

LEGISLATORS AND LIVESTOCK: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PASTORALIST PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS IN ETHIOPIA, KENYA AND UGANDA

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report synthesises the findings of three case studies carried out under the NRI/PENHA research project on Pastoralist Parliamentary Groups (PPGs) in Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda. The objective of the project has been “to assess the circumstances in which pastoralist parliamentary groupings can be an effective lobby for pro-poor, pro-pastoralist policy change, and what external assistance they require in this role”. In general, despite the increasing democratisation in Africa, the importance of MPs in the development of natural resource management, including pastoralism, has not been sufficiently addressed.

There is an increasing acceptance that the major issues in pastoral development are related to policy and governance; issues such as conflicts and insecurity, livestock marketing, land rights, inadequate provision of services and infrastructure, drought and dependence on food aid. These issues are not issues of policy alone but also of its implementation, and parliamentarians, who have roles in both policy-making and oversight, may be well-placed to contribute.

The establishment of the PPGs has to be seen in the context of the overall wave of democratisation in Africa, but also the very specific ways in which that has been played out in the case study countries. But in general, in all three countries, there is a trend to the establishment of working parliamentary systems with standing committees and some resources available for MPs to do their work, even if the PPGs have not taken full advantage of these systems. The evolution of effective parliamentary systems, and of the PPGs, also has to be seen in the context of the development of civil society and free media.

Several methodological and substantive issues of importance in analysing the role of the PPGs are identified, including:

- The uncertainties involved in reconstructing the often controversial histories of the groups
- The limits of MPs’ “representativeness”, but also the limits of this as a sole criterion for their effectiveness
- The uneven spread of new thinking on pastoralism, and the need for local variations of, and continued debate on, the new paradigms
- The complexities of the policy process, and the need for the use of multiple frameworks in analysing it
- The need to examine carefully both the formal and informal workings of parliaments
- The need to look at national parliaments alongside systems of regional and local government
- The need to look at the contexts of history, ethnicity, and real and perceived national security in the various countries.

The PPGs have been evolving through informal activities since around 1996, and have influenced each other at key moments. The Kenyan PPG was formally launched in 1998, but operated at a low level in an unfavourable

political environment until its relaunch in 2003. It is an informal group, without a written constitution, open to MPs concerned with pastoral development. In practice its 30 active members are all drawn from traditionally pastoralist constituencies. The Ugandan PPG was formally established in 1999, with seven stated goals and a constitution. Membership was in principle “open to all MPs who feel their constituencies have pastoralist related issues that the group should address” but active membership was in practice restricted to MPs from the Karimoja, Teso and south-western regions of Uganda. It became dormant from 2001 until its relaunch in November 2003. The Ethiopian Pastoral Affairs Standing Committee is in contrast an entity established by Proclamation of Parliament, in 2003, and has eight pastoral and five non-pastoral members chosen by Parliament as a whole.

The PPGs have so far had a mixed record of achievement. In Uganda PPG members played an important role in pursuing corruption in the valley dam scandal of 1998, and securing exceptional access to a National Park in the drought of 1999. The group also contributed to alleviating, though not stopping, armed conflict between pastoralists and agro-pastoralists in 1997-2001. In Ethiopia, the PASC has a statutory duty of oversight of the Livestock Marketing Authority and the pastoral activities of eight ministries, which in general it implements effectively. In Kenya, parliamentary procedures have allowed less of an oversight role, but the group was able to increase budgetary allocations to boarding schools in pastoral areas. All three groups, alongside civil society organisations, have contributed to raising awareness of pastoral issues. But the groups seem to have made a very modest contribution to the major policy debates – the PRSP processes and the Ugandan PMA.

Some of the most important determinants of this limited success are discussed:

- Most importantly, the complex political circumstances of each individual country
- Parliamentary procedures and the PPGs’ limited ability to use them
- The role of individuals, particularly “policy entrepreneurs” able to network across different parties, NGOs and academia.
- The limitations of individual MPs, in terms of both motivation and capabilities
- The unmet need for continuity and institutional memory, and the patchy nature of MPs’ linkages to civil society organisations
- The acute need for information on a variety of topics, including technical and policy options in the drylands, and actual conditions in far-flung rural constituencies.

Some challenges for the PPGs themselves are outlined:

- Engaging with policy questions and influencing the big debates on policy
- Mastering parliamentary procedures, both formal and informal, to influence government
- Maintaining their own continuity as key individuals do not return to parliament: the groups should explore more formal arrangements for civil society or research organisations to provide ongoing advisory and/or secretariat services, and ways of co-opting ex-MPs and non-MPs as honorary members
- Accessing appropriate information for the debates they engage in and their capacities
- Mobilising their own resources, and those of parliament and government: this will be important to avoid fatiguing donors with demands for support
- Overcoming local, clan and ethnic particularism
- Making use of the potential synergies between members of different backgrounds, generations, regions, standings within government: “mentoring” less experienced MPs.
- Maintaining effective regional networks of PPGs, to exchange experience of organising themselves and influencing policy, while guarding against the possibility of these networks descending into talking shops.

