional pastoral rights, including legal rights to water and guaranteed rights-of-way for herds to across international borders, travel rights recognition of pasture resources, to unhindered passage pastoralist knowledge of water, pasture, and herd management. A middle ground, proposes integrating pastoralist practices with contemporary realities of population growth, increased market integration, and the need to produce agricultural crops- as well as livestock. Recommendations for improved economic integration include the promotion of grazing management schemes, fodder storage, improvement of water resources, veterinary improvements, and the development of banking and credit associations for pastoralists.

Pastoral livelihood improvement interventions by government (GO) and Nongovernment organizations (NGOs) primarily focus on sustaining the pastoral livelihood system through livestock productivity improvement, climate change

mitigation, natural resource management, rangeland management and improving the livelihood options of those who are continuing to transition out of Pastoralism (TOPS).

While there are ample literary works on the macro issues of Pastoralism such as social, economic, environmental affairs, little is known about the internal dynamics and context of those pastoralists who continue to leave the pastoral production system. Such lack of information, obviously affects the decisions of pastoralist development intervention initiatives to help the envisaged beneficiaries reap as expected.

One of the components of Pastoral Areas Resilience Improvement through Market Expansion (PRIME) project focuses on fostering the livelihood options of TOPS to support resilience among pastoralist communities in Ethiopia, and thus enhance prospects for long-term development in Ethiopia's three dry land landscapes where the pastoralist livelihood system prevails (Afar, Somali and Oromia). As a member of consortia, Haramaya University (HU)'s chief role is to act as the research arm of the overall project implementation process across all major Intermediate Results (IRs). In line with this, HU is commissioned to carry out a review of literature on the understanding of the context of TOPs so as to enlighten the context of TOPs in the PRIME intervention areas. The main objective of the review is, therefore, to bring about an insight to the context of TOPs in PRIME intervention areas (Southern, Eastern and Afar Clusters).

The review process has two stages. Firstly, secondary sources were critically reviewed based the key words related to pastoralists transitioning out of the system such as 'dropouts', 'ex-pastoralists', or 'pastoral livelihood diversification', etc. Moreover, best practice reports by various NGOs working on livelihood and diversification particularly targeting pastoral and agro pastoral community in the project areas were consulted. In addition, earlier reports of PRIME produced by various stakeholders were examined. Various research reports by individual researchers and local and international institutions were critically reviewed and properly documented. Secondly, in the absence of sufficient data sources get more insights about TOPs contexts, primary data were collected using informal and formal Key Informant Interviews (KII), and field observations in selected three project areas such as South Cluster (Yabello and Negelle), Afar(Awash Fentale and Awash Arba) and Eastern cluster(Jigjiga and Shinille).

As the main findings, this review disclosed that while the number of people who are transitioning out Pastoralism (dropping Pastoralism) are significantly increasing because of the increasing livelihood difficulties resulting from recurrent droughts, conflicts, range degradation, declining productivity and accelerating population growth, and the vulnerability of the poor in times of droughts, the transition was made for short –time until TOPs get rehabilitated through the traditional coping mechanisms and/or support from GOs and NGOs. Even though there was no deep

research made on pastoralist's dropout at household census level, there was gradual increment in the number of people who partially or partly drop pastoral production system and diversify to non-livestock livelihood options at the vicinity of the pastoral areas such as milking cows service for return in kind (milk cows and get milk for the service), selling charcoal, looking after cows for cash or non-cash services and yet assuming the name of pastoralist while not owning a single livestock in their name because they lost many to death and drought.

Attempts made by various government and nongovernment organizations towards shifting TOPs to non-livestock livelihood options were challenged because of their long time adaption to pastoral livelihood and the traditional coping mechanisms of restocking which exist in all the clusters ("*Busa Gonofa*" of Borana and Guji, "*xoologoy*n" in Somail, and ruling system of *Medaa* and *Adaa* in Afar). Moreover, studies show that pastoralists in Ethiopia have generally the least inclination to migrate to towns and cities due to their long lived traditional coping mechanisms that help the resilience of the pastoral system. There are situations where the traditional copying mechanism could not absorb the shocks and where the government and donors need to intervene, where the interventions involve granting live animals, food aid, livelihood diversification, etc., yet they prefer an intervention strategy that sustains pastoralists' productivity and production.

The drop-out process has two types of departures. The first is sudden departures due to unexpected events such as droughts and conflicts; and the second is departures due to chronic poverty that may gradually force households to drop pastoralism in search of alternative livelihood options by moving to urban and peri-urban areas. Those who leave the system are found to end up in old peri-urban destitute settlement camps established by the government in the past.

In spite of the increasing employment opportunities created because of private and government projects in the pastoralist areas of Ethiopia, TOPS do not count to the supply side of labor because most pastoralists dropouts were not interested to join these employing organizations partly due to cultural barrier, the belief that working in such organizations is not encouraged by the community at large. The rural to rural mobility was significantly higher than the rural to urban mobility in Ethiopian pastoralists systems.

Nevertheless, in the urban areas such as Jigjiga, Awash Fantalle, Yabello, and Negelle, there have been a growing need of manual workers and laborers especially in the construction sector such as cobble stone production and road development, but almost no pastoralists were interested in such jobs which are of low payment rate as low as 20 Birr Per-day. The labour demand for such jobs was filled by immigrants from Southern Nations and Nationalities as there is no interest by the local community. In general, CSA report indicated that the pastoral areas are characterized by highest dependency ratios, the highest being found in southern Oromia and throughout the Somali region. The spatial patterns of dependency do not

follow simple environmental trends. For example, in arid lowland pastoralist areas, ratios vary from very high (Somali) to very low (parts of Afar).

Unlike the Ethiopian highlanders who were accustomed to take advantage of the employment market by assuming low paying jobs in various sectors of the economy, Ethiopian pastoralists have the mind set up of pursuing their pastoralist livelihood options less open to see and make use of the surrounding employment opportunities at their vicinities and neighboring towns mainly due to long lived cultural barriers. In spite of the government's effort of sedentarisation policy and pastoral diversification to crop production, the Ethiopian pastoralists are less open and resistant to assimilation to lead sedentary livelihood. Nevertheless, with the increment of infrastructures such as road, telecommunication, market centers, and schools etc the change in the attitude is vivid. TOPS are not the candidates of employment market out rightly either because of skill gap or tradition, as a matter of fact, PRIME'S initiative of creating employment opportunities in the neighboring cities or towns of the pastoralists needs revisiting. It would better rather to focus on the employability skill development and livelihood diversification of livelihood options at the vicinity of the pastoralists and overall awareness creation and attitude change. Where the pastoralists are not connected to the market system, it is better to help them advance their skills through various projects of natural resource management, water development, and product development as the experiences of other NGOs and GOs shows.

PRIME interventions focusing on TOPs livelihood improvement should be based on regional and cluster context, gendered and should focus on the creating link with the market through working on the supply side. Regional pastoral dropouts contexts should be accommodated in those intervention strategies may be by capitalizing on the best experiences of GOs or NGOs best practices of livelihood improvement.

At last, major external support interventions are required to rehabilitate and improve the livelihood conditions of pastoral TOPs(drop-outs), including settlement where there is more space for cultivation with full extension package, Saving and credit services to support petty trading and others small business, creating opportunity for wage labor in urban and rural areas, Skill development to make them employable, restocking for those who want to return to pastoralism (needs careful targeting) return conflict induced dropouts to their place of origin and assist them to build peace and co-exist and integrate pastoral development with conflict management as a major component.

1. INTRODUCTION

Pastoralist societies in Ethiopia are facing more demands on their way of life this moment than at any previous time. Population growth, loss of herding lands to farmers, ranchers, wildlife parks, and urban growth, increased commoditization of the livestock economy, out-migration by poor pastoralists, and dislocations brought about by drought, famine and internal conflicts are increasing throughout the country. As a matter of fact, Ethiopian pastoralists are responding to the social, political, and economic challenges with increased economic diversification including agro-pastoralism, wage labor, increased social and economic stratification, and market integration. These urban migration changes consequently result in increased and diminished nutrition for women and children.

Studies (e.g. Fratkin, 2001) indicate that these problems are intensified as international development programs encourage privatization and individuation of formerly communally held resources. With increasing level of investment by the Ethiopian government and the private sector due to the lucrative economic growth in the country, expansion to the pastoralist area looking for large and flat land size is manifested in Ethiopia (pastoral area comprises of about sixty percent of the country's landmass).

Per capita livestock holdings and production are declining as a consequence of human population growth combined with heavy grazing of rangelands, induced mobility due to conflict and sedentarization. Encroachment into rangelands of agriculture and inedible plants, climate change, restrictions around livestock export and recurrent drought further contribute to the decline in pastoralism.

These intense challenges are, however, matched by opportunities for long-term development interventions that have the potential for significant positive impact on pastoralists and those transitioning out of pastoralism. Demand for livestock and livestock products on the domestic and international market continues to rise exponentially, the Government of Ethiopia (GOE) is gradually opening the economy to encourage private-sector growth, and improved infrastructure is spurring economic growth in urban hubs like Jijiga, Moyale and Dire Dawa. In recognition of these positive movements, development efforts are now converging around integrated market development approaches that combine life-saving assistance with efforts to enhance broad-based resilience. To this end, PRIME project is working to support resilience among pastoralist communities in Ethiopia, and thus enhance prospects for long-term development in Ethiopia's three dry land landscapes where the pastoralist livelihood system prevails (Afar, Somali and Oromia). As a member of consortia, Haramaya University (HU)'s chief role is to act as the research arm of the overall project implementation process across all major Intermediate Results (IRs).

