

HARAMATA



BULLETIN OF THE DRYLANDS: PEOPLE, POLICIES, PROGRAMMES

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Pastoralist livelihoods in Ethiopia

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EDITORIAL

Drylands, particularly in Africa, are once more taking centre stage in numerous policy debates. The United Nations has declared 2006 the International Year of Deserts and Desertification, focusing attention on the importance of drylands to the international environmental agenda. But who drives this agenda and for what purpose?

The serious drought affecting millions of people in eastern and southern Africa provides the backdrop for national policy debate on securing local livelihoods. These debates are polarised around a modernisation agenda. Time-tested land use systems practiced by small-holder farmers and pastoralists, which are low-input, low-risk and low-output oriented, are considered backward, inefficient and environmentally destructive, despite scientific evidence to the contrary. Modern agricultural practices, such as irrigation, are being promoted, despite their failure in many parts of dryland Africa. In addition, livelihoods revolving around off-farm employment and increased private investments seeking to improve land management, particularly in response to global market opportunities, are proposed as solutions to protect vital dryland ecosystem services and reduce poverty.

Sadly, those most dependent on the drylands for their livelihoods are absent from these debates. They do not have the time or the skills to put across what they want. In many cases, they are not even aware their future is the subject of debate. Several articles in this issue of *Haramata* highlight the risks of alienating people from their land. Such processes not only fly in the face of citizen empowerment and local democracy, the cornerstones of many current decentralisation reforms, but sow the seeds of conflict, greater poverty and poor environmental governance.

People living in drylands are highly vulnerable to drought and increasingly to other shocks such as market failure. But replacing their systems with new ones is not necessarily the answer. Policies must build on and improve the intrinsic strengths of customary strategies adapted to risky environments to enable them to meet the challenges of today, while ensuring that those who stand to gain or lose are at the centre of the process. Drylands development must be driven by the people living there.



Richard Sandbrook

13 August 1946 – 11 December 2005
Haramata is very sad to announce the death of Richard Sandbrook, a former director of IIED, in December 2005.

Richard was a founder member of Friends of the Earth UK in 1974. He joined IIED in 1976 and was Executive Director from 1989 to 1999.

Richard was always a strong supporter of the Drylands programme and *Haramata*. His inspirational commitment to sustainable development and his cheeky sense of humour will be greatly missed. Our thoughts are with his friends and family.

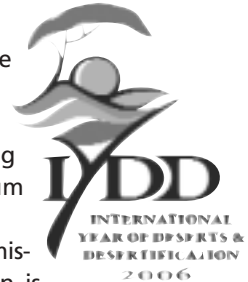
The Year of Deserts and Desertification

The UN General Assembly has declared 2006 to be the **International Year of Deserts and Desertification (IYDD)**, underlining its deep concern for the exacerbation of desertification, particularly in Africa, and noting the far-reaching implications for the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which must be met by 2015.

The IYDD is a unique opportunity to address many of the misconceptions driving the desertification debate. Desertification is about the loss of the land's biological potential to support life, and is caused by a complex mix of climatic change and human land use practices. To many, it is perceived to be irreversible and growing at an alarming rate. And, while it is critical not to underestimate the true threat it poses to people's livelihoods, it is important to temper the doom-laden scenarios with a balanced view of what is happening on the ground. Local people all over sub-Saharan Africa are experimenting with innovative ways to manage their land in a sustainable manner. Others are using simple technologies to increase water harvesting, soil fertility and the reclamation of previously barren land. Research also confirms that drylands, far from being fragile and inherently prone to degradation, are highly resilient to climatic change.

The IYDD should celebrate these achievements and present a model of sustainable land use for drylands that overturns and challenges more conventional images of recurrent drought and stories of hopeless poverty that have been broadcast over the past thirty years.

For more information and a listing of events visit: www.iydd.org



Funds for adaptation

The eleventh annual Conference of Parties (COP11) of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) was held in Montreal, Canada in December 2005. As the Kyoto Protocol had also come into force during 2005 (after Russia ratified it in February 2005), the meeting was also the first Meeting of the Parties (MOP1) of the Kyoto Protocol. It was therefore a major event with over 10,000 delegates participating. It succeeded in agreeing the Marrakech Accords (negotiated at COP7 in Marrakech, Morocco in 2001), which enabled a number of new funds to support adaptation in developing countries to become operational. These adaptation funds are particularly relevant for supporting activities in drylands in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The first such fund to become operational is the Least Developed Countries (LDC) Fund which is supporting the fifty LDCs (most of which are in Africa) to develop their respective National Adaptation Programmes of Action (NAPAs). The other fund that has recently become operational is the Special Pilot on Adaptation (SPA) fund of the Global Environment Facility (GEF) which has put up 50 million US Dollars to support adaption projects in developing countries over the next three years. The other funds (which have not yet become operational – but are expected to do so soon) are the Special Climate Change Fund (SCCF) to support adaptation in all developing countries and the Adaption Fund under the Kyoto Protocol. Many of the activities to support actions to help drylands will be eligible for funding as adaptation to climate change under these funds.

For more information on the status of these funds see article in latest issue of Tiempo: www.tiempocyberclimate.org/portal/bulletin.htm



IED Afrique is launched!

In September 2005, the IIED Sahel programme, set up in 1993 by the IIED Drylands Programme, became an independent organisation with a new name: *Innovations, Environnement et Développement en Afrique (IED Afrique)*. This name reflects both continuity and distinctiveness, as environment and development remain the main areas of focus, with an emphasis on methodological innovation. When IIED Sahel was first set up, its aim was to promote participatory research and development through training and networking. Over the years, the activities have expanded and diversified and now include promoting policy analysis and dialogue around issues of decentralisation, social accountability and inclusion, and rural poverty.

IIED Afrique believes that sustainable development will be achieved only if the poorest and most vulnera-

ble are given the capacity and the space to fully participate in policy formulation, implementation and monitoring. It promotes inclusive practices and policies with a particular emphasis on building strong local institutions in the following ways:

- setting up communication and information systems to provide critical information to its partners, based on tools that are effective and accessible;
- stimulating mutual learning through learning groups and networking at different levels in order to add value to existing initiatives; and
- keeping a regional perspective on strategies of relevance for many countries in the West Africa region.

IED Afrique is currently focusing on three main areas: **decentralisation and local governance**; **governance of natural resources**; and **sustainable agriculture and poverty reduction in rural areas**. IED Afrique's official launch took place in London on 28 February 2006.

For more information contact: IED Afrique, 24 Sacré Cœur III, BP 5579, Dakar, Senegal. Tel: +221 867 10 58; Fax: +221 867 10 59. Email: contact@iedafrique.org or iiedsen@sentoo.sn Website: www.iedafrique.org



Malian farmers say no to GM crops

Cotton-growers and other farmers voted against introducing genetically-modified crops in a citizens' jury in Mali. The jurors instead proposed a package of recommendations to strengthen traditional agricultural practice and support local farmers.

The event took place from 25-29 January in Sikasso, where two-thirds of the country's cotton is produced. Biotechnology scientists claimed to be able to produce an insect-repellent cotton crop that would survive attacks by bollworm, a pest that has destroyed large swaths of the country's crop in recent years. But environmentalists argued that the benefits of GM crops are outweighed by the harm done to local farmers.

The jurors cross-examined 14 international witnesses representing a broad range of views on this controversial issue. These included biotech scientists, agencies such as the Food and Agriculture Organisation and farmers from South Africa and India with first-hand experience of growing GM crops.

African countries are under increasing pressure from agribusiness to open their markets to GM crops and industrialise their farming sector, but the continent remains divided in its response. South Africa and

© Michel Pimbert



**Citizen's
jury
underway
in Mali**

Burkina Faso have allowed the introduction of GM, but Benin has said no. Though the jurors' decision is not binding, it is expected to influence the future direction of agricultural policy in Mali and across the region where most people rely on subsistence farming.