The PPGs are worth supporting, as one front in a broader initiative of empowering pastoralists through strengthening civil society organisations, the media, communications and decentralised local government. General guidelines are given for donors and NGOs, who are considering funding, or working with, the PPGs in the countries we have studied, or future PPGs, or “PPG-like organisations” elsewhere, or indeed parliamentary groupings that are concerned with other development topics:

- Analyse the options in a real-world political context, using expert knowledge of each country
- Be pragmatic about the quality of MPs and their “representativeness”
- Work with individuals, particularly “policy entrepreneurs”
- Work regionally, but in a way that supports the PPGs’ national mandates
- Build capacity; particularly through information provision and training, but not necessarily neglecting “hard” capacity, such as vehicles and office equipment.
- Address the issues of continuity and institutional memory
- Build alliances with civil society, international NGOs, the media and local government

The last three issues are interrelated, but different institutional strategies for addressing them will be appropriate in different circumstances.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AU-IBAR	African Union's Interafrican Bureau of Animal Resources
CAPE	Community Animal Health and Participatory Epidemiology Unit
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DFID	UK Department for International Development
FORD-People	Forum for the Restoration of Democracy- People
EPRDF	Ethiopian Peoples' Democratic Revolutionary Front
KANU	Kenyan African Nationalist Union
KPF	Kenya Pastoralist Forum
MP	Member of Parliament (used generically)
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition
NRI	Natural Resources Institute, University of Greenwich
NRM	National Resistance Movement
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
PASC	Pastoral Affairs Standing Committee
PEAP	Poverty Eradication Action Programme
PMA	Plan for the Modernisation of Agriculture
PPG	Pastoral Parliamentary Group
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Programme
TPLF	Tigrayan People's Liberation Front
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

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“The wind is now blowing towards the pastoralists, but it has not yet rained.”

1 Introduction

This report provides a synthesis of work carried out under the NRI/PENHA research project on Pastoralist Parliamentary Groups (PPGs) in Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda.¹ The objective of the project has been “to assess the circumstances in which pastoralist parliamentary groupings can be an effective lobby for pro-poor, pro-pastoralist policy change, and what external assistance they require in this role”. This synthesis report draws on the three country case-studies carried out under the project (Mohammed Mussa 2003, Livingstone 2005a and 2005b), as well as other literature and the current author’s own observations during interviews in Uganda and Ethiopia.²

This report is intended for donors who may be asked to fund activities of the PPGs, regional bodies, NGOs and Civil Society organisations who may be considering collaborating with them, and research organisations who may view them as an audience for research findings. The report focuses on three countries: at the time of writing, we have little knowledge of PPGs elsewhere in Africa,³ but we hope that the report will be useful wherever PPGs, or organisations like them, can be formed within the political and developmental contexts of their countries.

This report will begin with an overview of the pressures facing pastoralists, particularly in East and North-East Africa, and how these pressures increasingly point to better government policy as the key to improving pastoralist livelihoods. Section 3 looks at the development of parliamentary democracy in Africa since the beginning of the 1990s, the particular democratic trajectories of the three countries under consideration, the renewed importance of parliaments, and the resulting need for the analysis of parliamentarians’ roles in the governance of pastoralism in particular, and

¹ The research was funded by the Livestock Production Programme of the UK Department For International Development and the Community-based Animal Health and Participatory Epidemiology (CAPE) Unit of the African Union Inter-African Bureau of Animal Resources. I am extremely grateful for the hard work and insights of my partners, John Livingstone and Mohammed Mussa, without whom this overview report would not have been possible. However, neither they, nor DFID, AU-IBAR, NRI, PENHA nor the many individuals inside or outside the three parliaments who gave their time to be interviewed or give written comments, bear any responsibility for views and interpretations in this document, which are my responsibility alone.

² The current author, the project leader, spent a week each in Uganda and Ethiopia at the beginning of the respective country case studies.

³ In a workshop in Kampala in 2004, a Tanzanian MP made a firm public declaration that a PPG, covering both pastoral and agro-pastoral constituencies, would be formally established in Tanzania, but further information has not been available. In Sudan, where there is formal representation of “traditional leadership” within parliament, and given that many of the “traditional” tribal units include pastoralists, it may be that pastoralist representation is being partially achieved by this rather different means.

natural resource management more generally. Section 4 examines some key issues in the analysis of PPGs.

Sections 5 and 6 analyse the history of the PPGs in the three case-study countries and their successes and limitations to date. Section 7 attempts to identify some of the key factors in determining the capacity of PPGs to act as vehicles for positive change. Section 8 draws some conclusions and recommendations for partnerships between PPGs, donors and NGOs.

2 Pastoralism, Policy and Governance

The questions of the poverty and vulnerability of pastoralists have been discussed in many other places. While some pastoralists can be regarded as wealthy in terms of their assets, the numbers of their livestock, many are not. For example, work in progress by Negussie Dejene and Mekonnen Said shows that 59% of pastoralists in Afar Region, Ethiopia, fall below a fairly conservative threshold of a subsistence livestock holding.⁴ But even wealthier pastoralists can be considered vulnerable to drought, conflict, animal disease, sudden changes in international livestock trade regimes and other shocks and trends. And beyond even vulnerability lies the fact of pastoralist marginality: environmental, economic, socio-cultural and political (Lesorogol 1998). In practice, international development agencies are increasingly seeing pastoralists as one of the core groups of the rural poor (see Jazairy *et al.* 1992).