In line with this, HU is commissioned to carry out a review of literature on the understanding of the context of TOPs so as to enlighten the context of TOPs in the PRIME intervention areas. The main objective of the review is, therefore, to bring about an insight to the context of TOPs in PRIME intervention areas (Southern, Eastern and Afar Clusters). The review report contains background of the pastoral livelihood system, objectives of the review, methodology employed to explore the data, understanding TOPs in their context (including stages of pastoral livelihood transition system, factors affecting pastoral transition, traditional coping mechanisms in the pastoral system, characterization of TOPs, livelihood strategies in the pastoral areas, and Trends of TOPs in the pastoral areas), and finally summary, conclusions, recommendations, and ways forward.

2. OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The overall objective of this sub-activity is to develop a knowledge base relating to TOPs and their context for Pastoralist Areas of Ethiopia. More specifically, it explores other demographic data pertaining to TOPs including migration patterns; youth profiles etc and consolidates key information into exhaustive resource. To this effect the review answers the following questions:

- What are the stages of transitioning out of the pastoral system?
- What are the factors affecting pastoral transition?
- What are the traditional coping mechanisms in the pastoral system?
- What concepts do exist in the literature regarding TOPS?
- What are the profiles of the 'average TOP' with reference to Urban, peri-urban and rural in the project areas (Eastern Somali Region, Southern Oromia Region, and Southern Afar Region)?
- What barriers do TOPs face to meaningful engagement in the community and productive life – either via entrepreneurship or employment?
- What resources (including physical, psychological and policy, etc) exist to assist TOPs in their transitioning? Which resources are most active? Which resources are most utilized? Which resources are the most beneficial? What aspect(s) of those resources do TOPs find most beneficial, and why? What resources/aspects of resources do TOPs find least useful/beneficial, and why?
- Whether or not TOPS are increasing or decreasing in the Pastoral areas?

3. METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

In order to answer the above research questions, two stages of analysis were conducted. Firstly, secondary sources were critically reviewed based the key words related to pastoralists transitioning out of the system such as 'dropouts', 'ex-

pastoralists’, or ‘pastoral livelihood diversification’, etc. Moreover, best practice reports by various NGOs working on livelihood and diversification particularly targeting pastoral and agro pastoral community in the project areas were consulted. In addition, earlier reports of PRIME produced by various stakeholders such as EMMA-TEEMA and cluster based TOP’s context assessment reports of other partners were examined. Various research reports by individual researchers and local and international institutions were critically reviewed and properly documented.

Secondly, in the absence of sufficient data sources get more insights about TOPs contexts, primary data were collected using informal and formal Key Informant Interviews (KII), and field observations (for instance looking into the profile of people in the city looking for jobs- whether they are pastoralists, agro pastoralists or highlanders) in selected three project areas such as South Cluster (Yabello and Negelle), Afar(Awash Fentale and Awash Arba) and Eastern cluster(Jigjiga and Shinille). The data collected through primary sources were analysed using content analysis approach and summarized in the form of diagrams and tables.

4. UNDERSTANDING “TOPS” IN THEIR CONTEXT

Transition out of pastoralism (TOPs) is a gradual process caused by various natural and manmade shocks. Transitioning in the pastoral context is a means of coping with the shocks leading to shifting of the existing pastoral livelihood system to an alternative livelihood options. The change in the pastoral livelihood option, in its strictest sense, may result in complete and permanent withdrawal of pastoralists from livestock dependent livelihood to a totally different livelihood options such as non-livestock sectors. In this line, the next sub-section of the report presents the summary of reviews of various publications related to pastoral livelihoods, data obtained through mining of secondary sources and Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) in the three clusters of PRIME project: Afar, Eastern, and Southern Clusters.

4.1. Stages of livelihood Transition in the Pastoral system

Based on the discussions held with KIIS and literature review, we came to conclude that pastoral livelihood transition passes through four major stages: Pure Pastoralism, Agro-Pastoralism, Agro-Pastoralism with Livelihood Diversification and ‘Drop outs’. The reason for transition varies across all stages.

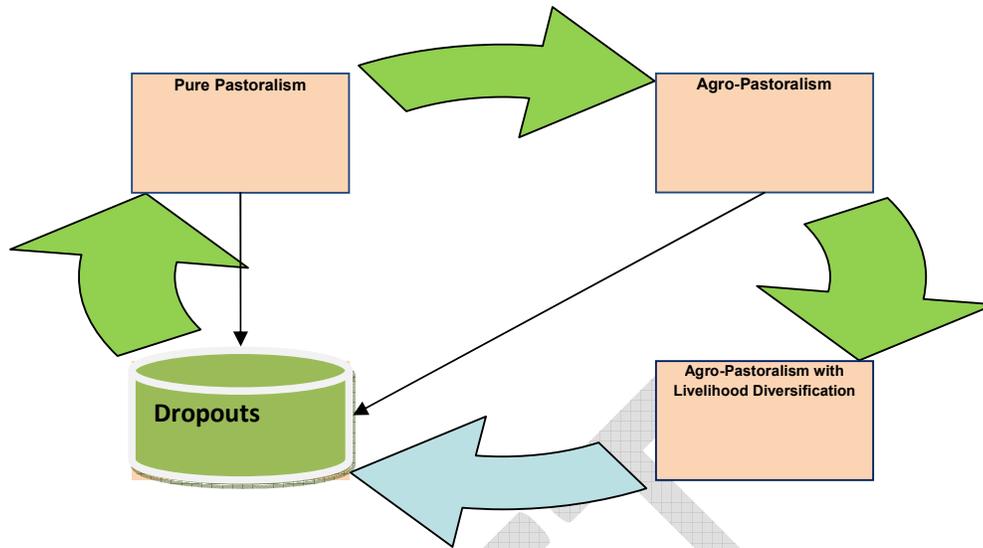


Figure 1. A Conceptual framework of Pastoral livelihood Transition

Stage I: Pure Pastoralism

Pastoralists are people, who for their livelihood, depend on livestock raising using the natural pasture (Coocheki and Gliessman, 2005). The lifestyles of pastoralists go back for many centuries. The current scenario shows that pastoral livelihood system is seemingly changing due to factors such as recurrent draught and conflict, and other natural and manmade calamities. A study focusing on the future of pastoralism in Ethiopia reads that pastoral households will continue to diversify their sources of income to include waged employment and agriculture where it is feasible, and trading activities as supplements to livestock-based incomes. The percentage of so-called “pure” pastoralists (those who depend on livestock for more than 90 percent or more for their income) will decline, especially in areas where cultivation is possible.

According to a study on the Future of Pastoralists in Ethiopia, the pure pastoralists will continue being engaged selectively in cultivation apart from livestock production. This scenario leads to agro-pastoralism as an alternative livelihood option for the future of pastoralists. In addition, pastoralism will continue to transition toward a model of a fixed base camp/settlement and mobile satellite camp where animals seasonally migrate with mainly young males but part of the family remains sedentary. This strategy allows some family members to trade, work, and/or seek services in small towns and settlements on a part- or full-time basis (Little et al, 2010). The EPRDF led Ethiopian government’s gradual sedentarisation policy highly supplements such an argument.

Stage II: Agro-Pastoralism

Agro-pastoralists mainly engage in joint business of cultivating crops depending on the availability of land and water resources and livestock production side by side. Compared to “pure pastoralists”, they are relatively stationed in a particular area to lead their life. Moreover, agro-pastoralists participate in various income generating activities as a means of diversifying their livelihood. These may include petty trading, selling of livestock products in the nearby cities, charcoal making, mining, and daily labourer.

Stage III: Agro-Pastoralism with Diversified Livelihood

In the context of agro-Pastoralism with diversified livelihood, the pastoralists manifest similar livelihood characteristics with agro pastoralists except that the activities related to livestock production become thinner as compared to other alternative activities where such pastoralists put more emphasis on crop production, petty trade and other non- livestock income generating sources. Some even sometimes leave their rural villages and reside in the nearby towns as business men or employed people yet keeping their livestock with herders and hence called in the literature “absentee herd owners or par-time pastoralists” (Little, 1985).

Literacy and transitioning out of pastoralism are positively correlated. There is a trend that young pastoralists are tending to leave the pastoral systems and only old people are sticking to such lifestyle. This trend may lead to a natural process of moving away from pastoral system to sedentary lifestyle in the pastoral area.

Stage IV: “Drop-Outs”

According to Solomon et al (2008), a dropout is a person, who lost his primary source of wealth(his animals) and driven out of the pastoral livelihood system unwillingly and settled either in rural, urban, peri-urban areas or market centres, in search of non-pastoral options to make a living. Such person can be detached completely from Pastoralism or maintain a very loose connection.

Our KII interviewees revealed from their practice that when conditions go well, dropouts (especially older ones) prefer to go back to their villages and restart their pastoral livelihood options instead of remaining around cities and towns. Even those who were given food aid and restocking animals, and land for crop cultivation, regressed back to pastoral living system under good seasons and hence dropping other non livestock alternative livelihood options.

4.2. Alternative strategies for pastoralist in Ethiopia

A study made University of Sussex in UK and published by UN OCHA pastoralist communications initiative 2007 have proposed four alternative livelihood options for

the improvement of pastoral economy in Ethiopia. The strategies developed based on two factors: Market Access and Environmental Productivity. The first strategy refers to sustaining pastroalsim under the situation of high environmental productivity and low market access; the second scenario refers to introduction of alternative livelihoods given there is low market access and low environmental productivity; thirdly, expanding export trade was recommended as a viable option on condition that there is high environmental productivity with high market access; and finally the think tank suggested Added-Value Diversification if the environmental productivity is low and there exists high market access(See Fig. 2).