The citizens' jury was hosted by the regional government (Assemblée Régionale de Sikasso) and designed and facilitated by IIED and RiBios, the University of Geneva's Biosafety Interdisciplinary Network, together with a wide range of local partners in Mali.

*For more information and to read the full verdict, visit:
www.iied.org/INR/agbioliv/ag_liv_projects/verdict.html*

Learning more about Poverty and Conservation

IIED is facilitating the Poverty and Conservation Learning Group (PCLG), a multi-stakeholder forum guided by an international advisory group, which promotes organisational learning on the linkages between biodiversity conservation and poverty so as to strengthen organisations working on these issues, help build consensus, and improve practice and policy-making.

Many factors affect the relationship between biodiversity conservation and poverty – particularly national and international aid, trade and development paradigms. While recognising the importance of these macro-level influences, the PCLG is primarily concerned with the local level – the synergies and trade-offs between different motivations and subsequent strategies to conserve biodiversity and the livelihoods of local people.

Many individuals and organisations are engaging in the poverty-conservation debate, or are involved in practical activities. Keeping up with these developments is the main objective of the

PCLG, which it will aim to do by:

- Collecting, analysing and disseminating information;
- Making links between different organisations and within different communities of interest;
- Maintaining an overview of ongoing initiatives – setting findings of individual initiatives in a bigger context;
- Organising a series of learning activities – meetings, discussions, exchanges, publications – on hot topics.

A series of learning activities – meetings, discussions, exchanges, publications – will help members get to grips with key issues. Some activities will be led by the Learning Group secretariat, others by individual members. The first two activities are a side event on **Equity and Protected Areas**, to be held during CBD COP8 in Brazil in March 2006; and a workshop on **CBNRM, Poverty and Biodiversity** to be held as part of the International Association for Impact Assessment Meeting in Norway in May 2006.

For more information visit the PCLG website www.povertyandconservation.info and subscribe to BioSoc – Biodiversity and Society – an email bulletin service which will highlight key texts on the debate.

Please keep the secretariat informed of new publications to review in BioSoc, case studies to include on the website, updates on projects and initiatives. Contact the secretariat on: PCLG@iied.org

Our 50th issue is coming up!

Our next issue will be our 50th! Please write to us about:

- **Policies** or laws on land, natural resources, education, health, tourism, government finances, taxation, etc. What impact have these had over the last 18 years?
- **Programmes** of work you have been involved with that have improved the lives of people in your country, or why further efforts are still needed.
- **Resources** that you have read about in *Haramata* over the years and used in your own work.

We are also looking for interesting photos or cartoons if you think they capture an important message that would interest other readers. The information should be relevant to dryland areas or deal with an issue people living in the drylands face, such as management of common property, eviction of pastoralists, tools for participatory policy making, etc.

Keep your articles short (maximum 500 words). Send your contributions to **Haramata, IIED, 3 Endsleigh Street, London WC1H 0DD, UK** or drylands@iied.org.

Women and leadership: lessons from the Sahel

Despite the important role women play in the Sahelian household economy, they receive relatively little public recognition of their central role and few significant rights of access or control over the resources on which they rely for their livelihoods. However, in nearly every community in the Sahel, one finds that some women have managed to rise above these constraints and have become local leaders recognised by men and women alike.

How did they do it? What did these women have that others didn't and how did it affect their lives as daughters, wives and mothers? And were they able to catalyse change for women more generally within their communities?

IED Afrique wanted answers to these questions, and designed an innovative action-research programme in Senegal and Burkina Faso to understand what factors contribute to the emergence of women leaders. It was hoped that this information would enable other women to learn from these experiences and rise to positions of influence within their communities.

IED Afrique developed portraits of four women leaders, three in Senegal and one in Burkina Faso. The portraits gathered descriptive information about these women's social, institutional and economic environment to analyse the course of their lives.

Rather than relying on individual testimonies or single descriptive portraits, this method involves many members of the community at various levels, from family members to local resource persons and training bodies. This brings the creation and reading of portraits into the community arena and facilitates interactive learning. The lessons drawn from the portraits can then be shared with the community, and women's groups.

A portrait of Kayaga Cecile Kabiagou, Poukouyan village, Burkina Faso

In her 70s, Kayaga belongs to a class of land chiefs. Married at 18 and third wife, her husband was also from the class of land chiefs. Her husband died in 1998 and Kayaga still lives with her two co-wives, her sons and her daughter-in-law (7 people in total). She is considered the head of the family which means that she has assumed responsibility for the family, deals with any problems that arise and makes relevant decisions. It was a family decision to make her head after the death of her husband. To earn an income she raises pigs, produces shea butter, and sells millet beer. Kayaga has started two village women's groups and she is the president of both.

Social ties

In rural areas an individual's social, cultural, political and economic influence are still largely determined by their family and lineage group. Several of the women leaders studied said that belonging to a family of noble origin assisted them in dealing with the officials who determine who has access to and control over strategic resources.

However, they also said that family background is not a determining factor in gaining access to local institutions. These bodies combine elements of tradition and modernity and tend to function on the basis of skills and effectiveness rather than social ties.

Domestic situation

A woman's experience as a leader is coloured by her domestic situation. For example, for the women in these portraits, their husband's approval and support was a determining factor. If it was not forthcoming, they used all their social resources to convince him of the wisdom of their actions.

© Awa Faly Ba



Coumba Ibra Dieng, whose portrait was written

Life cycle of the household

A powerful determinant in women's leadership is the life cycle of the household. The responsibilities of motherhood do not sit easily with the greater mobility demanded of those in public life. The women in these portraits recounted how, in the early days they often took their babies with them to training workshops, travelling at their own expense. All are now between 39 and 70 years old, so while some are still relatively young they no longer have the responsibilities associated with looking after babies

Family power relations

Power relations within the family are determined by age and gender. As married women, the leaders in the portraits are constrained by their household responsibilities and tied by marital obligations; forced to juggle the social obligations and the public demands associated with leadership and public life. To gain recognition and become effective leaders they must take account of other people's sensibilities in their efforts to

break into a predominantly male environment, and when taking a stand on sensitive issues like access to land.

Access to resources

Improving women's access to strategic resources like cultivable land, woodland, forest products, livestock and finance is a major challenge. While men gain access to land through the customary institutions, women have to go through the head of the family. Acting outside of the family context, women leaders have played an important role in establishing an interface between women's groups and institutions like rural councils and village chiefs, to negotiate access to cultivable land for their groups.

In northern Senegal, one woman leader used her influence as chair of the council's Land Commission to get three hectares of land allocated to her women's group, in an unprecedented and historic decision by the rural council. This was a life-changing achievement for the group, which subsequently obtained motor-pump training for about 100 women associated with the group. The resources generated by their efforts not only helped secure their livelihoods, but also proved to be of one the most persuasive tools in obtaining the co-operation of their relatives and establishing their economic power and status.

Providing resources and non-rural services

These women have shown great skill in diversifying their economic activities and establishing relationships with a network of strategic actors. They are all aware that their economic power is an important instrument in negotiating relationships that will further their leadership. These women are also recognised for their ability to communicate with the outside world and negotiate access

to basic services beyond the reach of most rural people, acting as an interface between their community and external actors.

Communication with the outside world

Communication and interaction with the outside world are of vital importance in rural areas. These women have invested a great deal of effort in communicating with the outside world, often using mobile phones.