There is also an increasing acceptance among donors and researchers, though less so among developing-country governments, that the major constraints to pastoral development are related to policy and governance (see Hogg 1992, Cullis 1992, LEAD 2000, Pratt *et al.* 1997, Morton and Meadows 2000, Mohammed Salih 2001, among many other sources). External attempts to improve pastoral livestock productions systems through technical interventions such as re-seeding, exclosures, rotational grazing, and improvements in husbandry have had little positive impact. Significant improvements in animal health have been delivered, particularly in the field of preventive animal health, but those working in the field increasingly recognise that the key constraints lie in policy and institutions: how to design delivery systems that make the best use of veterinarians, community animal health workers and private-sector operators such as veterinary pharmacists, how to enshrine these in veterinary regulations, how to create a physically secure environment for the operation of veterinary services, and how to ensure there pastoralists have enough surplus cash to allow cost-recovery. In livestock marketing, attention has shifted away from the provision of local-level infrastructure (markets, slabs, trek-routes) to policy questions: the trade-constraining effects of national and international veterinary regulations, and national-level infrastructure provision at terminal markets.

⁴ 4.8 Tropical Livestock Units per human adult equivalent.

In our case-studies, MPs themselves identified priority policy issues very similar to those listed in publications by researchers and donors. In Kenya, for example, the priority issues were (Livingstone 2003a):

- Conflict and insecurity; the unholy entanglement of traditional raiding culture, civil war and criminality that is displacing and impoverishing thousands of people, and denying to them the use of productive rangelands
- Livestock marketing; mitigating the negative impacts of the demise of the parastatal livestock marketing system
- Land rights; preventing the encroachment on rangelands of arable agriculture, protected areas and commercial interests.
- Inadequate provision of social services
- Inadequate provision of transport and communications infrastructure
- Inadequate provision of water points and animal health services
- Drought and dependence on food aid.

But as all the case studies show, but the Kenyan one most explicitly, it is unhelpful to view these solely as *policy* issues. Policies can be formulated, but also need to be implemented, and in far-flung, marginal pastoral areas, with high communication costs, low population densities and high costs per beneficiary, there are many reasons, good and bad, for governments not to implement these policies. “Corruption and poor local governance” emerged explicitly as a concern of the Kenyan pastoral MPs. Herein lies a key role of parliamentarians, and of the PPGs – the oversight of the implementation of policy. While it is discussed below that MPs have been neglected in discussions of “policy-making” within development literature, they are more than policy-makers. The Ethiopian PASC has regular and effective oversight of the functioning of the Livestock Marketing Authority,⁵ while the Ugandan PPG played a key role in challenging corruption in development work in pastoral areas, and intervening where protected area policies grossly disadvantaged pastoralists. The role of MPs in governance, again as discussed in the Kenyan case-study, can be ambiguous, but there is certainly scope for developing their positive role in oversight, and this is more likely to happen if they associate within PPGs than if each pastoral MP continues to act alone.

3. Democratisation and Parliaments in Africa

The evolution of the PPGs has to be seen in the context of the wave of democratisation that swept Africa in the early 1990s. Faced with domestic protests, classically in urban areas and including students and the middle classes, as well as pressure from donor countries, one-party regimes and military dictatorships allowed elections that were relatively free and fair and made transitions to multi-party systems. Sandbrook (2001) surveys the diversity of those experiences, how democratisation faltered or was reversed in some countries, how former rulers rode the wave and returned to power in

⁵ Formerly an independent agency, now part of the Ministry of Agriculture

new democratic incarnations, and the tensions between democratisation and market-led economic recovery under conditions of global inequality.

But for all its emphasis on diversity, Sandbrook's narrative fits better with the experiences of West Africa and Southern Africa: his examples are Ghana, Mali, Niger, Zambia, Tanzania and Madagascar. The countries we are considering here have all experienced markedly different trajectories of democratic change. In Ethiopia, a highly centralised military dictatorship clothed in a strong version of Marxist-Leninist rhetoric, was overthrown in 1991 following a prolonged rural guerrilla struggle led by a group, the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF), espousing a combination of Marxist and ethno-regional political objectives. The TPLF then formed the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), composed of itself and other ethno-regional parties allied to it, which in the main it was itself responsible for bringing into being. The EPRDF government, as well as shifting towards a much more liberal economic policy, instituted a parliamentary system that is in formal terms multi-party, but with distinguishing characteristics. Firstly, Ethiopia now has a federal system, based on ethnically defined regional states, the most thoroughgoing incorporation of ethno-regionalism in any African system (Young 1996). Secondly, at both federal and regional levels, the ruling EPRDF has a heavy dominance both electorally and through the "parapartits" or party-owned businesses that dominate much economic life, and there is an incomplete separation of government and party at all levels, including the local levels where many of the most important government functions of allocating goods and services are managed. Some outside observers (Pausewang *et al.* 2003) have reached very negative conclusions about the trajectory of Ethiopian democracy. It is not the role of this report to evaluate those conclusions, but it should be noted that there is much less evidence about the way democracy functions in the pastoral areas, where the regional parties have a more arms-length relationship with the EPRDF (but see Markakis 1996, Lister 2004). It should also be noted, that whatever the imperfections of the system, MPs play an important role in oversight, and, less clearly, in policy-making, as the Ethiopian case-study makes clear.