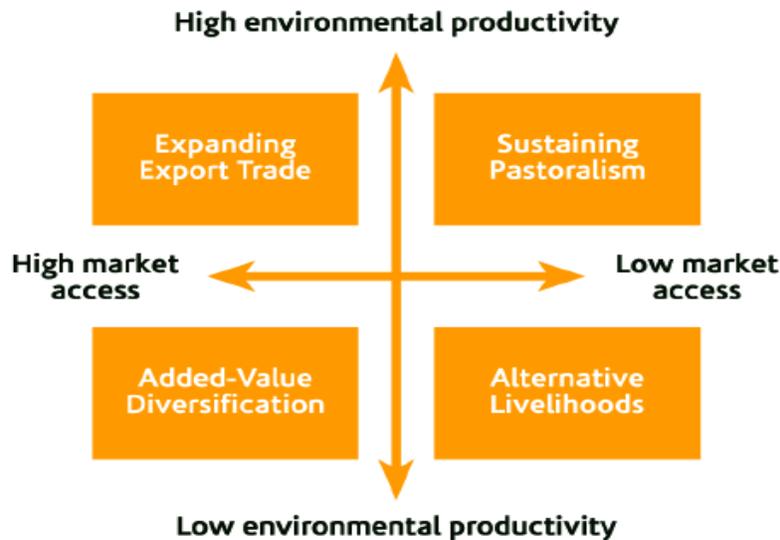


Fig. 2. Alternative livelihood options for pastoralists in Ethiopia
Source: The future of pastoralism in Ethiopia

In line with the above explanation, as many studies indicated on the current scenario of Ethiopian pastoralist economy, because of draught and other factors environmental productivity is declining and as well there is weak market linkages; the most viable option calling for the intervention of development agents seems introducing of alternative livelihood options in addition to sustaining pastoral livestock production. The most viable alternative livelihood options in the three cluster areas of PRIME include:

4.3. Factors affecting Pastoral Transition and Migration

A study on the Future of Pastoralist in Ethiopia, revealed certain factors that affects the future scenarios in pastoral areas. The first factor will be the growth in education, which already is increasing at the primary level but will also grow at secondary and post-secondary levels during 2010-2025. While general enrolment ratios (GERs) in primary school attendance in pastoral areas are still well below national averages,

they are improving and in 2006 they were reported to be 21.9 and 30.3 percent for Afar and Somali Regions, respectively (Ministry of Education 2008).

PARIMA (Pastoral Risk Management in East Africa) research findings also support this general finding that pastoralists of southern Ethiopia are increasingly open to sending their children to school, although levels of achievement remain. For the future the implications of an increase in education levels will mean that: (1) pastoralists will achieve better skills and be able to access better paying jobs; and (2) they will participate more fully in civic activities and the democratic process by lobbying for improved policies and programs for their communities. At present there is an overly centralized approach to policy making and program planning in pastoral regions and a limited role for civil society organizations, including NGOs, as evidenced by the dominant role of the MoFA (Ministry of Federal Affairs) and federal government in pastoral affairs. Pastoralists need to be equipped to engage with an “literate” world – with government, the media, and donors – and we recognize that political literacy is a key to empowerment.

We expect that the education of women will still lag that of males unless the government takes strong action to redress past inequalities in educational access. With the growing number of educated pastoralists and improved access to employment, the significance of remittance flows to pastoral regions will grow considerably and fuel investments both in pastoral and non-pastoral activities.

Moreover, as education and waged employment grows and men migrate to towns for work, women are likely to assume even a greater role in pastoral economies.

Secondly, the role of markets and demand-driven outlets for animal products and livestock will continue to grow and make pastoralism economically viable well into the future. We see herders and traders taking greater advantage of the growing demand in domestic and regional African markets, as well as continuing to participate in export markets to the Middle East and, eventually, Asian markets. As incomes and urbanization grows in Ethiopia, the demand for milk and meat products will increase considerably over current levels and most of this demand will need to be met from pastoral areas.

Thirdly, it is expected that continued pressures on pastoral rangelands and challenges to pastoralism by outside investors, neighboring agriculturalists, mining/mineral interests, and state-financed irrigation schemes. These threats highlight the need for land legislation and official recognition on common pastoral lands and these pressures are unlikely to slow down in the next 15 years. This is an area where the government must play an important role to protect pastoral lands, a protection that is provided in Ethiopia’s constitution but not implemented in practice. Unless there is land and legislation reform that recognize pastoralists’ rights to their own lands and resources, we will continue to see increased conflict and insecurity in these areas and heightened ambiguities over land rights. In addition, these policy actions must be linked with a recognition of the strong economic contributions that pastoralism makes to regional economies and GDP (see Little et al, 2009), to counter claims that better uses of pastoral lands bring higher returns to local and national economies.

Finally, unless constructive actions are taken, conflict will continue to damage pastoral economies and development possibilities, specially in the Somali Region where on-going conflict has disrupted trade, food production, education and other activities. The presence of conflict will override most of the positive trends in pastoral economies discussed in this document and strongly shape future trajectories in pastoral areas unless peace is instituted, especially in the Somali Region.

There are key reasons for dropping out of pastoralism. Drought, conflict and chronic poverty are the main reasons indicated by our KIs. The poor, according to our key informants, have become increasingly vulnerable, and thus with a concomitant growing tendency to opt out of the system due to:

- the increasing livelihood difficulties resulting from recurrent droughts, conflicts, range degradation, declining productivity and accelerating population growth,
- the vulnerability of the poor in times of droughts because of lack of full attention by the better off who in the times of emergency may leave them behind and move out with their livestock in search of forage and water.

Studies show that the pastoralists in Ethiopia have generally the least inclination to migrate to towns and cities due to their long lived traditional coping mechanisms that help the resilience of the pastoral system. Those who drop-out are mainly driven by sudden events. Historically, migration to towns and market centers started in the mid 1960s but significant outflows for peri-urban encampments have been observed following the 1970 and 1980s catastrophic droughts. Centers like Dubuluq have particularly attracted a significant number of drop-outs following the 1999/2000 drought (Wassie et al, 2010).

4.4. The Role of Traditional Coping Mechanism in Sustaining the Pastoral system

A key informant interviews in Afar, Borena and Somali clusters revealed that, in general, Ethiopian pastoralists shows less tendency to permanently migrate to urban and pre-urban areas even during the time of shocks and crisis. As stated earlier, the long lived traditional coping mechanisms have helped them to overcome the shocks until recently. The KIs argued that these traditional coping mechanisms have helped a lot in sustaining pastoral system in the country regardless of the natural and manmade calamities. For example, Borena and Guji pastoralists highly practice a traditional coping mechanism called “Buusaa-Gonofaa” – a traditional support and restocking system to overcome shocks. In similar terms both Afar and Somali pastoralists have their own traditional coping mechanisms. In Somali region, for instance, transfers of animals are common between rural households, but almost non-existent among urban households. Livestock owners often lend or donate milking animals to relatives (*irmaansior maal*), to be reared in exchange for their milk and/or offspring. Alternatively, wealthier livestock owners with pack animals to spare will lend a camel or donkey to poorer relatives. Two other important mechanisms for redistributing livestock are restocking of poor relatives who have lost their animals

(*xoologoy*n), and gifts of livestock to newly married couples (*kaalo*) (Devereaux, 2006).

The Afar pastoralist, Surveillance and assessment of the availability of grazing and water will be conducted in the whole area. This is organized and done through the ruling system of *Medaa* and *Adaa*. *Dagu* is an organized information exchange network system of Afars that helps to assess resource base and determines where to go. It is a long established tradition that when an Afar meets another Afar (those who know each other or strangers) in the streets or elsewhere they sit down and spend some time exchanging information about grazing, water and local politics (Diress, 1999). Youngsters are assigned and undertake the surveillance and assessment responsibilities. They report back to the community about the situation with due consideration of the availability of feed both in quality and quantity, and estimate for how long the feeds and water sustain the existing stock. After the available resource is inventoried, the communities assisted by *Medaa* members also plan on how to economically utilize the resources. The number of livestock and length of time to stay on the particular spot will also be decided by the *Medaa* and *Adaa*. They pass resolution to protect and even have more *Kalo* (grazing reserves) and temporarily protected dry season grazing land (this is used where most of the grazing lands that are far away from the water sources are depleted). They rationally plan and make economical use of the *Kalo*. Weakened livestock will be allowed to feed on the nearby *Kalo* and drink from the nearby water source.

Exhibit 1: Traditional Copying Mechanisms in the Pastoral Area: Borana and Guji Case

The key informant who has about 30 years of experience working with pastoralists during the time of drought and conflict to address emergency affairs claimed that Borana and Guji pastoralists usually migrate from one place another only for limited period time, hence it is from one rural area to another rural area (rural to rural migration). They only seasonally migrate due to natural and manmade calamities, and after waiting for safe periods they return to their former livelihood through restocking, rehabilitation and other coping strategies instead of permanently shifting to other livelihoods. In terms of employment preference, the key informant underlined that pastoralists neither prefer to live in cities nor they want to get employed on those jobs that exists in the cities. Such jobs are mostly occupied by people who came from other parts of the country and not by pastoralists. Mostly Guji and Borana, do not want to leave their place permanently primarily due to the existence of traditional copying mechanisms and structure to rehabilitate the vulnerable and victims. He reemphasized that traditional coping mechanisms such as “*Buusaa-Gonofa*” a pair of oromo words referring to subsistence support and restocking, respectively, played significant role in sustaining pastoralist production system in the area. Asked whether dropouts do exist in the cities? The respondent replied that even though they exist the number is insignificant. The respondent recommended that NGOs should focus on development – oriented projects instead of focusing on emergency issues. For instance, water development is a key issue in the pastoral areas for enhancing livestock productivity and for sustaining life in the pastoral area.