© Awa Faly Ba



Woman farmer in Senegal



Undeterred by the lack of regular transport in their locality, these women have found their own way of ensuring that they can get to meetings outside their villages. One woman, for example, provided a car so that villagers no longer had to travel the 7 km to the nearest centre on foot; while others have helped establish and run local radio stations, and most are also very active in the weekly markets that are not just venues for trade, but also an important central exchange for information about development activities

Skills and capacity

None of the women interviewed had a formal education during their childhood. Nonetheless, all can now read and write in their own language. They are very keen to learn, and see literacy training as a means of acquiring the skills they need to develop the know-how and expertise required of a leader. These women have a reputation as effective leaders capable of negotiating with decision-makers. In this respect, development partners have played an important role by supporting training programmes as a means of assisting potential women leaders.

Access to decision-making structures

The portraits from Senegal show three women who hold strategic posts in their rural councils. All three emphasised the opportunities that this decision-making structure and other rural organisations give them to increase their capacity to influence local-level decision-making processes.

In summary there are key factors which determine a women's ability to develop leadership skills. All of these women leaders emphasised the importance of training, especially in literacy and numeracy. Support from their families, a certain level of economic power, and access to communication enabled these women to build links with external actors to secure access to resources for their communities. One final interesting outcome is that in these cases it was easier for women to access resources outside of the family structure through women's groups. Work to build on the results of these portraits continues and during a second phase of work, IED Afrique hopes to share the results of these studies with a wide range of rural women in the Sahel.

For more information contact IED Afrique, 24 Sacré Coeur III, BP 5579 Dakar-Fann, Senegal, tel: 221 876 1058 email: iedafrique@iedafrique.org. Website: www.iedafrique.org

1. IED Afrique is a Senegalese NGO which specialises in participatory approaches to natural resource management.

A new global security: An interview with Mary Robinson

Mary Robinson, former President of Ireland and United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, became the Chair of IIED's Board of Trustees in January 2005, following Jan Pronk, who resigned as Chair following his appointment as UN Special Envoy to Sudan. Mary Robinson is founder and President of Realizing Rights: The Ethical Globalisation Initiative¹ (EGI) and Honorary President of Oxfam International.

H Congratulations on your appointment as Chair of the Board of IIED. Please tell us more about the Ethical Globalisation Initiative.

Thank you. EGI's mission is to bring ethics into globalisation by acknowledging our shared responsibility for addressing global challenges and affirming that our common humanity does not stop at national borders. It recognises that all individuals are equal in dignity and have the rights to certain entitlements, and it embraces the importance of gender and the need for attention to the often different impacts of economic and social policies on women and men. Technology and trade must also be connected by shared values, norms of behaviour and systems of accountability.

H How does the EGI work to achieve these objectives?

The EGI acts as a catalyst, convenor and communicator, harnessing civil society, government, business and economic forums to build awareness and facilitate dialogue, so as to arrive at more transparent, ethical and responsible policies and joint actions to achieve change.



H How may these objectives be of relevance to the work of IIED?

These aims are echoed in IIED's commitment to sustainable development through its work with a global network of local partners to tackle poverty and environmental impacts, to make the management of the world's natural resources more effective and equitable, and to ensure that the local, nation-

al and international framework of policies, structures and capabilities makes this happen.

H Can you tell us more about specific activities of the EGI?

The EGI has three main areas of work: fostering more equitable international **trade and development**; strengthening **local health systems** in Africa; and shaping more **humane migration policies**.

H What are you doing on international trade, particularly with relevance to Africa?

Rich and poor nations must undertake extensive reforms and find more constructive ways of working together if international trade is to serve as a vehicle for sustainable development. Nowhere is this truer than in the case of agricultural policies in Africa.

It is widely recognised that programmes to support producers in rich nations exclude African producers from market opportunities and force them to compete against highly subsidised businesses in international and local markets. There is a failure to appreciate the direct impact of trade decisions on human rights to food, safe water, education and health, which we have highlighted in visits to African countries.

Opportunities are needed for governments from the US, European Union and African countries to meet together and reach a common ground on pro-development trade policies. They also need opportunities to interact with small farmers' groups and leading civil society organisations who are working on development and trade issues and who will serve as their key allies in advocating for specific reforms at home and abroad.

H Our readers would be interested in any work you have done on subsidies, particularly regarding cotton.

In December 2004, I led a delegation in Mali organised by Oxfam America to make an assessment of the cotton sector in the context of US cotton subsidies. The delegation met with leaders of cotton producer organisations, the government of Mali officials, the US Ambassador and diplomatic officials from donor countries. This raised awareness of the effects of US and EU subsidies on the lives of African farmers and was followed up with a series of meetings in Washington DC on Africa and Trade – before and after the WTO ministerial in Hong Kong – which we co-convened with the African section of the Council on Foreign Relations. I have also travelled to Tanzania, Ghana and Mozambique and been involved in a policy briefing with AWEPA (European Parliamentarians for Africa), which informed European parliamentarians on the impact of EU sugar subsidies.

H Could you tell us more about your approaches to dealing with HIV/AIDS in Africa?

National and international actions are needed to ensure access to treatment and to remove economic and social barriers, especially for women and girls. Added to these challenges, African countries have consistently been unable to obtain or purchase medicines that control HIV/AIDS effectively. Massive global commitment is needed to meet and exceed the modest UN goal of treatment for 3 million people worldwide, which must be increased significantly to secure treatment for all who need it.

The links between the HIV/AIDS pandemic and poverty, stigma and discrimination, including gender discrimination, are now widely acknowledged. The right to the highest attainable standard of health is emerging at the forefront of civil society campaigns and policy initiatives aimed at ensuring access to essential medicines for all. What is needed now is more engagement by key leaders. We are involved with a number of partners in a project supporting the role of parliamentarians in addressing the vulnerability of women and girls to HIV/AIDS, and also issues of stigma and discrimination.

H HIV and AIDs can affect African women's ability to access land, particularly on the death of their husband, as inheritance

laws and customary practice mean that these rights are often passed to sons or other male lineage relatives. Have you been involved in any work on this or related issues?

I serve as a member of the steering group of The Global Coalition on Women and AIDS, facilitated by UNAIDS, which is an informal association of organisations committed to mitigating the gendered effects of HIV/AIDS.

Among its aims, the Coalition highlights the importance of economic independence through its aim of protecting female property and inheritance rights. It acknowledges the female burden of care and aims to support women and girls in their caring responsibilities. For women, gender is itself a risk factor threatening human security: the secret violence of household abuse, the private oppressions of lack of property or inheritance rights, the lifelong deprivations that go with lack of schooling and the structural problem of political exclusion.

We have also broadened our approach to the need to strengthen local health systems to bring down the shocking figures of maternal and child mortality in sub-Saharan Africa.

H Many of our readers live in countries where migration is an important part of securing their livelihoods. What are your thoughts on this?

Migration poses crucial human rights challenges in Africa. African states have largely failed to respond to the issues raised by individuals who have crossed borders in search of refuge or a better life. Migration within state boundaries has raised equally serious problems.

Migration affects millions of people a year from all corners of the globe and virtually every nation state, yet reasoned policy analysis and policy discussion on migration is severely lacking. Many policy forums consider the topic of migration to be too politically sensitive or unwieldy to tackle. As a result, states are unprepared to deal with recent developments in the area of international migration and generally make decisions related to migration in a closed manner without the benefit of considered dialogue.

I was a member of the Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM), which provided an opportunity for me to advance human rights issues in migration policies. The GCIM influenced new thinking on global migration policy and promoted informed, multi-dimensional debate. The GCIM had a unique mandate – and finite lifespan. Its report was submitted to Secretary General Kofi Annan on October 5th 2005 and identified six guiding principles for action and a global migration facility.² The GCIM recommendations will be considered at a High Level Dialogue of the UN in September 2006.