In Uganda, the overthrow of the Idi Amin dictatorship in 1978 was succeeded by the increasingly repressive second Obote regime and a series of short-lived and brutal military dictatorships. Here also, the resulting government, that of Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Movement, was born of prolonged rural guerrilla struggle, culminating in its seizure of national power in 1986. Against the continent-wide trend, the NRM instituted and maintained throughout the 1990s its own form of "no-party", but parliamentary, system. To the surprise of some observers, very little pressure was brought to bear by donors in favour of a multi-party system, because Uganda was in other ways demonstrating good development policies and good governance, including a very thoroughgoing decentralisation, and because of fear that Uganda would once again fall into instability. However, in 2003 a Supreme Court decision required a return to open multi-party politics, and the NRM, by then simply "the Movement" was forced to operate as one party among many, albeit one

with significant incumbent advantages and equally significant goodwill from Museveni's success in bringing peace in much of the country.⁶

Kenya made a transition from a one-party system to multi-party democracy in 1992, as part of the Africa-wide trend, but President Moi proved uniquely able to cling on to power within the forms of multi-party democracy, using not only the advantages of incumbency and patronage, but also ethnic divide-and-rule tactics up to and including the deliberate fomenting of inter-ethnic violence, intimidation and corruption. Despite this, the 1990s saw a narrowing of the gap in parliamentary strength between the ruling KANU and the opposition, and the emergence of more independent voices within KANU, as well as an emboldening of civil society. The 2003 election victory of the National Rainbow Coalition set the seal on this trend, although strong tensions between its constituent parties persist.

Parliamentary democracy is not only a matter of free and fair elections every four or five years, which can still lead to "elective dictatorships" if ruling party MPs do nothing but follow the government line. The effective functioning of parliaments also matters, which depend on quite specific procedures and parliamentary institutions, most importantly an independent Speaker (at least in parliamentary traditions derived from Britain), parliamentary committees, and guaranteed resources for individual parliamentarians and those committees.

In all three countries, a working system of parliamentary committees is evolving. In Ethiopia, the PASC analysed by our case-study report is, in contrast to the voluntary groupings we studied in Kenya and Uganda, a Standing Committee set up by parliament that has statutory oversight of the functioning of Ministries and government agencies. In Kenya, our case study, citing the work of Barkan (2003) describes the increase in parliamentary independence since 1999, the continuing attempts by MPs to increase their own participation in the budget-making process, the establishment of active permanent committees and other more informal groups in parliament, such as the Coffee and Tea Parliamentary Association, some of them with cross-party membership. However, as the case-study further reports, only a small group of MPs are involved in cross-party and committee work, and the committees lack capacity and resources. The Ugandan case-study also describes how MPs are failing to take advantage of committees and other parliamentary procedures such as private members' bills.

Positive developments in parliament have been assisted by parallel trends in the development of civil society organisations and free media, and in donor assistance. Kenya especially has seen the growth of civil society organisations in the truest sense of the word, including think-tanks and independent research institutes, that are not simply outgrowths of international NGOs or donor programmes. In all three countries very active umbrella groups have been formed for civil society organisations and

⁶ Excluding unfortunately, the areas subject to the brutal incursions of the Lord's Resistance Army, that the Museveni government has been unable either to negotiate with or suppress militarily.

international NGOs involved in pastoral development. Uganda especially, but also Kenya, has seen the burgeoning of a very free press, not afraid to attack the government, and other media such as FM radio. In all three countries donor programmes have helped parliament: capacity building of MPs in Kenya and Uganda, capital expenditure on offices in Kenya, and the very innovative Pastoral Communication Initiative in Ethiopia, which has provided training for members of the PASC as well as a broader, and rather NGO-like, programme of fostering communication between stakeholders in pastoral development. Overall, in all three countries, in pastoral development but also far more broadly, there is a growing sense that “parliament matters”.

However, the growing importance of parliament and parliamentarians has not been reflected in literature on the development of natural resource management in Africa. This is despite the recognition that many of the important questions of natural resource management are actually questions of policy – in pastoralism (see section 2 above) as in other sub-sectors. It has become commonplace to talk about “policy-makers” as the key audience for much research on natural resource management, but this phrase is surprisingly rarely unpacked, and when it is, the assumption is often that senior civil servants are intended (or indeed the staff of donor agencies, but that is another story). For example, the otherwise excellent and groundbreaking study on environmental policy-making in Africa by Keeley and Scoones (2003), which will be drawn on below, makes no mention of parliaments and parliamentarians. There is therefore a serious information gap on the role of parliamentarians in the development of natural resource management, including pastoralism, which now needs to be addressed.

4. Issues in the Analysis of PPGs

This section will attempt to identify and review some of the most important issues, methodological, theoretical and substantive, in the comparative analysis of the PPGs.

4.1 Methodological uncertainties

It might appear a trivial, obvious, or defensive point, but the study of the PPGs has been fraught with methodological difficulties. Firstly, membership of the Ugandan and Kenyan groups has never been well-defined, so there has been no clear-cut list of members to present or analyse. Secondly, the researchers in general had to rely on interviews with members or ex-members of the groups, although in some cases group documents could also be consulted. Memories were often fallible; this was the case with informants who were still involved with pastoral politics, but even more so with former key actors who had left parliament and were understandably unwilling to spend a lot of time racking their memories for details. Thirdly, the history of the PPGs is one of competing versions, as different stakeholders consciously or unconsciously create narratives that serve their interests as they compete for political or moral capital (and NGOs and development projects also so compete). An example is the relative importance of the roles of the Kenyan PPG, the

Pastoralist Forum of Ethiopia and the Pastoralist Communication Initiative in catalysing the establishment of the Ethiopian PASC. Accepting this indeterminacy, we have not concerned ourselves too much in disentangling the “objective” truth, but rather accepted these competing narratives as part of the politics we are analysing.