4.5. Conceptualization of People Transitioning out of Pastoralism(TOPs)

In the language of PRIME project, the abbreviation “TOPS” stands for “Pastoralists (People) Transitioning out of Pastoralism.” It automatically implies people who are shifting from pastoralist livelihood to other alternative economic activities in non-livestock sectors to generate increased formal employment opportunities (including self-employment through entrepreneurial ventures).

The literature reads that TOPS were given different names by different authorities. Some call them pastoral *dropouts* to imply those who deter pastoral livelihood and automatically to other alternative economic activities. Most pastoral dropouts are driven out of the pastoral livelihood system because of loss of their livestock and engage in environmentally destructive, low income generating, and socially disgraceful livelihood strategies to make a living. Others call them *transitioning*. Transitioning pastoralists are those who are diversifying to economic activities other than pastoralism. Yet others argue that livestock pastoralism has been surprisingly resilient as pastoralists have shown a wide variety of adaptations of change, including periodic oscillation between pastoralism and farming as well as hunting and gathering, and more recently wage labor.

Commentators and actors including development and policy planners, social scientists and pastoralist group themselves have been debating on the future of East African pastoralist societies. A review by Fratkin (2001) indicated that two opposite views are reflected in the discourse on the future of pastoralism. One view shared by many development planners and even African governments, recommends abandoning pastoralism altogether and encouraging former herders to plant forage crops, cereals, and fodder to raise livestock in private and sedentary settings in order to better integrate into an urbanizing, market based economy. An alternative view, articulated by some anthropologists and indigenous pastoralist associations, emphasizes the restoration and protection of traditional pastoral rights, including legal rights to water and guaranteed rights-of-way for herds to across international borders, travel, rights recognition of pasture resources, to unhindered passage pastoralist knowledge of water, pasture, and herd management, an end of propaganda to sedentarize, and the right to run their own local affairs (Baxter, 1993; Hogg, 1992).

A middle ground, up on which PRIME is founded, proposes integrating pastoralist practices with contemporary realities of population growth, increased market integration, and the need to produce agricultural crops- as well as livestock. Recommendations for improved economic integration include the promotion of grazing management schemes, fodder storage, improvement of water resources, veterinary improvements, and the development of banking and credit associations for pastoralists (Coppock, 1993).

Regardless of the various names given to the people who are exiting from pure pastoralist livelihood strategy to other economic alternatives, it is important for prime

partners to note of that TOPs are those seeking for non-livestock employment because of various shocks- pull and push factors. The pull factors are simply attractions at the point of destination, which include job opportunities and good living conditions. The push factors are poverty and limited livelihood opportunities at the point of origin. These factors may result from trends such as population pressure and general policy neglect of the rural sector. Moreover, shocks such as conflicts, droughts and other natural disasters may push people out of their villages in search of survival options in urban and periurban locations.

The connotation of people transitioning out of pastoralism as TOPs is primarily attributed to PRIME and other writers in this area remain silent and most of them focus on the pastoral “dropouts”. Whether the word “TOPs” is equivalent to the term “dropouts” is subject to debate and remain obscured. Nevertheless, transitioning by definition is the process of moving from one state (pastoral livelihood) to another state (non-pastoral livelihood) and it is a gradual process whereas “dropouts” refers to the sudden and permanent decision to leave the pastoral system in search of non-pastoral options in both urban and peri-urban areas. They are people whose livelihood were endangered due to factors such as draught, conflict, and related natural and manmade shocks and consequently failed to cope up the shock and sustain their pastoral livelihood and hence leading to permanently exiting the pastoral livelihood and migrate to cities in search of alternative livelihood options including employment.

Pastoral transitioning as a gradual process has different stages. The majority of TOPs do not migrate to nearby cities or towns. The rural to rural migration within the pastoral community is the usual and natural process than the rural to nearby towns or cities migration. Some even give services to other pastoralists for payment in kind such as women give milking services and men work as herders.

In Borana and Guji zones, for instance, there is social class among people who lost their livestock to drought and disease.

In the context of Borana pastoralist system, based on the level of wealth, *dropouts* could be named as *Qolle and Dega*. *Qolle* is a stockless person who lives within the pastoral community and maintains some involvement in pastoral activities and he/she may ultimately end up as dropouts unless he/she is restocked by the traditional safety net in a reasonably good time whereas *Dega* is a very poor pastoralist with very few animals. A *dega* can easily become a *qolle* following a small shock and dropout of the system. *Qolles* and *degas* are not considered as drop-outs although they don't have adequate number of livestock to live as an “independent” pastoralist. Nevertheless, *Qolles*, *degas* and dropouts share lots of commonalities in livelihood strategies, challenges they face to make a living, and vulnerability to shocks, etc.

Sometimes there is a confusion as to whether the very poor (the stockless Qolle) who physically remain in pastoral villages are confidently referred as pastoralists (Wassu et al, 2010). Moreover, Getachew and Solomon(2010) asserts that a dropout (*Eltama*) is a person who lost his primary source of wealth, his animals and driven out of the pastoral livelihood system unwillingly and settled either in rural, urban, periurban areas or markets centers, in search of non-pastoral options to make a living. Such a person can be detached completely from pastoralism or maintain a very loose connection.

Table 1: Characterization of People Transitioning out of Pastoralism (TOPs)

TOPs	Not TOPs	Remark
Ex-pastoralist/household who graduated from pastoral lifestyle due to various natural and/or manmade shocks and seeking for employment in the city/town	A person of the pastoral origin running additional business in the city while keeping the livestock aside	
	A pastoralist child who left the pastoral vicinity for schooling and/or looking for jobs	
	A pastoralist women who is selling milk and milk products in the nearby city/town while leading life in the pastoral area	
	An educated and employed person whose background was a pastoralist	
	'Absentee herder' are not TOPs. Absentee herder is a pastoralist who has livestock in the rural area and at the same time engaged in other economic activities in the urban area. He/she dwells in the cities and might make irregular visit to the pastoral areas.	

Source: own explanation's

A USAID funded study of pastoral drop-outs in Borena revealed that pastoral drop-outs are those who completely leave the system. The stockless poor who remain among the pastoral community are not considered as drop-outs because the

tradition does not ignore them to stay in a state of complete stocklessness. They are considered as poor pastoralists who expect support from their clans and relatives for restocking as far as they stay among the community and make efforts to regain positions ((Wassie et al, 2010).They have neither lost hope in the system nor rejected by their fellow Boranas in pastoral villages. They have the right to benefit from the traditional welfare system, and those who make efforts can build up their stock on the basis of these various community support mechanisms and reciprocal labor contributions (for example, in terms of herding and animal watering) in the system. For example, our KI Borana elder at Dubuluk argued that there are many pastoral households that were impoverished by the 1999/2000 drought but have later significantly improved their wealth status as compared to those who left the system for encampment at Dubuluk. Therefore, it is inappropriate to refer to the stockless destitute (Qolle) that remain among the pastoral community as dropouts centrally because the community has the obligation to restock them. They are supposed to remain in the system basically to claim for community restocking support for possible wealth accumulation. The Borana generally do not discriminate against the poor because everyone is vulnerable to a sudden event of catastrophic wealth loss and state of stocklessness. The Borana indigenous welfare system, though increasingly crumbling due to increasing pastoralist impoverishment, has not yet lost its entire cadence to neglect a stockless person who appeals for restocking. It may be important to add a point here that there are poor pastoralists who have a few animals but leave their family behind and try to earn extra income in urban areas with a view to save on livestock, and our key informants generally find it difficult to confidently refer to them as drop-outs.

The drop- out process has two types of departures. These are: sudden departures due to unexpected events such as droughts and conflicts; and departures due to chronic poverty that may gradually force households to drop pastoralism in search of alternative livelihood options by moving to urban and peri-urban areas. Those who leave the system are found to end up in old peri-urban destitute settlement camps established by the government in the past. They also usually migrate to peri-urban encampments or ollas very close to small towns or small village towns (market centers) or larger wereda towns. Pastoralist dropouts study indicated that, for instance in Yabello area, those who have been ejected out of the system have either generally ended up in Yaballo town or may have usually joined the pool of peri-urban destitute in the old Derg settlement camps such as Cholkasa, Surupha, Iddi-Alle and Adegelech. These settlements have attracted new entrants over time, but a number of the original entrants have also reportedly left the camps for various destinations including towns and rural pastoral villages.

Wereda or zonal towns and peri-urban encampments around them have been centres of attraction for those who decide to opt out of pastoralism. Market centers such Dida Hara, Dubluk have also reportedly attracted an increasing number of drop-outs from pastoral villages. Before two decades, urbanization was not a common phenomenon in pastoral areas in Ethiopia. However, with the expansion of physical infrastructures such as roads and other facilities, there is an increasing trend on the establishment of small towns and villages on the main roads stretching to Moyalle in southern Ethiopia, Semera in Afar and Jiggiga in Eastern Ethiopia. These small centers are more attractive to drop-outs because of easy accommodation and

adaptations as compared to the more complex urban areas. Many of the drop-outs in the DirreWereda, according to our KIs, tend to migrate more to Dubuluk or Moyale than to Mega. Moyale town is a center of attraction for pastoralist drop-outs in the southern cluster and even highland migrants. The drop-outs around Moyale are generally dispersed in different areas in the town and the shabby encampments around it. Dropouts may normally prefer peri-urban encampments, especially in more complex urban areas, because these could easily shelter the poor who cannot meet the standard requirements of town planning at central locations.