‡ *What about remittances, which are of particular interest to our readers?*

Money sent home by migrants to their families in the form of remittances is a growing source of income that is vital to many countries. The International Monetary Fund reported that in 2002 alone remittances from migrants were around US\$100 billion, as compared with only US\$51 billion in global development assistance. How many more people would be forced to leave their homes if not for the remittances coming from their family members abroad?

‡ *What particular progress or issues in these areas can you see for people in Africa?*

Although NEPAD is focused on promoting economic integration, the only attention it pays to migration is in relation to the “brain drain” from Africa to the rich world or the creation of improved transport linkages among African countries. Not enough thought is given to making best use of the remittances sent home by those same emigrants. Nor does it mention the contribution made to African economies by migrant workers (legal or illegal) from other African countries or the need for regularisation of the status of those who do not

have official papers. In contrast to treaties such as those establishing SADC or ECOWAS, NEPAD also makes no proposals to promote free movement of labour. The Declaration on Democracy and Governance, meanwhile, refers to the equality of all *citizens* before the law, without acknowledging the rights of non-citizens to non-discrimination in most areas of activity except the political.

H How does your programme of work fit in with achieving the MDGs?

The targets expressed in the Goals are not just development aspirations but are also linked to the progressive implementation of economic and social rights. The MDGs are a powerful tool for increasing accountability. At the global level, they can be used to hold the donor community to account and they also provide a common framework that is recognised by the UN, the World Bank and the IMF. They reinforce and sharpen the broader commitments to international assistance and cooperation made in the UN Charter and human rights treaties. In rich countries, civil society is able to use the MDGs to put pressure on its government to increase development aid – as Oxfam and a whole coalition of civil society organisations are doing in the UK.

At the national level, the MDG process requires states to

submit “Country Reports” detailing the efforts undertaken and progress made toward achieving the MDG targets. In developing countries, citizens and civil society should use this opportunity to work together and put pressure on their national governments, reminding them of their commitments and demanding full civil society participation in the design, drafting and monitoring of the Reports.

H What message would you like to give to our readers?

A world of true security is only possible when the full range of human rights – civil and political, as well as economic, social and cultural – are guaranteed for all people. What we need now is a new approach – which begins with a broader understanding of what defines human and global security. Governments from both the North and the South must expand their thinking and policies to encompass a broader understanding of security beyond the security of states.

H Thank you very much. We wish you every success in all your endeavours.

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1. For more information visit www.eginitiative.org
 2. See www.gcim.org

Tanzanian herders contend with growing intolerance and new layers of control

The recent drought that has devastated people's herds in eastern Africa is not the only challenge faced by Tanzania's herders. A new government and President were elected in December 2005 which made it clear from the outset that mobile and traditional herder range-use practices must end. They have branded herders' livestock as being poorly productive and responsible for the widespread degradation of range-land and water resources. Indeed for quite some time, the new government's well publicised 'renewed zeal, vigour and energy' have been applied in its immediate and explicit vision to see customary range management and livestock production systems re-orientated to a controlled and commercialised system. One elder pastoralist, listening to the victory speech of his member of parliament, who coincidentally is the new Prime Minister, lamented sadly, 'we are finished'.

Might there be reason to think that the elder's assessment of the situation is not quite as pessimistic as he feels? Perhaps. In northern Tanzania, herders are now standing together and engaging in increasingly sophisticated advocacy efforts. A remarkable development occurred last year with two major pastoralist and hunter-gatherer NGO networks working

together to influence the direction of a new national livestock policy. The advocacy initiative was sparked off when herder representatives heard about – and then arrived uninvited – for a final government consultation meeting with the private sector for the new Livestock Policy in April 2005. Realising that the policy draft left much to be desired in terms of explicitly supporting herders' livelihoods and production systems, a herder task-force was hurriedly chosen and given a mandate by herder organisations to work on developing a policy submission for herder's interests. The then Minister for Livestock was asked and agreed to accept a submission from the task-force, despite the late stage of the policy's development.

The technical submission set out key concerns and recommendations for the livestock policy, which focused on better support for herders' livelihoods and their livestock and range management systems (see box). Many pastoralist NGOs are very worried that the government is strongly in favour of privatising the rangelands and is focused on commercialised livestock production in line with its wish to compete in global markets. The technical submission accommodated these concerns by recommending that customary range management

systems must form the basis for the future of livestock production in the rangelands of Tanzania. It was argued that while customary range management systems were under substantial pressure and beset by many complex challenges, they comprised the best and most appropriate approach to range management. Such a vision would depend on the government's support for devolved and adaptive management of the rangelands by herders that included mobility, better veterinary services and improved market access.

The task-force's technical submission was supported by 130 people representing 48 different pastoralist, hunter-gatherer and other supporting NGOs and CBOs. Since the delivery of the submission to the Minister and his staff in September 2005, no further draft of the policy has been made public. Instead herder representatives were invited by the Ministry in January 2006 to discuss the Livestock Policy's supporting law – the Range Management Bill. However, they were not allowed to see a draft of the Bill. It is known that the Bill sets out a facility for the government to take over parts of village lands and declare them Range Management Areas, which are directly controlled by the government. This and other measures in the Bill which control range mobility, go directly against what herders need



A meeting with the new MP for Ngorongoro to discuss land and natural resource management issues

and have advocated for. So while the government ostensibly agreed to listen, in reality it seems firmly set on a course that continues to centralise the control of the rangelands, to marginalise herder's range management and production systems and increase the chances of land and livelihood loss.

This outlook has provided the impetus for the task-force to have its mandate renewed by its member organisations as it seeks to build a broader coalition of interests that works to support herders' livelihoods and ensure the security of the rangeland resources upon which they depend.

Comments and proposed amendments to the National Livestock Policy May 2005

Areas of concern

- The livestock policy as it stands does not lay the foundations for a concerted effort to support the livelihoods of livestock keepers. It is heavily production orientated.
- Whilst improvement in production and commercialisation should remain an important goal, the policy needs to concentrate more on how it is going to facilitate poor livestock keepers to attain appropriate levels of production and access to markets.
- The policy displays a surprising lack of understanding of the intricacies of non-equilibrium environments (semi-arid rangelands) and agro pastoral and pastoral systems. For this reason many of the shortcomings of the livestock sector are blamed on the mobility of pastoralists.
- The occurrence of drought is a problem throughout East, Central and the Horn of Africa due to the arid/semi arid environment. In response, pastoralists have developed mobility as the most sustainable and reliable livelihood strategy.
- If the current draft is taken in the context of the Presidential Circular of 2002, it would appear that, rather than building on pastoral livelihood systems, it is paving the way for the enactment of legislation to impose strict control on livestock movements.
- Mobility needs to be acknowledged as a necessary factor of livestock production in the rangelands. It is only once this is

acknowledged that realistic, effective strategies to assist livestock keepers in these areas can be developed.

- The loss of mobility will spell disaster not only for pastoral livelihoods, but the entire pastoral ecosystem, including wildlife and the revenue it generates from the photo-tourism and hunting industries.
- It is true livestock movement can pose disease transmission problems and increased land-use conflicts with other land users. But these issues are surmountable with appropriate support and conflict management processes. Conflict resolution mechanisms need to be supported at local level, be based on customary and government institutions and result in equitable outcomes for all resource users.

What should be done?

- The government should support the development of participatory and adaptive management approaches at local level based on locally managed mobility for intact rangelands, healthy herds and improved livelihoods. This can be achieved through building on customary institutions governing mobile rangeland management systems which regulate movement, resolve conflict and manage diseases – rather than stopping pastoral mobility and movement altogether.
- The benefits of mobility should be judged against the costs (disease and land-use conflict).

Source: Livestock Policy Task Force



Can land registration work for the poor?