4.2 Representation

Analysing the way parliamentarians act in democratic systems (or systems that purport to be democratic) involves consideration of the concept of representation. The concept of representation, as with those of “participation” and “voice”, is becoming increasingly important in development research. Lister (2004) begins her study of Ethiopian pastoralist representation, by carefully considering the different meanings of “representation” and “representative”, in everyday speech and in political science, and warns about the dangers of making either/or judgements about institutions or individuals being “representative”. She then analyses a number of “processes mediating between citizen interests and policy outcomes...the functioning of the federal parliament, the functioning of regional and sub-regional systems of government, and the interaction between formal and ‘traditional’ or ‘customary’ institutions”. Subject to her qualifications on the use of the term, she clearly sees the extent to which MPs “represent” their constituents as limited and mainly secondary to their party affiliations, as other representative processes are limited.

Each of the parliamentary systems we have analysed is different, with Ethiopia currently having by far the highest degree of party control over MPs. But it is likely that a study with this focus in either Uganda or Kenya would also find strong limits on the extent to which MPs “represent” their constituents. We would however, stress that just as MPs’ “representativeness” is highly limited, representation is not the sole overarching context to describe what MPs do, nor the sole criteria on which to evaluate their achievements. We feel that the performance of MPs, and therefore the PPGs, can also be evaluated in terms of their effectiveness in a variety of functions, including oversight and policy-making.

4.3 Shifting and localised paradigms of pastoral development

A key feature of debates on pastoral development, and one of the reasons a study of pastoral development policy is so interesting, are the profound changes in thinking about pastoral development that have taken place in just over two decades. At the centre of these changes has been the “New Range Ecology” (Behnke *et al.* 1993), which has sought to demonstrate the essential environmental rationality of mobile pastoralism based on collective land tenure in the “non-equilibrium environments” which characterise much of dryland Africa, as against earlier theories of range ecology developed in arid but equilibrial environments of the South-western USA. This scientific trend has gone arm-in-arm with close attention to the socio-economic aspects of pastoralism, and the management implications of both. The collection edited by Scoones (1995) was a key point in this trend, but built on a body of careful

descriptive work on pastoralism by anthropologists and anthropologically-inclined economists, and earlier synthesising texts (Horowitz 1979, Sandford 1983, Toulmin 1984, Livingstone 1984, Swift 1988). By the late 90s these approaches were being incorporated into major public documents by multilateral donors (Pratt *et al.* 1997, de Haan *et al.* 1997).

These different trends have included:

- a questioning of many previously established concepts for looking at rangeland ecology and pastoral development, including fixed carrying capacities, “overgrazing”, “desertification”, “the tragedy of the commons”, “perverse supply response” etc.;
- a questioning of the policies most associated with those concepts, including sedentarisation and privatisation of land tenure;
- a concern for the negative political and economic context of pastoralism, including external encroachment on rangelands and the erosion of traditional pastoral institutions;
- and a general orientation towards a more participatory development practice on the rangelands, and a returning of responsibility for natural resource management to pastoralists.

However, these ideas, however well-established among researchers and to a lesser extent in donor agencies, have filtered through to African governments much more slowly and unevenly. Reasons for this include the time it takes any new thinking to be incorporated into policy, the differing processes, contingent on events, networks and even individuals by which it so incorporated (Keeley and Scoones 2003), and the very deep issues regarding the marginality of pastoralism in the cultures and politics of African states (see below). Further, it cannot be assumed that the new thinking is universally applicable across Africa. There has been something of a scientific backlash against the “New Range Ecology” (see for example Illius and O’Connor 1999) and some of its scientific supporters are careful to point out that it is far more relevant in arid than in semi-arid rangelands (Ellis 1995). In addition, there are specific local factors: the pastoral lowlands of Ethiopia are better favoured than most of dryland Africa with major perennial or near-perennial rivers, and the Government of Ethiopia’s policy of voluntarily settling pastoralists along those rivers cannot immediately be dismissed as unreasonable. In South-Western Uganda, where pastoralism was historically maintained for socio-political reasons in what is in fact a relatively high-potential area, pastoralists themselves are now keener to sedentarise and adopt mixed agriculture. There is also a debate to be had on whether the new thinking on pastoralism has adequately included the desire of pastoralists themselves to diversify, access services, and generally “modernise” (Livingstone 2005b). In short, the intellectual basis of pastoral policy must still be regarded as in flux, which increases the complexity of the processes by which it is incorporated into development policy and practice. Not surprisingly, the views of PPG members on these key questions, the “vision” of pastoral development, are diverse, sometimes prone to systematic divisions (pastoral vs. non-pastoral members of the Ethiopian PASC, Westerners vs. Karimojong in Uganda), sometimes contradictory.

4.4 Policy processes

As discussed above, parliamentarians as policy makers has been neglected in research and development discourse on natural resource issues. Of course parliamentarians, and parliamentary groups, are more than policy makers: parliamentarians are representatives of constituencies and parties, and the parliamentary groups are mandated (in the case of Ethiopia) or have mandated themselves (in the case of Kenya and Uganda) to oversee the implementation of policies. But the processes of policy making will form an important issue in the analysis of the PPGs.

Keeley and Scoones (2003) have provided a useful discussion of policy processes, specifically environmental policy processes, in Africa.⁷ They distinguish three broad and overlapping approaches to the analysis of policy and policy change:

- Through the interaction, or competition, between different groups with different political interests, (where the state itself, or differing interests within the state, may themselves be seen as part of the competition)
- Through the activities and practices of actors, and their formation of networks, often crossing between obvious interest groups, and
- Through the establishment of dominant discourses, where the establishment of problems and the very terms used to speak and write about them determine policies.⁸

They conclude, and illustrate in their case studies, that an approach that mixes elements of all three approaches will be most fruitful. Looking at the PPGs, such an eclectic approach is also useful. We can certainly see the determination of pastoral policies in terms of the interests of pastoralists, now perhaps represented by PPGs, sometimes competing with, sometimes coinciding with, the interests of governments in ensuring security, being seen to provide development, and ultimately simply staying in power, the interests of government and some businesses in encouraging livestock exports, the interests of other groups in alternative uses of rangelands, etc.