Drop-outs in general prefer to live in the peripheral areas of the towns and pursue different livelihood strategies which are less preferred and considered inferior in terms of income generation and social status (Getachew and Solomon, 2010¹).

No newly planned Derg type settlement camps have been established in recent years. However, in YabelloWereda, the study on Pastoral Drop-Outs by Wassie et al(2010), found many displaced people encamped around Haro Bakke livestock market. These people are displaced victims from the traditional gold mining areas due to the Guji-Borana conflict. They are previous drought victims that had left pastoral villages in search of alternative options due to poverty and stocklessness. It appears to represent a case of possible multiple displacement, originally by drought, and then recently by conflict. Informants indicated that these newly displaced victims from mining areas have left for multiple destinations including Yabello and Arero towns, surupha settlement and the new encampment around Bakke Market.

Furthermore, the study summarized that:

- These people were attracted to their present location because of the possibility of selling fuel wood and charcoal to Yaballo town and the earning potential from different labor services provided on market days. It is also difficult to get construction space, in the organized municipal towns, for the kind of shabby hats they temporarily establish to shelter themselves.
- They had some support from the Red Cross but are not in a position to be embraced by government assistance (such the safety net program) perhaps mainly because they do not belong to either urban or rural Kebele administrations because they are on transition.
- They do not even think of going back to their original pastoral villages; their exposure and new skills rather induces them to fight for self-reliance. They reportedly prefer their current survival efforts than becoming a burden on their fellow Boranas in pastoral villages. They indicated that people refer to them as “bukkatota” (the displaced) though they do not face any kind of discrimination from their fellow Boranas.

An important remark is how to identify TOPS in the PRIME intervention areas?
Where is the source of information to trace TOPs from non-TOPs?

¹Seeking Survival: The case of Pastoral Drop-Outs in Borana Plateau presented at the International Conference on Future of Pastoralism, 21-23 March 2010, ILRI, and Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

One of the problems we have had at the time of PRIME TEEMA –EMMA assessment survey was lack of data on the number and profile of TOP households. There were some attempts made by Pastoral Development offices (PDOs) in various pastoralist areas of Oromia National Regional State such as Borana and Guji zones in organizing pastoral dropouts for improving their livelihood. This information is pertinent at least to start registration of TOP households. In Afar and Somali regional states more work is needed as the offices are not well organized to provide data on TOP households.

Moreover, Zonal and district level bureaus of Labour and Social Affairs (LSOA), Disaster Prevention and Preparedness (DPP) were also found to be important actors to partners with to secure information on employment status, jobs seekers registry, and food aid seekers. The last and costly option could be registration of pastoral dropouts jointly with the district and local administration level actors using survey.

4.6. TOPs profile in the Context of Ethiopian Pastoral system

The demand side and the supply side of labor do not match in the context of pastoral community in the project areas. Although there are some employers in these regions, most pastoralists are not interested to join these employing organizations partly due to cultural barrier, the belief that working in such organizations is not encouraged by the community at large. Key informant interview made at various regions shows, at time of draught and famine, almost all of them have **the** mechanism to absorb shocks so that the stockless will be able to have the stock and prefer to remain in the community after the shock. For example, in Borena there is what we call 'busa-gonofa' a traditional copying mechanism that makes the pastoralists to remain in their locality regardless of what has happened to them as a result of the draught instead of migrating to cities in search of alternative employment. On the other hand, even if there are very few pastoralists who are interested to work for employers, they lack sufficient skills and knowledge to fit with the job requirement.

There are situations where the traditional copying mechanism could not absorb the shocks and where the government and donors need to intervene, where the interventions involve granting live animals, food aid, livelihood diversification, etc., they yet prefer an intervention strategy that sustains pastoralists' productivity and production.

An assessment report by Devereaux(2006) in the Somali region reveals that men are more prone to pastoral livelihood than women. Pastoral woman wants to settle because they want to trade in towns. Somalis consider themselves as 'people of animals' and men Somali always want to sustain pastoralist livelihood and culture more than women of the same age and area. However, with respect to youngsters, there is a declining tendency of becoming a pastoralist and they more prefer to go to school and get educated than looking after cattle like that of their fathers and

forefathers. This implies that the sustainability of pastoralist livelihood in the long run seems at risk.

Because TOPS are not the candidates of employment market out rightly either because of skill gap or tradition, PRIME'S initiative of creating employment opportunities in the cities or towns seems infeasible. It is better rather to focus on the employability skill development and livelihood diversification of livelihood options at the vicinity of the pastoralists. Where the pastoralists are not connected to the market system, it is better to help them advance their skills through various projects of natural resource management, water development, and product development. The experiences of NGOs such as SOS Sahel in Product development and Petty trade are very much pertinent in this regard.

Exhibit 2__Aloe soap, Incense and Gum Success Story in Borana and Guji (Adapted from SOS Sahel Report, Yabello Field Office, December, 2013)

Borana semi-arid climatic ecosystem determines two subsistence production systems in the area: Pastoralism and Agro-Pastoralism. Until recently these two systems were the major source of subsistence and sustainable livelihoods for local community. Viability of this livelihood systems have been undermined by a number of causal factors such as recurrent drought, soaring food prices, conflict, declining natural resources base, reduced mobility, declining livestock terms of trade, HIV/AIDS pandemic, years of economic and political marginalization, breakdown of traditional structures and support systems causing a progressive decline of livestock and deterioration of livelihoods of the community. These endogenous and exogenous factors have posed a great challenge for the sustainability of pastoral areas and pastoral way of life. On the other hand, there is a great potential of natural products in Borana which can be developed as an alternative source of income outside livestock. But, the economic potential of certain high-value dry land natural products (honey, gum and incense, Aloe Vera, scent wood & others) to improve livelihoods of pastoralists in Borana zone and contribute to the national economy have not been realized.

There is limitation in natural products and market diversification and virtually, there is very little value added activities currently practiced by pastoralists. The local prices that wild harvesters/producers are receiving now for these natural products are poor. Herders involved in wild harvesting of natural products in Borana lack the skills, and facilities to produce high quality natural products of interest or value to the world markets. It is not possible to successfully market natural products without well-developed physical and social infrastructures.



Fig High quality Incense Producing Trees & High quality gum producing trees

This is especially true for natural products that demands excellent market chains and secondary processing facilities. Processing facilities with adequate equipment are fundamental to the success of any commercial products operation in order to process, store, pack and label, products to the market/buyers specifications, and to consistently supply the necessary volumes.

The collection and processing centers are also needed to provide on-job training on product processing, packaging, labeling, and delivering. Furthermore, the need to have access to up-to-date website facility to provide up-to-date information on market requirements & statutory standards of the national and importing country necessitates the establishment of a resource center.

Considering these facts, SOS Sahel Ethiopia, is working on Non-Timber-Forest Products and marketing development through establishment of different NTFP based cooperatives and Union in cooperation with Cooperative Promotion Office. Gum and Incense, Aloe soap, Scent wood and honey are one of NTFPs that are available in Borana lowland areas. Borana Zone is richly endowed with species in the genera Acacia, Boswellia, Commiphora and Aloe plants, some of which are the main sources of commercial gum and incense. Acacia Senegal, Acacia seyal, Boswellia neglecta and above 14 types of Aloe species are the main gum and incense, Aloe soap and Scent wood producing species from which the people harvest commercial products. Production and marketing of commercial gums (especially gum Arabic) and gum resins (frank-incense and myrrh), Aloe soap and Scent wood are other form of income diversification with good potential for economic development in the Borana lowlands. However, little is still understood about the entire NTFPs (gums and gum resins, Aloe products & scent wood) sector and its contribution to the economic development of the lowlands and sustainable use of resources.





The major constraints for the production of gum and incense are seasonality nature, logistics (water and food) and transportation to and from the far gum and incense harvesting fields. Inadequate skill of producers on improving yield and quality of products which has affected the prices of their products are the challenges on which SOS Sahel Ethiopia is working on through provision of different trainings on harvesting, sorting, cleaning, grading, and storing of gum and incense products. Construction of processing centers, shop facilities and offices, Provision of seed money and financial working documents establishing Union and engaging in market development through value-chain approaches are main type of supports.

4.7. TOPs Livelihood Strategies in the pastoral Area

In general, TOPS (drop-outs) pursue different livelihood strategies which are less preferred and considered inferior in terms of income generation and social status (Getachew and Solomon, 2010). These include:

- Firewood collection, charcoal making, supply of construction wood to towns, local alcohol making, passing contraband items, petty trading, a variety of casual labor services, herding and trekking animals for traders; housemaid, watchman, washing clothes for urban people, brokering, farming, getting closer to food aid, gold mining etc.
- Livelihood strategies for dropouts is gendered, with men doing brokering, trekking, farming, and women, fuel wood collection, passing contraband goods, local brewery, housemaid, etc.

Exhibit 3: Loading and Unloading Cooperatives

Interview was carried with the Shinille District Loading and Unloading cooperative members. The active number of members in the cooperative is 164. They are also employees of the Cooperative who provide the loading and unloading services

mainly to the Aid Food Stores in the locality. The members came together voluntarily with the interest of improving their life. Since the last two years of their establishment then they have saved about 96,000 ETB. The members are daily laborers who are unskilled. Had it not been for the seasonality of their jobs, life is better now according to one of the informant. They are concerned on how to diversify to other jobs.