As land becomes increasingly scarce in many parts of Africa, and as mounting competition for this valuable resource drives conflict between and within groups, many smallholders and low-income groups are experimenting with new tools to secure their land rights. Evidence from across Africa reveals considerable informal documentation of land ownership and transactions taking place in many areas. This includes the increased use of written contracts, witnessing of agreements, the emergence of new forms of rental and sharecropping arrangements, and local collective action, often around management of common property resources. However, such informal documents and processes are usually not legally binding, and may be subject to contestation. There is a need for governments in Africa and elsewhere to respond to the land tenure security needs of local land users and support the efforts of such users to document their land claims.

While a wide range of policy options can be pursued to improve land tenure security, for a long time governments and donors have considered land registration as their main policy tool. However, while land registration might, in theory, be expected to help poorer groups confirm their claims to land, in practice registration has often served to redistribute assets

towards the wealthier and better informed. Indeed, many registration programmes in Africa enabled those with more contacts, information and resources to register land in their names, to the detriment of poorer claimants. Where there are significant costs to registration, in both cash and time, smallholders are particularly vulnerable to losing their rights over land. And, registration tends to penalise holders of secondary land rights, such as women and herders, as these rights often do not appear in the land register and are thus effectively expropriated. But is this inevitable? Can provisions be made which explicitly address the need to level the playing field between poorer and better-off groups in relation to registering claims over land?

Ongoing experimentation in several African countries on designing new approaches to registering land and securing land rights may provide some insights to answer those questions. In Ethiopia, for instance, innovative land registration systems are being designed and pilot programmes carried out in several states. In Ghana, an ambitious Land Administration Programme has begun, which has chosen to do much of its work through Customary Land Secretariats. In Mozambique, the 1997 Land Law is being implemented, a law which has

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been recognised internationally as demonstrating a strong pro-poor approach. What lessons can be learnt from this experience to inform policy and practice for future interventions in land registration in Africa?

These are the key issues addressed by a research project coordinated by the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) and involving Mekelle University and SOS Sahel in Ethiopia, the Institute of African Studies of the

University of Ghana in Ghana, and the Land Studies Unit of the Eduardo Mondlane University, Mozambique. The project lasted for four years, and came to an end in December 2005.

The research found that land registration is not inherently anti-poor in its impacts. Rather, the distributional consequences of land registration depend on the design of the registration process and on the institutions responsible for its management. In the Ethiopian state of Tigray, for instance, the process has been handled by the *tabia*, the lowest level of local government. A local consultation process takes place before registration. Fees tend to be very low, the technology



Tigray Village Meeting, Ethiopia

is very simple and the language used is accessible to most rural land users. As a result, the process is transparent and accessible for most land users.

In Ghana, on the other hand, the “deeds registration” system enabling right holders to register land transactions has affected very little rural land. The language used in the registration process is English, which is the official language but is not widely spoken in many rural areas.

Registration fees tend to be high, and

the process is long and cumbersome. In order to register a transaction, farmers would need to go to the regional capital, which entails substantial transport and transaction costs. As a result, while farmers increasingly make use of written documents to secure their transactions, very few bother to register those documents with the deeds registry. On the other hand, deeds registration is commonly used by companies acquiring interests in land – such as mining, timber and agribusiness companies. In other words, while the system seems to cater for the needs of medium to large-scale companies, it does not respond to the needs of small holders.

However, trade-offs may arise between accessibility of process and usefulness of its outcomes. In Tigray, for instance, making the process accessible and low-cost entails use of simple technology that does not document with any degree of precision the size, boundaries and location of the plots. This means that land registration does not help solve border disputes – despite these being relatively common in the area.

Registering community land rights may also be a cost-effective way to provide adequate tenure security, provided that group members enjoy clear rights over their plots. In Mozambique, for instance, while all land belongs to the state, communities can register a collective, long-term interest and manage land rights according to customary or other local practices.

These and other findings from this research project show that land registration systems can be designed so as to address the risk of bias against poorer and marginalised groups.

The results of this research come at a particularly opportune time. A “High Level Commission on Legal Empowerment of the Poor” has recently been set up, with an independent secretariat jointly hosted by United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the UN Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE). The Commission seeks to make property rights accessible to all, especially the poor and marginalised, and by so doing, contribute to poverty reduction and achieving the Millenium Development Goals (MDGs). As evidence

suggests that formalizing property rights through individual title can have negative consequences for poor groups - particularly for women and those relying on secondary rights to land – it is important to design appropriate institutions and processes that are accessible for poorer groups, to base recommendations on empirical findings from diverse settings, and to avoid simplistic “one size fit all” solutions. These are complex challenges. The findings of this research project may assist the Commission in addressing them.

Securing Land Rights in Africa

- **Can Land Registration Serve Poor and Marginalised Groups? Summary Report**
- **Land Registration in Tigray, Northern Ethiopia**
- **Land Registration in Amhara Region, Ethiopia**
- **Land Registration and Women’s Land Rights in Amhara Region, Ethiopia**
- **Land Registration in Eastern and Western Regions, Ghana**
- **Land Registration in Nampula and Zambezia provinces, Mozambique**
- **Land Registration in Maputo and Matola Cities, Mozambique**

To download the research reports produced by this project, visit www.iied.org/NR/drylands/projects/landregistration.html.

Comprehensive peace in eastern Sudan?

While there is some hope with the signing of a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), conflict and tension are increasing in eastern Sudan. A study commissioned by the International Rescue Committee outlines the main features of current tension in the region and discusses the likelihood and the implications of a possible escalation.

In the past the Beja and others in eastern Sudan have coped with the complexity of their local eco-system and been able to recover from recurrent drought and famine. But the resilience of their livelihoods system has been significantly weakened. Many of the causes date back to misguided colonial policies, which continued after independence resulting in systematic underdevelopment and marginalisation of the region. This led to the emergence of a political opposition and to tension and armed confrontation. Whilst the conflict has been very low key over the last decade, tension is now rising in many parts of eastern Sudan, particularly in urban centres.

Grievances include feelings of exclusion and marginalisation, demands for fair sharing of power, inequitable distribution of economic resources, underdevelopment, the absence of a genuine democratic process and other governance issues.

In the last few years, environmental factors have aggravated the already dire socio-economic conditions of the people living in eastern Sudan. This has led long-standing discontent to erupt into conflict. There are a number of flash points, such as the loss of traditionally owned land to mechanised agricultural schemes and the mechanisation of the port in Port Sudan. Rampant poverty and high malnutrition and mortality rates have created widespread anger amongst the community. They feel that the region is being marginalised despite the fact that it is very rich in strategic and natural resources. Most recently, the fallout from the violence that occurred during the demonstrations in Port Sudan in January 2005 following the signing of the CPA have themselves become a factor of further resentment.

The youth in urban centres are becoming more militant largely due to the lack of employment and livelihoods options. Generally they feel that resorting to armed confrontation is the only option left to attract attention to their plight. The planned withdrawal of the SPLM/A¹ from the NDA² controlled areas in accordance with the CPA appears to be leading to a more confrontational military strategy by the Eastern Front.

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The prospect of negotiations between the government and the armed opposition has so far acted as a restraining factor to those advocating more militant solutions. However, the widespread distrust of any initiative associated with the central government means that there is an urgent need for a series of confidence building measures around critical issues such as employment opportunities in town and services in the rural areas. Such initiatives need to be accompanied by an immediate international effort to identify a negotiated solution to the underlying causes of conflict.

Despite more than a decade of conflict, the international community in eastern Sudan has shown little to no interest in understanding its roots causes or attempting to mitigate the situation. International humanitarian and development assistance has been extremely limited and mostly confined to small scale, short-term emergency projects. Appropriate assistance could greatly help to mitigate the tension in the east, where the conflict is closely linked to socio-economic marginalisation and livelihoods issues. The international community could help stem the escalating crisis in eastern Sudan with relatively little investment at this stage. The costs of a potential humanitarian crisis further down the line would be much higher.