We can also see the importance of individuals and networks; in all three case-studies the evolution of the PPGs has been strongly influenced by powerful and talented individuals who have spanned different worlds: linking governments and their opponents (for example William ole Ntimama in Kenya), retaining a critical distance from government without actually opposing it (Abdul Karim Guleid in Ethiopia), linking the worlds of politics and NGOs (Elly Karuhanga in Uganda), or politics and academia (Dr Godana in Kenya). We can also see the importance of networks between the countries, and between national actors and international donors and NGOs.

⁷ The Ugandan case study (Livingstone 2005b) draws on different and earlier literature on the policy process, but the overall import, of the different sources of policy change, is broadly similar.

⁸ Livingstone 2005b refers to the power of ideas, but the notion of discourse goes further, by examining the deeper, less explicit assumptions about what ideas should address and in what terminology they can be framed.

Finally, we can also see the importance of discourse: the various discourses of development, both modernising and participatory, the continuing attraction of the idea of sedentarisation, the discourse of national security and the deeper more implicit discourses about the standing of pastoralists in the nation-states of the region.

4.5 *The workings of parliaments*

To understand the PPGs it is essential to understand the workings, both formal and informal, of the parliaments they operate in. For a start, there is the over-riding distinction between a Standing Committee such as the Ethiopian PASC, established by parliament as part of its formal procedures, of a pre-defined size and with its membership chosen by parliament as a whole (and exactly what that means remains unclear in the Ethiopian context) and voluntary groupings such as the Ugandan and Kenyan PPGs, cross-party (in the Kenyan case of multi-party politics) and open essentially to all MPs who find it convenient to join.

Secondly, it is important to understand parliamentary procedures to understand where the entry-points are for the PPGs, particularly the two voluntary groups; both the Kenya and the Uganda case studies provide details of how the groups would meet before key votes in parliament, or equally importantly, key sessions of sectoral committees, and would delegate members to lobby ministers, permanent secretaries and officials of standing committees. The informal *culture* of parliament, the use of the parliamentary canteen and the “nyama choma” bars just outside parliament feature in the case studies, as does the support given by longer-serving MPs to colleagues newly arrived from pastoral regions. The ways in which MPs master and use this culture is important. But both the Ugandan and the Kenyan case studies also emphasise how MPs are still far much less effective than they could be in using the formal procedures of parliament, and still feel they need to know more about them.

4.6 *Decentralisation and local government*

The PPGs are all groupings within national parliaments, but need also to be understood in terms of the structures of regional and local government in their countries. In Ethiopia this means the ethnically-based regions, which have formal autonomy giving them responsibility for in many sectors of policy, and their own assemblies, although they are in many ways heavily dominated by the federal government. In Uganda, there has been a thoroughgoing decentralisation of government, particularly to district level. In Kenya, as the case study illustrates, MPs were part of an informal patronage-based system of allocating funds to districts from the centre; this has been replaced by a system which formalises budgetary powers for district committees which MPS chair: it remains to be seen how this will work in practice.

4.7 National contexts of ethnicity, conflict and security

The evolution and functioning of the PPGs need to be understood in a real-world political context of history, ethnicity and real and perceived national security. The existence of pastoralist ethnic groups within the countries concerned is loaded with significance within the politics and political cultures of those countries. Firstly, most of the major pastoralist groups spread across national boundaries: Afar between Ethiopia, Eritrea and Djibouti; Somalis between Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somaliland, Somalia and Kenya; Borana between Ethiopia and Kenya. While the “tribes” of the Kenya-Ugandan-Sudanese borderland, the Turkana, Karimojong, Toposa etc. are conventionally thought of as separate ethnic groups, there are important continuities of language and culture (as well as a dense pattern of overlapping hostilities within those continuities), which are usefully highlighted by the term “the Karimoja Cluster”.⁹ The pastoralist ethnic groups of Southern Sudan, such as the Nuer, Dinka and Anwyaa (Anuak) are also found in Western Ethiopia, as both indigenous inhabitants and as refugees (Kurimoto 2002). While the Ugandan Bahima and the Banyarwanda/Batutsi with their origins in Rwanda are two distinct groups, the close similarities of culture, language and physical looks between the two, and some degree of intermarriage, serve to make the Bahima identity a problematic and not wholly Ugandan one, in the eyes of many Ugandans.

For this is the effect of these border-crossing identities – to render pastoralists marginal and politically vulnerable in the political cultures of nation states. Many pastoralists do undoubtedly engage in economic and political activities in more than one country¹⁰, and some can be considered to have divided loyalties. This has to be seen in the context of the wars, conflicts and tensions that have racked the region in the last forty years: the “Shifita war” of 1964-69 between Kenya and Somalia; the 1977 war between Ethiopia and Somalia; continuing Ethiopian involvement in intra-Somali conflicts; continuing threats of Somali irredentism, at least at the level of rhetoric; the continuing OLF insurgency on the Kenya-Ethiopian border; the establishment of a Bahima-dominated regime in Uganda with subsequent diplomatic tensions between Uganda and Rwanda; and the complex patterns of mutual subversion through armed nationalist movements between Ethiopia and Sudan.¹¹ But it is not merely a question of pastoralist regions being the site of international conflicts or pastoralists having divided loyalties: it is equally important that pastoralists are *believed* by their fellow-nationals to have divided loyalties, and are highly *vulnerable* to the accusation of divided loyalties when such accusations suit other political interests – as with the constant insinuation by their opponents that the NRM leadership and President Museveni himself are less than wholly Ugandan.