As a matter of fact, they have planned to work on construction materials business. We found that some 30 of their members are TOPs. The minimum monthly contribution to the saving that an individual member should make is 10 Birr. We have interviewed one of the members who came from the Pastoral livelihood, Mr Yunus Musik. He informed us that he came to Shinille following the death of his cattle because of drought. He sates that there no one giving support (be it financial or advisory) when he joined Shinille. Asked how he compares the current life as daily laborer with the former livelihood as pastoralist, he preferred the present one because there was no education for his children but he is sending to school two of his 9 children. As it is beyond his income he could not teach the other seven as their mother is died he is supporting them alone. Now is wanted to change his traditional living house (Dasa) to a better ones made of mud and better access to water service. He advises other pastoralists who lost their cattle to come to cities and work like him but not those who have enough herd.

4.8. Trend of TOPs in the Pastoral Areas

In the context of pastoralists, especially in Borana, the number of people leaving the system as dropouts is on the rise; number of *qolles* and *degas* increasing. Dropouts returning to pastoralism, or improving their well-being from their new livelihood strategies are none. On the other hand, *qolles* or *degas* recovering and moving to a higher wealth group is a very rare case. They are becoming more vulnerable. Moreover, dropouts and *qolles* or *degas* used to be seen positively, but as their number swell up they are becoming burden to the safety net, and are viewed negatively. Generally, though the traditional copying mechanism and other social safety nets still exists to help the poor and stockless, but they are no more effective as they are de-capacitated by recurrent drought and conflict in the pastoral area. As a risk sharing mechanism resulting from various causes, new financial services known as Index Based Livestock Insurance (IBLI) have been introduced recently in the pastoral Areas of southern clusters.

The Key Informants from Somali asserted that Somali Regional State lives with above 85% Pastoral or Agro Pastoralists. Even though there is a natural transition of Pastoralism to Agro-Pastoralism due factors such as climate Change, chronic animal diseases, drought, population pressure, external forces such as government policies

and programs, market and economic changes, education and other facilities, there had been many factors attributed to disturbing the pastoralist's traditional shock management and making the incidence beyond their control. There had been people who were forced to drop –the pastoral production and search for alternative livelihood options. Even though there was no deep research made on pastoralist's dropout at household census level, there was gradual increment in the number of people who partially or partly drop pastoral production system and diversify to non-livestock livelihood options at the vicinity of the pastoral areas such as milking cows service for return in kind (milk cows and get milk for the service), selling charcoal, looking after cows for cash or non cash services and yet assuming the name of pastoralist while not owning a single livestock in their name because they lost many to death and drought. According to the **KII-1**, asked about the livelihood interests of pastoralists of Somali, he responded that normally the elder people don't leave their villages and animals and they want to die with them whereas because of more access to education and urbanization, the young people opt for another alternative than continuing in the pastoralist system unlike their fathers and forefathers.

Asked then what options should be in place for pastoralists by donors and humanitarian development organizations, the interviewee responded two alternative options:

1. Crop Production through development of water resources basins or water well development activities, and
2. Carrying out Emergency activities such as livestock restocking. Evidences indicated that Some six years back in **Gode** area of Somail regional state, because of the loss of many animals because of drought and climatic change, interventionists have given livestock to household to reestablish their normal live. Moreover, they were trained crop farming system and after one or two harvests they gave up and returned to livestock rearing and pastoralism.

Yet in the urban areas such as Jigjiga, there have been a growing need of manual workers and laborers especially in the construction sector such as cobble stone production and road development, but almost no pastoralists were interested in such jobs which are of low payment rate as low as 20 Birr Per-day. The labor demand for such jobs was filled by immigrants from Southern Nations and Nationalities as there is no interest by the local community. For the pastoralists the, such jobs were considered inferior and unacceptable to their traditional practice. The second KII, have rich experience in livelihood improvement of pastoral communities in the region. To his knowledge and practice, there had been a significant increase in the trend of pastoralist's migration off the pastoral production system for various reasons mostly involuntarily.

Furthermore, there is a significant increment in the number of dropouts in Afar region as well in spite of the traditional coping mechanisms contribution to high dependency. According to CSA (2012) following standard international definitions,

the working population is defined as those aged 15-64 years, and the nonworking population is those under 15 or over 64 years. These calculations are based on data from the 1994 census. The national ratio is 0.97, indicating that for every 100 working persons; there are 97 who are not working. The highest dependency ratios are found in southern Oromia and throughout the Somali region. The spatial patterns of dependency do not follow simple environmental trends. For example, in arid lowland pastoralist areas, ratios vary from very high (Somali) to very low (parts of Afar).

5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1. Summary

- Transition out of pastoralism (TOPs) is a gradual process caused by various natural and manmade shocks. Transitioning in the pastoral context is a means of coping with the shocks leading to shifting of the existing pastoral livelihood system to other alternative livelihood options. The change in the pastoral livelihood option, in its strictest sense, may result in complete and permanent withdrawal of pastoralists from livestock dependent livelihood to a totally different livelihood options such as non-livestock sectors.
- This study reflected that pastoral livelihood transition passes through four major stages: Pure Pastoralism, Agro-Pastoralism, Agro-Pastoralism with Livelihood Diversification and 'Drop outs'. The reason for transition varies across all stages.
-
- Market Access and Environmental Productivity are important dimensions to look while designing pastoral livelihood improvement programs. One option discussed in this study was sustaining pastoralism under the situation of high environmental productivity and low market access; the second scenario refers to introduction of alternative livelihoods given there is low market access and low environmental productivity; thirdly, expanding export trade was recommended as a viable option on condition that there is high environmental productivity with high market access; and finally the think tank suggested added-value diversification given the environmental productivity is low and there exists high market access.
- There are key reasons for dropping out of pastoralism. Drought, conflict and chronic poverty being the main reasons. The other factors could be the growth in education, increase in the role of markets and demand-driven outlets for animal products and livestock will continue to grow and make pastoralism

economically viable well into the future, continued pressures on pastoral rangelands and challenges to pastoralism by outside investors, neighbouring agriculturalists, mining/mineral interests, and state-financed irrigation schemes, the increasing livelihood difficulties resulting from recurrent droughts, conflicts, rangeland degradation, declining productivity and accelerating population growth, and the vulnerability of the poor in times of droughts because of lack of full attention by the better off who in the times of emergency may leave them behind and move out with their livestock in search of forage and water.

- The long lived traditional coping mechanisms have helped pastoralists to overcome the shocks until recently. The KIs argued that these traditional coping mechanisms have helped a lot in sustaining pastoral system in the country regardless of the natural and manmade calamities.
- An equivalent terminology to People transitioning Pastoralism (TOPS) is a drop-out. A dropout is a person, who lost his/her primary source of wealth(his/her animals) and driven out of the pastoral livelihood system unwillingly and settled either in rural, urban, peri-urban areas or market centres, in search of non-pastoral options to make a living. Such person can be detached completely from Pastoralism or maintain a very loose connection. Our KII interviewees revealed from their practice that when conditions go well, dropouts (especially older ones) prefer to go back to their villages and restart their pastoral livelihood options instead of remaining around cities and towns. Even those who were given food aid and restocking animals, and land for crop cultivation, regressed back to pastoral living system under good seasons and hence dropping other non- livestock alternative livelihood options.
- The literature reads that TOPS were given different names by different authorities. Some call them pastoral *dropouts* to imply those who deter pastoral livelihood and automatically to other alternative economic activities. Most pastoral dropouts are driven out of the pastoral livelihood system because of loss of their livestock and engage in environmentally destructive, low income generating, and socially disgraceful livelihood strategies to make a living. Others call them *transitioning*. Transitioning pastoralists are those who are diversifying to economic activities other than pastoralism. Yet others argue that livestock pastoralism has been surprisingly resilient as pastoralists have shown a wide variety of adaptations of change, including periodic oscillation between pastoralism and farming as well as hunting and gathering, and more recently wage labor.
- Whether the word “TOPs” is equivalent to the term “dropouts” is subject to debate and remain obscured. Nevertheless, transitioning by definition is the process of moving from one state (pastoral livelihood) to another state (non-pastoral livelihood) and it is a gradual process whereas “dropouts” refers to

the sudden and permanent decision to leave the pastoral system in search of non-pastoral options in both urban and peri-urban areas.

- Pastoral transitioning as a gradual process has different stages. The majority of TOPs do not migrate to nearby cities or towns. The rural to rural migration within the pastoral community is the usual and natural process than the rural to nearby towns or cities migration. Some even give services to other pastoralists for payment in kind such as women give milking services and men work as herders.
- The demand side and the supply side of labor do not match in the context of pastoral community in the project areas. Although there are some employers in these regions, most pastoralists are not interested to join these employing organizations partly due to cultural barrier, the belief that working in such organizations is not encouraged by the community at large. Key informant interview made at various regions shows, at time of draught and famine, almost all of them have **the** mechanism to absorb shocks so that the stockless will be able to have the stock and prefer to remain in the community after the shock.
- Because TOPs are not the candidates of employment market out rightly either because of skill gap or tradition, PRIME'S initiative of creating employment opportunities in the cities or towns seems infeasible. It is better rather to focus on the employability skill development and livelihood diversification of livelihood options at the vicinity of the pastoralists. Where the pastoralists are not connected to the market system, it is better to help them advance their skills through various projects of natural resource management, water development, and product development. The experiences of NGOs such as SOS Sahel in Product development and Petty trade are very much pertinent in this regard.
- In general, TOPs (drop-outs) pursue different livelihood strategies which are less preferred and considered inferior in terms of income generation and social status (Getachew and Solomon, 2010). These include: Firewood collection, charcoal making, supply of construction wood to towns, local alcohol making, passing contraband items, petty trading, a variety of casual labor services, herding and trekking animals for traders; housemaid, watchman, washing clothes for urban people, brokering, farming, getting closer to food aid, gold mining etc. Livelihood strategies for dropouts is gendered, with men doing brokering, trekking, farming, and women, fuel wood collection, passing contraband goods, local brewery, housemaid, etc.
- Even though there was no deep research made on pastoralist's dropout at household census level, there was gradual increment in the number of people who partially or partly drop pastoral production system and diversify to non-livestock livelihood options at the vicinity of the pastoral areas such as milking cows service for return in kind (milk cows and get milk for the service), selling charcoal, looking after cows for cash or non cash services and yet assuming the name of pastoralist while not owning a single livestock in their name because they lost many to death and drought.