Sara Pantuliano, Research Fellow, Humanitarian Policy Group, Overseas Development Institute.

1. Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army 2. National Democratic Alliance



© Peter Biro/International Rescue Committee

Millions of Sudanese have yet to feel the benefits of the peace agreement signed one year ago

Pastoralists in parliament

What is the nature of the groups that have been formed to represent pastoralists in some of the parliaments of east Africa? Is there a case for civil society and donors to work with them, and if so how should this be done? These are some of the questions that a team from the Natural Resources Institute and the Pastoral and Environmental Network in the Horn of Africa set out to answer through a recent research project¹, but the research caused us to reflect more widely on the many and complementary ways to involve pastoralists in *governance*, that is to say the wider processes of decision-making on policy and its implementation that go beyond the sphere of government and involve its interaction with civil society.

In Kenya and Uganda, voluntary groupings have evolved to bring together Members of Parliament (MPs) from pastoral constituencies, linking MPs across party and regional lines. In Ethiopia, Parliament itself has created a Pastoral Affairs Standing Committee, electing its membership from both pastoral and non-pastoral MPs. All three have been evolving, with mutual linkages, since the late 1990s, encouraged by various NGO and donor-funded projects. Both the voluntary groups have seen setbacks, in Kenya through harassment by the previous government, in Uganda through the non-election of key members in 2001, but both are now once more functioning.

It has to be said that achievements to date have been mod-

est, but in the key policy tasks of incorporating pastoralist concerns into major government plans like the Poverty Reduction Strategy Programmes or the Ugandan Plan for the Modernisation of Agriculture, the running has been made by NGOs or donor-funded projects rather than by the parliamentary groups.

We drew various lessons on how NGOs and donors could better understand the parliamentary groups, and how they could help to build their capacity, as well as identifying challenges for the parliamentarians themselves. Our overall conclusion was that the pastoralist parliamentary groups are worth supporting, but they can only ever be one strategy for better governance of pastoralists. Those concerned with empowering pastoralists need to develop a range of complementary strategies, involving community-based organisations, producer organisations, civil society, traditional leadership and decentralised local government, and through making use of modern communications and the media. As we strive to help pastoralists improve their representation in wider society and their role in governance, we must remain pragmatic, pluralist and creative.

For further information, visit the project webpage at: www.nri.org/projects/pastoralism/parliamentary.htm

Authors: John Morton, John Livinstone and Mohammed Mussa

1. Funded by DFID's Livestock Production Programme and the CAPE Unit (now the Institutions and Policy Support Team) in the African Union's Inter-African Bureau of Animal Resources. Views expressed here are the responsibility of the authors alone

Making the link between poverty and environment The Poverty Environment Partnership (PEP) initiative

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are high level commitments which governments have signed up to in an effort to reduce global levels of poverty by 2015. In total there are 8 goals¹ and they are ambitious, so how can we ensure success and what does it mean for drylands?

The Poverty Environment Partnership (PEP) is a network that is attempting to answer the first question: How can we realise the MDGs? In 2005, the UN Millennium Ecosystem Assessments² stated that 'the loss of services derived from ecosystems is a significant barrier to the achievement of the MDGs'. This finding confirmed the pressing need to integrate the environment into poverty reduction efforts. The environment is under severe and increasing stress with 60 per cent of the planet's essential ecosystem services degraded, to the point where they can no longer provide adequate food, water, fuel and other needs. There is an inherent link between poverty reduction and sound environmental management and this is

particularly true for drylands where the vast majority of people rely directly on natural resources and the environment.

If poverty and environment are related, the solutions are also linked. The objective and key message of the PEP is to tackle these linkages by

- sharing knowledge and experience;
- identifying ways and means to improve coordination and collaboration at country and policy levels;
- and developing and implementing joint activities.

Linking poverty and environment

Environmental assets such as clean water, clean air, fertile soils, and other environmental services, are much more important in poorer countries. If well-managed, these environmental assets can provide the building blocks of pro-poor economic growth. By increasing poor people's assets – not only physical, human, social and financial, but also envi-

The Poverty Environment Partnership is an informal network of bilateral aid agencies, development banks, UN agencies and NGOs that aims to address key poverty-environment issues within the framework of international efforts to achieve the Millennium Development Goals.

ronmental – and giving them control over these resources, growth can be achieved.

Good governance is key to ensuring that poor people are not excluded from environmental assets, and open-access assets are not abused. In many countries in the Sahel, spaces are opening up to improve governance of natural resources. Decentralisation, the establishment of local government structures and the transfer of authority and responsibility over natural resource management to the local level mean that people can potentially have a greater say in the decisions that affect their daily lives. On the other hand, state institutions in developing countries tend to have limited powers, capacities, incentives and other instruments to ensure sustainable use of the environment, and to guarantee and protect poor people's access to environmental assets. The net result is a very low provision of public environmental services on a sustainable basis (Bass *et al.*, 2005).

Environmental assets and their management are key to poverty reduction. But the understanding of MDG 7 – the only one of the eight goals to address environmental issues directly – has proven to be weak and its implementation poor.

Millennium Development Goal No 7: Ensure environmental sustainability

- Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes; reverse loss of environmental resources
- Reduce by half the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water
- Achieve significant improvement in lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by 2020

What has the PEP achieved?

The PEP believes that the eight MDGs should work as a whole – a robust '3-dimensional framework'. To date it has reviewed over 100 country progress reports on the Goals, assessed the available evidence, and consulted with a wide range of organisations and individuals.³ This review has revealed a paradox. On the one hand, the environ-

mental dimensions of poverty are strongly apparent in most developing countries. On the other hand, environmental needs and opportunities are poorly integrated in most poverty reduction efforts. The PEP study identified three broad lessons:

- the environmental quality of growth matters to poor people;
- environmental management cannot be treated separately from other development concerns, and
- poor people must be seen as part of the solution rather than part of the problem.

It also identified four priority areas of change: **improving governance, enhancing the assets of the poor, improving the quality of growth, and reforming international and industri-**

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alised country policies. Particular attention must be paid to the local level where effective action can be driven by local institutions. Focus must be given to national and local development strategies that integrate all the MDGs, and that include locally relevant targets and delivery plans. Key governance changes will ensure poor people will benefit.

Investment in sound and equitable environmental management produces high economic and social returns for developing countries. Instruments to encourage investment in the pro-poor productivity of environmental assets and incentives to encourage commercial investors and non-profit organisations to invest need to be formulated.

The major challenge is to ensure both recognition and action by political, planning and financial authorities. Development cooperation agencies need the resources and instruments that can support this kind of 'bottom-up' approach. They should consider reserving a proportion of increased aid budgets to tackle poverty-environment challenges.

The PEP recognises that it takes strong leadership to link

poverty reduction and environmental management. Will political leaders and policy-makers take up the challenge? Importantly, the initiative needs to act as a catalyst to change **commitment into action.**

For further information:

Bass S, Reid H, Satterthwaite D and P. Steele. 2005. Reducing Poverty and Sustaining the Environment: The Politics of Local Engagement. London: Earthscan

DFID, DG for Development – European Commission, UNDP and the World Bank. 2002. Linking Poverty Reduction and Environmental Management. Washington DC: World Bank.
Millennium Ecosystem Assessment. 2005. www.millenniumassessment.org

UNDP, UNEP, IIED, IUCN and WRI. 2005. Environment for the MDGs – Making the case to the 2005 World Summit. Prepared on behalf of the Poverty Environment Partnership.