⁹ As used in literature associated with the CAPE project, for example Minear 2002.

¹⁰ An example is the chair of the Ethiopian Pastoral Affairs Standing Committee, who has close family and business interests in Somaliland – although he is himself one of the few ethnic Somalis to achieve high rank in the Ethiopian military.

¹¹ This list is confined to our three case study countries. Only just further afield, pastoralists are involved in similar conflicts on the Sudan-Chad, and Sudan-Eritrean border.

The Somalis (as well as the Afar and some Boran) are of course Muslims in a mainly non-Muslim region. The “war on terror” following the events of September 11th 2001 (and the 1998 embassy bombings in East Africa), and the alleged presence of organisations affiliated to Al Qaida in Somalia, have further sharpened existing perceptions of governments and donors about the insecurity in Somalia, its possible spillover into adjoining regions, and the need for security considerations to be incorporated into development, or even to drive it.

However, it is not only late-20th and 21st century developments that affect the standing of pastoralists within national political cultures – much older political perceptions are in play. This is particularly true of Ethiopia, where the identity of the country is still bound up with the identity of the Christian highland ethnic groups (the Amhara and Tigrayans), an identity that has partly evolved in reaction to the lowland, largely pastoralist and largely Muslim peoples that surround them. While the EPRDF-led, and Tigrayan-dominated government, has made undoubted progress in its policy of ethnically-based federalism and in increasing a sense of different nationalities as equal partners in Ethiopia, historical events such as the incursions into highland Ethiopia of the Muslim armies of Ahmed Granye in the early 16th century continue subliminally to shape perceptions of the role of pastoralists in modern Ethiopia.

5. The Evolution of the PPGs

5.1 History

The development of the PPGs has been characterised by links between the three groups, between the groups and civil society organisations, and in some cases with research organisations. As stated above, the origins of all three groups are subject to a level of indeterminacy about who was responsible for founding what and when.

The Kenyan group was the first to form, representing a coming together of two currents; an informal grouping of ethnic Somali MPs from the North-eastern Province in 1996-97, leading to a short-lived political party, and vigorously opposed by the Moi government; and the activities of the Kenya Pastoralist Forum as an umbrella organisation for NGOs working with pastoralists, itself subject to government harassment. By 1998, the KPF had encouraged a broader grouping of pastoral MPs to form across ethnic boundaries, which became formalised as the Pastoralist Parliamentary Group, and entered into contact with international NGOs, notably through a meeting organised by the Minority Rights Group, which was also attended by parliamentarians from the other two countries. However, the PPG continued to suffer government harassment (Markakis 1999), and gradually became quiescent, until it was revived following the 2003 elections and change of government.

Ugandan MPs, from the very different pastoral regions of the southwest and Karimoja, and the agro-pastoral area of Teso, were co-operating informally from 1997, possibly with some informal encouragement from President

Museveni. It is certainly believed that the parliamentarians were also inspired by the example of the Kenyan PPG. In June 1999 the group became formally established, adopting a constitution and electing officers. However, in the 2001 parliamentary elections, all the officers of the group either lost their seats, or decided not to stand for re-election, and the group became dormant. It was then revived by different individual parliamentarians, with a distinct lack of continuity with the old group, in early 2004. One of the first “public appearances” of the new group was participation in a workshop organised mainly by PANOS-East Africa with other NGOs which brought members of the Kenyan and Ethiopian groups (as well as parliamentarians and NGO staff from Sudan, Somaliland and Tanzania, to Kampala.

The Ethiopian Pastoral Affairs Standing Committee was established in June 2002. While it was established by proclamation of parliament, there had been much lobbying by MPs and others to bring this about. Important milestones in the process were the participation of Ethiopian MPs in a regional workshop in Kenya in 1999 which brought together pastoralists and NGOs, and a workshop for pastoral MPs in the parliament itself in January 2002, which was facilitated by Professor Robert Chambers of IDS, under the auspices of the DFID-funded Pastoral communication Initiative. Lobbying by Ethiopian and National NGOs through their umbrella group the Pastoralists Forum of Ethiopia was also significant.

5.2 Membership, vision, and objectives

The three PPGs differ in their objectives and the ways in which they operate. At the heart of this difference is a fundamental distinction. The groups in Kenya and Uganda are inclusive, voluntary groupings of MPs, similar to the All-Party Groupings in the British Parliament (although the Kenyan group was for a long-time dominated by MPs belonging in formal terms to the governing party, and the Ugandan group has operated within a “no-party” system). The group in Ethiopia is a Standing Committee of Parliament, established as one of a finite number by the parliamentary authorities, with a limited membership chosen by parliament. It therefore has much greater powers of formal parliamentary oversight, but is much less independent of government.

The Kenyan PPG has a fluid definition of membership, being open to any MP who is interested in pastoral development. Our study indicates that it has 30 active members, compared with around 40 identifiably pastoral constituencies. In accordance with the dominance of KANU, the former ruling party, in pastoral constituencies, 24 of the active members are from KANU, five being from NARC (the ruling coalition) and one from FORD-People. The group had at the time of our study no formal constitution, although proposals had been made for one.