5.2. Conclusions

This review report indicated that people who are relinquishing the pastoralist system (which writers connote them as TOPs, drop-outs or transitioning pastoralists) have been increasing from time to time even though no survey has been made yet to substantiate quantitatively. The rural to rural mobility was significantly higher than the rural to urban mobility in Ethiopian pastoralists systems. Unlike the Ethiopian highlanders who were accustomed to take advantage of the employment market by assuming low paying jobs in various sectors of the economy, Ethiopian pastoralists have the mind set up of pursuing their pastoralist livelihood options less open to see and make use of the surrounding employment opportunities at their vicinities and neighboring towns mainly due to long lived cultural barriers. In spite of the government's effort of sedentarisation policy and pastoral diversification to crop production, the Ethiopian pastoralists are less open and resistant to assimilation to lead sedentary livelihood. Nevertheless, with the increment of infrastructures such as road, telecommunication, market centers, and schools etc the change in the attitude is vivid. The underlying assumption that pastoralists are continuing to transition out of the pastoralists system and need to be given alternative livelihood options including self employment seem logically sound but is facing practical anomalies. The starting point of livelihood improvement intervention options (be it is self employment or employability improvement) should be at the pastoralists destination and where they takeoff

6. RECOMMENDATIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Relying on the review of the various resources and KII, the following suggestions were proposed on the understanding of the context of TOPs to be assumed and the possible livelihood improvement options to be followed:

- i. TOPS are not the candidates of employment market out rightly either because of skill gap or tradition, as a matter of fact, PRIME'S initiative of creating employment opportunities in the neighbouring cities or towns of the pastoralists needs revisiting. PRIME would rather focus on the employability skill development and livelihood diversification of livelihood options at the vicinity of the pastoralists. Where the pastoralists are not connected to the market system, it is better to help them advance their skills through various projects of natural resource management, water development, and product development as the experiences of other NGOs and GOs shows.
- ii. Because, there are different resources and traditions, any PRIME interventions focussing on TOPs livelihood improvement should be based on

regional and cluster context, gendered and should focus on the creating link with the market through working on the supply side. Regional pastoral dropouts contexts should be accommodated in those intervention strategies may be by capitalizing on the best experiences of GOs or NGOs best practices of livelihood improvement.

- iii. Major external support interventions are required to rehabilitate and improve the livelihood conditions of pastoral TOPs(drop-outs), including settlement where there is more space for cultivation with full extension package, Saving and credit services to support petty trading and others small business, creating opportunity for wage labor in urban and rural areas, Skill development to make them marketable, restocking for those who want to return to pastoralism (needs careful targeting) return conflict induced dropouts to their place of origin and assist them to build peace and co-exist and integrate pastoral development with conflict management as a major component.
- iv. Unlike the traditional development approach that assumes homogeneity of livelihood strategies for people who live in pastoral areas, the market based development approach of PRIME could only be better fit to pastoralist's context given that it starts at the vicinity of the pastoralists dropouts and design alternative livelihood options.
- v. Efforts should be geared towards overall awareness creation and attitude change on life skills improvement, income diversification side by side with livestock production, improving saving behaviour, handcart skills, local product development and marketing.

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Annex 1.

Table 1: Summary of Information obtained during the assessment at three clusters

Date	Location	Key Informant	Target institutions	Information obtained and implications for PRIME project
06/12/13	AA	No key informant	ILRI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Articles containing debates on the viability of pastoralism (there are two debates regarding this: 1) the existing ecology in the pastoralist system is feasible to pastoralist economic system and hence argues that pastoralism as a system should sustain and continue as one of the economic options. 2) External and internal factors affecting pastoral system demands shifting the livelihood options for the pastoralists as a coping mechanism and hence pastoralism by itself cannot withstand the natural and manmade calamities). In this line, PRIME has two major interventions: livestock based interventions(livestock productivity, marketing, Health, Natural Resource Management, etc.) and Non-Livestock interventions(focuses on those people who are leaving the pastoralist system because of the calamities and seeking for alternative livelihood options through enhancement of life skill training, entrepreneurship development, networking, etc). These two interventions shows that PRIME project neither encourages nor discourages the existing livelihood options rather it supports and facilitates both pastoralists and non-pastoralists in their context.
09/12/13	Yabello	Mr, Eshetu Alemu, CARE	CARE Ethiopia, Yabello field office	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - CARE Ethiopia at yabello works on two major activities: Diversification of Income generating groups- mainly supporting pastoral dropouts. Examples of income diversification activities in the area: Production of Maize, Hurray Coat bean, petty trades, animal/livestock fattening activities, production of “QUNDII” – spice type product around Moyale thought it was not successful because of the lengthy procedures of cooperative organizations in the area against the life of the project. Hence, there is a mismatch between the life of the project versus the time it will take to establish

				<p>cooperatives to take advantage of the opportunities; Organizing savings and credit cooperatives(to promote their saving culture, they establish self-support financial institutions) where Oromia Savings and credit cooperatives(Index Based Livestock Insurance-IBLI) don't usually reach due to its remoteness. And secondly, the office works on resilience enhancement against drought (pastoralists Vs ex-pastoralists). CARE mainly intervenes in the pastoral area in the form of disaster risk reduction (DRR)- partners include like helpage, agri-service(Dubluk), CIFA(Moyalle), ACCORD(Mega), in Borena region. There is an attempt by NGOs like CARE to help pastoralists in their way of transitioning to agro-pastoralism with the objective of diversifying their livelihood options and thereby their income.</p>
	Yabello	SOS sahel, Yabello	Mr. Boneya Guyyo, Livelihood Diversification focal person(PRIME)	<p>-</p> <p>- TOPs usually do not come to employment agencies because they were not aware of its existence. Even if they appear they lack the skills that employers are looking for. For example, local business owners such as Hotels and others usually import bring in highlanders from Dilla,Hawasa, Shashamane, and other areas. The reason behind is that such jobs mostly requires semi-skilled employees which TOPs do are lacking. Although insignificant number of TOPs exists in Yabello city, they were not interested in to engage on those jobs that are of daily labourer nature as they consider the jobs as inferior and low paying to meet their daily subsistence. In addition, those few number of TOPs is not well organized to seek employment opportunities in the area. Relatively high number of Dropouts believed to be found around Moyale due to the frequent conflict and hence large number of internally displaced people, cross-border trade and yet personal observation in the region shows that many of the workers in the city are those from highlands.</p> <p>- So, are TOPs part of the employment market and benefiting from the employment markets in Borena zone? Practically speaking they are not: 1. Culturally engaging on such low paying jobs in considered to be inferior and not acceptable by the local community. 2, they lack the necessary skills to fit the requirements of the job in the labor</p>

				<p>market. 3. At time of crisis, the Borena pastoralists have their own strong coping mechanisms such as “Buusaa-Gonofaa” in which case those who lost their cattle due to various calamities shall be supported by those community members whose cattle survived from the disaster and they prefer to stay in the community than going to city in search of jobs that they are not familiar with. 4, Even if they want to take the advantage of getting employed, they lack the necessary information as to where to go and on which type of job do they fit.</p>
			<p>Mr. Huka Garse, Field office Manager</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - SOS sahel performed many exemplary activities to the pastoralist community in the attempt to diversify their income and even they introduced local resource based product development and technology transfer to the pastoralist community (based on ethnobotanic research). - In the earlier period, it was common to experience drought within 50 years cycle; however, since 1960's there has been recurrent drought and resource-based conflict in the Borana region and the cycle is becoming shorter and shorter from time to time forcing pastoralists to look for alternative livelihood options instead of exclusively depending on their livestock as a coping mechanism. The Borana were forced to change their lifestyle because of government policies which were predominantly agriculture based rather than taking into account the context of pastoralists in the country. During the previous time, Borana were exclusively depending on livestock and milk and milk products were predominantly consumed by the family of the pastoralists. But due to the declining productivity of livestock, the Borana started looking for additional food staffs to sustain its life. The food staffs were mostly obtained from Guji area through two means: through transportation and employing their labour and getting crops in return. - The technology of farming was introduced to Borana as an alternative livelihood (Agro-Pastoralism) through the soldiers who migrated from the highland part of Ethiopia mainly from Showa. - The frequent conflict in the region accelerated the poverty status of