1. For more information visit www.un.org/millenniumgoals/

2. See Haramata 48, July 2005 for a summary of the UN Millennium Ecosystem Assessment Report on Desertification. The Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MA) is an international work programme providing scientific knowledge on the causes and consequences of eco-system change (as a result of climate change) for human well-being and options for responding to those changes.

3. These studies are available separately: Economic study IUCN (<http://www.iucn.org/themes/economics/>) Assessment/indicators study WRI; Stakeholder survey LEAD; Country MDG Report review UNDP (www.undp.org/fssd/docs/mdg7countrepsumm.doc)

A well-oiled mechanism?

Land expropriations for the Chad-Cameroon pipeline

The Chad-Cameroon oil development and pipeline project is the biggest foreign investment in sub-Saharan Africa. It entails the development of oil fields in the Doba region of Chad and, the construction and operation of a 1070 km long pipeline transporting oil to the Cameroonian port of Kribi, on the Atlantic coast. Negotiations for the project started in the late 1980s, when the government of Chad granted an oil exploration permit around Doba. In 2003, the pipeline was completed. In recent years, the project has attracted substantial interest from environmental and human rights organisations resulting in several reports raising concerns on the implementation of the project – including *Contracting out of human rights*, published by Amnesty International in September 2005, and in two requests for investigation by World Bank “Inspection Panels”¹.

The project exemplifies efforts to divert energy supplies from the Middle East region, which have led to greater interest in oil operations in sub-Saharan Africa. It also exemplifies the belief of international financial institutions that foreign investment and World Bank lending in the petroleum and mining sectors can help reduce poverty and promote sustainable development

in resource-rich countries. Assessing the impact of this project will help test this belief on the ground. The extent to which land and other assets expropriated for the purpose of this project have been duly compensated, and the extent to which local communities benefit from the project are key indicators for any serious attempt to undertake such an assessment.

The construction of infrastructure of this scale requires expropriation of existing land rights. The project has entailed both permanent land expropriation and temporary loss of access to land. In the latter case, local resource users are to regain access to land after the construction works, subject to restrictions on land use (e.g. on tree planting).

Under national legislation in Chad and Cameroon, all land is owned by the state, with the only exception of registered land, which is held in private property. Land registration in rural areas is rare and mainly concerns large private estates. Most rural dwellers gain access to land through customary law. This emphasises collective rather than individual rights, and is deemed to recognise land use rights only. Chad and Cameroon legislation compensates not for land expropriation as such, but for loss of improvements to the land – such as cultivated crops,

The project set up

The Chad-Cameroon project is led by an international consortium between Exxon Mobil, Petronas and Chevron, and is implemented by two joint ventures established in Chad (TOTCO) and Cameroon (COTCO). The World Bank has provided financial support and although this was only a minor share of the cost, the involvement of the Bank was crucial in securing additional financing from the private sector, due to the perceived political-risk “guarantee” provided by the Bank’s participation.

The involvement of the World Bank has resulted in the adoption of innovative legislation on the use of oil revenues in Chad. The Petroleum Revenue Management Law of 1998 aims to ensure that oil revenues contribute to poverty reduction. It provides for the bulk of the revenues to be spent on priority sectors such as health, education and infrastructure, and for setting aside 10% of the revenues in a “Future Generations Fund”, to be spent on projects to support livelihoods once oil reserves have run out (which is estimated to happen in a few decades). This legislation is to be overseen by a committee, which includes representatives of civil society organisations. However, the operation of the committee has been riddled with difficulties. And, as *Haramata* went to press, the Chadian Parliament had just passed an amendment to the 1998 Law. The amendment adds security activities to the priority sectors, and eliminates the Future Generations Fund.

World Bank involvement also led to the establishment of an independent International Advisory Group to advise the World Bank and the governments of Chad and Cameroon on the development issues raised by the implementation of the project.

water points, fences and houses. This has created the challenge of how to compensate land rights held in common and not amounting to full and documented ownership.

In practice, the project has implemented a range of compensation mechanisms: individual and collective compensation, whether in cash or in kind, paid to right holders within 2km of the pipeline; “supplemental” compensation paid by COTCO and TOTCO for temporary occupation of and/or damages to land outside the easement; community compensation, paid to communities suffering loss of land (even beyond the 2km area), and usually entailing support to micro-projects for the provision of water points, schools, clinics or other infrastructure, and regional compensation, again involving support to development projects in areas affected by the pipeline. Local and international NGOs have implemented development projects as part of the community compensation scheme.

Several civil society organisations have

raised concerns as to the fairness and transparency of the land expropriation and compensation process. These issues were raised in requests for investigation submitted to World Bank Inspection Panels alleged that the project had violated World Bank Policy OD 4.30 on resettlement and compensation. The policy requires adequate compensation for loss of resources to be paid prior to project implementation; and to cover untitled land rights based on “locally recognised land allocation systems”. In relation to both requests, the panels concluded that the World Bank complied with this policy.

Concerns about land expropriations have not disappeared, however. Delays in providing remedies have been documented – for instance in relation to the construction of artificial reefs to compensate loss of off-shore fishing resources for fishing communities in Kribi. There have also been documented and unjustified delays in returning land temporarily occupied during the construction phase, particularly in the oil field development area. In 2005, the International Advisory Group established by the project called on the consortium to quickly restore any land no longer needed for project construction and production, and turn it over to area residents.

A key issue is also the ability of land users to file complaints about the way the implementation of the scheme affects their interests. The project set up a specific grievance procedure. Which was deemed adequate by both World Bank inspection panels. However, Amnesty International’s report identified several problems. First, the procedure only applies to the construction of the pipeline. Other losses would need



© Jacob Silberberg / Panos Pictures

Villagers in southern Chad live under the constant light of a gas flare in the shadow of an Exxon Mobil oil facility

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to be dealt with by local courts. This assumes the existence of an impartial judiciary capable of handling these types of claims. However, there are concerns that local courts are often inaccessible to the rural poor, and ineffective in providing remedies. Second, where the grievance procedure applies, complaints are brought to liaison officers working for the consortium, which then decides whether to accept or reject the complaint, and what action to take. If the complaint is rejected, the individual has no appeal to an independent forum. And, if compensation is offered, there is no enforcement mechanism to ensure delivery. This situation may leave individuals or groups deprived of the land on which they depend without a proper legal remedy.

This situation seems detrimental for everybody. On the one hand, local resource users may lose key livelihood assets without adequate compensation. This may foster poverty and social exclusion. On the other, in an investment project of this nature, adequate compensation for land expropriations constitutes a relatively minor cost for the investors but may bring substantial benefits to them such as a less conflictual investment climate.

This “lose-lose” outcome reflects flaws in the design of this type of project. Typically, the terms and conditions of such proj-

ects are negotiated behind closed doors, sheltered from public scrutiny. Most commonly, local communities affected by the investment project have no say in the negotiation and implementation of the rules governing the project. While some of the contractual arrangements concerning the project were published in the official gazette, this is hardly a mechanism enabling transparency and participation and does not reach rural populations, plus publication comes after the key decisions have been made. Underlying this is the assumption that investment projects of this sort are essentially commercial ventures. However, these projects can have major repercussions for local land users and need to be properly discussed with a wide range of shareholders from the conception and design phase.

For more on this project, read:

The periodic reports of the International Advisory Group of the project www.gic-iag.org

Amnesty International's report “Contracting out of human rights” <http://web.amnesty.org/library/Index/ENPOL340122005?open&of=ENG-390>

The project page on the World Bank web site www.worldbank.org/afr/ccproj/

1. The World Bank “Inspection Panel” is an independent mechanism established in 1993 by the Board of Executive Directors of the World Bank to enable two or more individuals that feel that their interests have been or could be harmed by World Bank-funded projects to request an inspection to assess their claims. If the Board approves the request, the Panel investigates the issues raised, and reports to the Board (WBIP, 2002).

Pastoral livelihoods in Ethiopia

Last year, Ethiopia hosted two pastoralist gatherings. The first marked Ethiopia's National Pastoralism Day and was organised by the Pastoral Forum of Ethiopia. The second was the first truly global gathering of pastoralists, held in Turbi, South Omo, and was organised by the Pastoral Communications Initiative.

Pastoralists around the world have a keen interest in ensuring the sustainable future of mobile livestock keeping in the drylands and rangelands. They share common challenges: the lack of recognition amongst policy makers of the efficacy of mobile livestock production systems; the pervading myth that mobile pastoral production systems are responsible for rangeland degradation (when in fact environmental degradation in the rangelands is more commonly linked with settlements and water points); the limited government support for funding mobile services (and rather a concentration of rangelands investment in infrastructure and service delivery in trading centres and small towns); and the threat to the future of the rangelands from small-holder farming. These challenges combine to squeeze herding communities, reduce mobility and undermine pastoral livelihoods.

All those involved in sustainable pastoral development recognise that considerably more has to be done to make a

more robust economic case for pastoralism, in particular recognition of the contribution that pastoralists make to national and regional economies. In Ethiopia, economists suggest that pastoral production accounts for almost 20% of Ethiopia's GDP. This type of information should help to drive more informed pastoral policies.

Ethiopia's pastoralists occupy 60% of the country's land area, including all or a significant proportion of Afar, Somali, Oromiya and Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Regions. The lowland areas are however relatively thinly populated with the result that the 29 pastoral communities comprise less than 15% of Ethiopia's estimated population of 77 million.

Whilst relatively few in number, pastoralist populations have in fact more than doubled in the last 40 years. Inhabiting the same rangelands, modern day pastoral households maintain smaller herds than their forebears and consequently fewer Ethiopian pastoral households today are entirely dependent on livestock – more and more are involved in rain-fed cropping, petty trade and other economic activities to supplement their income and reduce household vulnerability. Ethiopian pastoralists are therefore more dependent than previous generations on cash and markets, and are consequently more vulnerable to

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fluctuations in market prices, particularly up-turns in grain prices and down-turns in livestock prices.

Pastoral Livelihoods Initiative

In October 2005, USAID launched its *Pastoral Livelihoods Initiative* (PLI), with the aim of improving the lives of vulnerable pastoralists living in three of Ethiopia's lowland regions: Afar, Somali and Oromiya.

The initiative will be implemented by a consortium of NGOs, is committed to working closely with both customary pastoral leaders and district administrators and technical staff to **protect, improve and transform** pastoral livelihoods, through better livestock services and practices.

The programme has four main components:

- Rangeland productivity.
- Pastoral early warning systems.
- Livestock marketing.
- Technical and policy harmonisation.

Save the Children Alliance members and other organisations are implementing a *Drought Cycle Management Project* in the first two components. Since the launch of this initiative, the southern part of Somali and Oromiya Regional States have been hit by drought. Funds available from PLI have been avail-

able for a rapid drought response which have supported the regional authorities to vaccinate cattle, sheep and goats; repair boreholes and shallow wells; help organise (with the Ministry of Agriculture's Department of Fisheries and Livestock Marketing) livestock fairs and tours to encourage livestock traders to buy drought-affected livestock; and establish two 'nucleus breeding' herds in which 2,000 female cattle, sheep and goats are provided with supplementary feed to survive the drought.

Regional governments in Ethiopia recognise that pastoralists are among Ethiopia's most vulnerable and historically marginalised communities. Pastoral women have borne the brunt of this marginalisation process with poor access to health care, education and economic development support, despite the fact that they are the 'hidden hands' of pastoral production. The Drought Cycle Management Project will ensure that pastoral women are appropriately encouraged to participate fully in decision-making at all levels. A start has been made to identify and train women community-animal health workers. Save the Children Alliance members are also developing a child-centred approach to improve the quality of life for pastoral children in future generations.

Adrian Cullis, SCIUS

For further information contact the Save the Children Alliance.

Gender, Water and Development

Edited by Anne Coles and Tina Wallace, 2005

Berg Publishers www.bergpublishers.com ISBN: 1 84520125-6

There is a renewed global commitment to 'water for all'. MDG 7 aims to reduce by half the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water. But the provision of water is all too often seen as a technical problem. **Gender, Water and Development** examines the complex social, cultural, economic and political elements that determine how water is provided and accessed.

In general women are defined as essential providers and users of water. They are expected to play multiple roles in the provision of water, sanitation, improved health and increased productivity. Coles and Wallace explain that most policies tie women tightly to the socially ascribed gender roles they play in relation to water. But within the present economic paradigm, women's social and cultural roles and status are poorly analysed and their ability to pay for water is often simply assumed. There is limited attention to women's rights to water and what these would mean in practice in poor communities where women's status is often very low. Gender concepts of power inequality and the importance of transformation are important to ensure that women achieve positive and lasting changes in status.

The introduction to this book provides an overview of a gendered understanding of water provision and access. The following chapters provide experience and learning from the field. *Haramata* readers may find the chapters on the complex interrelationship of ethnicity, gender water and ways of life in Sudan interesting. The final chapter outlines a case study of how a gendered approach was incorporated into a water programme in Tanzania, which may be of particular interest to readers working in non-governmental organisations and who are trying to incorporate a gender analysis of water programmes.

HARAMATA

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Taking a closer look: the new Issue Papers

New actors and land acquisition around Lake Bazèga, Burkina Faso

Issue paper 138

In Burkina Faso, undeveloped rural lands, especially fertile wetlands, are being appropriated by a new type of farmer known as the 'new actor'. Supported by government policy and attempting to modernise agriculture through agribusiness, these new actors are mainly active or retired officials from the public and private sectors, commercial managers, salesmen and politicians from large urban centres, or rural people who have made money rearing livestock or through business. By making these new actors key players in rural land relations, the government strategically avoids direct engagement with customary land management rules that proved so controversial in the past. This latest encounter between modern and customary land regimes is an opportunity to re-establish a rapport between urban and rural citizens and between modern and traditional agriculture. This study looks at the process around Lake Bazèga in central southern Burkina Faso.

Land and water rights in the Sahel. Tenure challenges of improving access to water for agriculture

Issue paper 139

The study supports a process of policy debate and exchange of experience on how to tackle issues raised by the interface between water and land rights in the Sahel. It involves a range of actors working to improve access to water – and discusses practical ways to take account of land tenure issues in water programmes. The study focuses on irrigation and pastoral

water points, and also explores issues concerning linkages between rights over water, land and other natural resources in wetlands. The focus is on the Sahel, particularly Senegal, Mali, Burkina Faso and Niger, but relevant material from other Sahelian countries provides additional insights and reference is made to developments in other sub-Saharan African countries.

Ambivalence and contradiction: A review of the policy environment in Tanzania in relation to pastoralism

Issue paper 140

Tanzania is undergoing rapid policy change and reforms that will affect different communities in different ways. Some of the institutional reforms will have serious repercussions on pastoral and agro-pastoral livelihoods, the good management of the environment and peaceful co-existence among communities. The rapid pace of change has also prevented many citizens from participating in and shaping the policy options and directions being proposed by government. As a result, many communities have been left behind, particularly in the rural areas, and in particular the pastoral and agro-pastoral communities. This report reviews existing and planned policies and laws on pastoralism and analyses how they actually impact, or are likely to impact, on pastoral and agro-pastoral livelihoods.

Copies of the Issue Papers published by IIED's Drylands Programme accompany each issue of *Haramata* and are also available on www.iied.org/drylands. You can also write to us at Drylands, 3 Endsleigh Street, London, WC1H 0DD, UK or email drylands@iied.org