				<p>the pastoralists in the region and forced some of the community members to think of migrating to cities to dwell around mining areas such as Shakiso in Guji and Borena, Arero. They started to think of an alternative livelihood outside of the pastoralist system resulting in learning a new job and lifestyle.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Previously there were few number cities in Borana zone; however, recently there is an increasing trend in urbanization is increasing during the current regime, EPRDF. This brought both opportunities and challenges. For example, it opened up market opportunities for milk marketing, charcoal production and others. The curses may include it resulted in deforestation of forests and threatens their social ties among the pastoralists. <p>Question: What does SOS Sahel did in the region?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Conducted community based natural resource mapping and expert based assessment to identify alternative livelihood options in the pastoral areas. The major livelihood income diversification sectors include non-timber forest products such as gum and incense, Hargessa or Alovera used as primary input to produce Alo Soap, scent woods, Borana Cultural Handcarfts work, Bee hives and honey production, etc. As part of the endeavour to enhance the livelihood of pastoralists through income diversification, different cooperatives were established including Bio-Enterprise center, Rural Saving and Credit Cooperatives (RUSACCOs) while injecting seed money, milk processing and mini market cooperatives, etc. Physical visit to the model Soap production centres at Dida Yabello at about 7 kilometers away from the city was found to be exemplary in mobilizing both men and women pastoralists to produce soap that primarily uses local inputs that is widely existing in the region. The women participants were found to be highly motivated to enhance the level and quality of production by employing appropriate technologies in such as ways their product will be sold at national level. This is a typical example for intervention on pastoralist livelihood improvement through diversification for PRIME project.
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				<p>Existing gaps identified:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Technology issues- the existing system mainly employs manual production technology and hence the pastoralists are looking moulding, packing and labelling machines. - Quality Assurance- is not yet made and hence there is a need to take the product the appropriate laboratory to check for its quality. - Product diversification- the pastoralists are in need of technologies that will help them to diversify their product in terms of size, colour, etc. They also have scarcity of basic inputs such as oil, Soda, etc. - Distribution issues- they claim that there is a weak market linkage to promote and sell their products. -
			SOS Sahel, Negelle	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There is similar experience with Alo Soap Production and livelihood diversification at Negelle. - They mostly engage in community managed disaster Risk reduction (CMDRR). - They work on livelihood based economic empowerment based on wealth ranking(poor, very poor, etc) - Challenges: high number of dropouts and poor leadership among cooperative promotion offices. Shortage of water, oil and soda as inputs, technology issues(quest for moulding machines), marketing issues(product development, pricing, promotion and distribution),
			Goal Ethiopia, Yabello	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - It also works on pastoralist livelihoods improvement through income diversification in their existing setup. For example, they work to enhance village saving and lending associations, beekeeping (offered pastoralists around Teltele a German model beehives- mostly female pastoralists), insence and gum production, bush clearing activities, promoting agro-pastoralism in area and also aggressively participates in Disaster Risk Reduction(DRR) activities in the region.
			Disaster Risk Management Office,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The key informant has about 30 years of experience working with pastoralists during the time of drought and conflict to address emergency affairs. He claimed that Borana and Guji pastoralists

			Negelle(Niftalem)	usually migrate from one place another only for limited period time, hence it is from one rural area to another rural area(rural to rural migration). They only seasonally migrate due to natural and manmade calamities, and after waiting for safe periods they return to their former livelihood through restocking, rehabilitation and other coping strategies instead of permanently shifting to other livelihoods. In terms of employment preference, the key informant underlined that pastoralists neither prefer to live in cities nor they want to get employed on those jobs that exists in the cities. Such jobs are mostly occupied by people who came from other parts of the country and not by pastoralists. Mostly Guji and Borana, do not want to leave their place permanently primarily due to the existence of traditional copying mechanisms and structure to rehabilitate the vulnerable and victims. He reemphasized that traditional coping mechanisms such as “Buusaa-Gonofa” a pair of oromo words referring to subsistence support and restocking, respectively, played significant role in sustaining pastoralist production system in the area. Asked whether dropouts do exists in the cities? The respondent replied that even though they exist the number is insignificant. The respondent recommended that NGOs should focus on development –oriented projects instead of focusing on emergency issues. For instance, water development is a key issue in the pastoral areas for enhancing livestock productivity and for sustaining life in the pastoral area.
			Nefisa Flour Factory, Negelle	- A short visit made by the team to the factory revealed that the majority of the daily labourers working on loading and unloading activities were found to be from highland areas. The key informant explained that pastoralists generally do not approach the firm to get employment on such low paying daily labourer jobs. This shows that it is not existence of employment opportunities that matters for pastoralists rather they need to rightly inform about the existence of such opportunities and work on changing their attitude to make use of the opportunities to sustain their life.
			Farm Africa-Awash Arba Area Field	- The Key informant pointed whether as the environment where pastoralists reside doesn't allow for other livelihood alternatives, side

			Office.	<p>by side possible works need to be done. As a means of alternative livelihoods diversification strategy, the organization focused on “Prosopis Management” so as to clear and use the land for irrigation and range. Rangeland management, marketing groups, petty trading. Voluntary Saving and Loan Associations establishment have been attempted. Prosopis charcoal market production –which changed the income of many through licensed organization of Cooperatives.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Settlement/Villegization program by the government along Awash River and the subsequent increment on Cotton Production developed the interest for seasonal employment in the farms by Afar Pastoralists. - The experiences of the organization on livelihood improvement through creating income generating group cooperatives, Gewane and Amibara Milk Associations supply group Cooperatives at Towns indicated that because of poor follow up it became unsustainable. The organization provided such cooperatives with milking tools and initial capital. The attempt to work on market link with Modjo and Metehara Abattoirs to pastoralist didn’t function well. - The charcoal marketing stopped because of illegal shift of people towards cutting trees for charcoal. - In general, it is challenging for Afar pastoralists to shift from pastoralist livelihood to other alternative livelihoods. It is not uncommon for all pastoralists from all the clusters to prefer to sustain their pastoralist lifestyle and remain in their villages. Let alone to totally separate from pastoralist lifestyle, shifting them from pure pastoralism to agro-pastoralism is becoming so challenging for Afar pastoralists. The question that remains is that: should we let them to follow their will regardless? The answer is definitely No but in order for them to take advantage of employment opportunity that exists at their disposal, grassroots level intervention such as brainwashing and sensitization, role modelling, etc are vital to help them gradually learn to engage on alternative livelihood options other than pastoralism. As such, pastoralists are not the candidate in
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				<p>the existing labour market despite the common understanding that PRIME assumes that TOPs exist in the market. In the existing context, TOPs are neither look for jobs by themselves nor do they join institutions to enhance their employment skill that market need. They are outside of the core functions of the labour market.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Despite the widely expansion of various mega projects in the region, many of the daily labours working in the factories are those who have been deployed from the highland part of the country particular from Amhara region and SNNPs. This shows the extent to which pastoralists are interested to partake on such jobs that demand physical exertion and calling for interventions such as preferential treatment through coaching and mentoring. There is also strong need for capacitating in terms of skills, knowledge, experience and working towards changing their attitudes towards low paying jobs.
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Field Work Date: December 30-Januray1, 2014

Institutions Contacted: Ethiopian Somali Regional State PCDP Coordination office, Save the Children UK- Jigjiga Office, Somali Regional State DPP Office, Citi Zone, Shinille District DPP and District and Zonal Pastoral Development Advisor, Individual Elders Interviews

Information Collected: Oral Key Informant Interviews, Secondary resources on Livelihood Zones and Pastoral Drop-Out Studies (By Save the Children UK), Early Warning System Reports (SDPP) and Paper Publications.

Somali Regional State: Context of Pastoralists Transitioning Out of Pastoralism (TOP)

The Key Informants asserted that Somali Regional State lives with above 85% Pastoral or Agro Pastoralists. Even though there is a natural Transition of Pastoralism to Agro-Pastoralism due factors such as climate Change, chronic animal diseases, drought, population pressure, external forces such as government policies and programs, market and economic changes, education and other facilities, there had been many factors attributed to disturbing the pastoralist's traditional shock management an making the

incidence beyond their control. There had been people who were forced to drop –the pastoral production and search for alternative livelihood options. Even though there was no deep research made on pastoralist's dropout at household census level, there was gradual increment in the number of people who partially or partly drop pastoral production system and diversify to non-livestock livelihood options at the vicinity of the pastoral areas such as milking cows service for return in kind (milk cows and get milk for the service), selling charcoal, looking after cows for cash or non cash services and yet assuming the name of pastoralist while not owning a single livestock in their name because they lost many to death and drought. According to the **KII-1**, asked about the livelihood interests of pastoralists of Somali, he responded that normally the elder people don't leave their villages and animals and they want to die with them whereas because of more access to education and urbanization, the young people opt for another alternative than continuing in the pastoralist system unlike their fathers and forefathers.

Asked then what options should be in place for pastoralists by donors and humanitarian development organizations, the interviewee responded two alternative options:

1. Crop Production through development of water resources basins or water well development activities, and
2. Carrying out Emergency activities such as livestock restocking. Evidences indicated that Some six years back in **Gode** area of Somail regional state, because of the loss of many animals because of drought and climatic change, interventionists have given livestock to household to reestablish their normal live. Moreover, they were trained crop farming system and after one or two harvests they gave up and returned to livestock rearing and pastoralism.

Yet in the urban areas such as Jiggiga, there have been a growing need of manual workers and laborers especially in the construction sector such as cobble stone production and road development, but almost no pastoralists were interested in such jobs which are of low payment rate as low as 20 Birr Per-day. The labor demand for such jobs was filled by immigrants from Southern Nations and Nationalities as there is no interest by the local community. For the pastoralists the, such jobs were considered inferior and unacceptable to their traditional practice.

KII-2

The second KII, have rich experience in livelihood improvement of pastoral communities in the region. To his knowledge and practice, there had been a significant increase in the trend of pastoralist's migration off the pastoral production system for

various reasons mostly involuntarily.

DRAFT