The Ugandan group (more specifically the Ugandan PPG that operated between 1999 and 2001) also had a flexible criterion for membership: “open to all MPs who feel their constituencies have pastoralist related issues that the group should address”. What is to some extent true of the Kenyan group was even more true here, that the group was deliberately opening its membership

to MPs representing constituencies subject to raiding by pastoralists, in this case constituencies dominated by the agro-pastoralist Teso. 112 MPs out of the national total of 204 attended the group's inaugural meeting, though real active membership was probably in the region of 20 to 30. While the divisions in Ugandan politics at the time were not as sharp as they are now, the PPG was definitely dominated by Movement loyalists, including some figures very close to the President. As regards the PPG re-formed in 2003, it also adopts a flexible criterion for membership, and numbers not only Teso, but MPs from majority agricultural constituencies in the Central Cattle Corridor and the Northwest among its office-holders. It is difficult to say how many active members it has. It spans the Movement/anti-Movement spectrum much more than the old grouping, containing at least one member of the anti-Movement Ugandan People's Congress, and vocal critic of the Movement.

Unlike the Kenyan PPG, the Ugandan Group of 1999-2001 did have a formal statement of its objectives, and after its inaugural meeting a formal constitution. The objectives were:

- To serve as the political voice of the pastoralist people in Uganda, within and without Parliament
- To promote maximum access by the pastoralists to resources for their animals, namely water and pasture
- To promote harmonious existence between pastoralists and cultivators in the country
- To contribute to the finding of a sustainable solution to the endemic problems caused by the seasonal cross-migration by pastoralist communities
- To address the possession of arms by pastoralists to the detriment of their neighbours and themselves
- To promote ranching as a way of modernizing pastoralism, but strictly in the interests of pastoralists and with their full participation
- To link Ugandan pastoralists to other pastoralists in the world, through similar pastoralist groupings

While providing a voice to pastoralists and securing their access to natural resources is foregrounded here, there is also a strong sense that the group aimed to provide solutions that pastoralists posed to their non-pastoralist neighbours. The mention of "ranching", not a term much in favour with pro-pastoralist researchers, reflects some of the historical context in the higher-potential areas of Southwest Uganda, as well as the personal views on ways forward for pastoralists of policy-makers including the President.

The new PPG has similar expressed goals, as distilled by Livingstone (2005a):

- Raise the profile of pastoralists' issues and change negative attitudes towards pastoralism and pastoralists,
- Influence national policy, specifically the PEAP and PMA,
- Lobby for additional budgetary allocations to pastoral areas,

- Promote improved and cooperative relations between neighbouring pastoralist and agriculturalist communities,
- Involve pastoralists more in consultation and decision-making, acting as a bridge between government, CSOs and communities, and
- Raise awareness in the pastoralist communities across a broad range of social and development issues.

The Ugandan case-study shows how the visions of pastoral development held by PPG members range widely from support to traditional mobile systems to modernizing, sedentarising villages. This to some extent, but not wholly, correlates with regional origin, with Karimoja MPs, often exposed to NGO thinking, being more “pro-pastoral”.

The Ethiopian PASC, like other Standing Committees in the Ethiopian Parliament has a membership of 13, chosen by Parliament. Given the dominance of the EPRDF, it is not surprising that six of the members belong to member-parties of the EPRDF, and another six belong to regional parties more loosely affiliated with it. What is also important is that five of the members are not from pastoral constituencies, representing instead constituencies in Amhara Region, and the non-pastoral zones of Oromiya and Southern Regions. There has been comment that this lessens the extent to which the PASC represents pastoralists, but it should perhaps be seen as less surprising given that Standing Committees in the British or other Northern parliaments could well include MPs from constituencies not directly affected by the issue concerned.¹² In any case, it highlights the difference between the PASC and the groups in Kenya and Uganda, and should give pause for thought to those who argue for the latter’s formalisation as Standing/Select Committees.

The PASC has been given the following *legislative* responsibilities:

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

It also has responsibilities to *oversee* the activities of eight ministries, commissions and authorities – or more precisely the oversight of the *pastoral-related activities* of those ministries etc. This includes the Pastoral Areas Development Department of the Ministry of Federal Affairs (with whose political leadership there has been a history of tension, but with whose civil servants relations have generally been constructive. Before the Livestock

¹² For example, the UK House of Commons Select Committee on the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, which has a largely rural/agricultural/“green” environmental mandate includes MPs representing urban constituencies in Edinburgh, Brighton and Lewisham. However, it should be noted that its predecessor Agricultural Select Committee did not include any MPs from large conurbations.

Marketing Authority was merged with the Ministry of Agriculture, the PASC had the responsibility for oversight of all its activities. PASC members also feel they have a role of representing pastoralists, in and outside parliament, and have themselves adopted the principle they call the 7 Ps:

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

5.3 *Modes of operation*

The PPGs, and especially the voluntary groupings in Kenya and Uganda, operate very largely through informal mechanisms and informal contacts. The Kenya case study in particular stresses that “personal relations with powerful individuals may well be more important in getting things done than debates on the floor of the house or even detailed submissions to parliamentary committees” (Livingstone 2005a).¹³

The Kenyan PPG rarely meets formally as a group. The pattern is broadly one of PPG members conferring among themselves, in small groups, either before speeches or key votes in parliament, or about to meet Ministers or Permanent Secretaries. PPG members also delegate colleagues to meet with key members of parliamentary committees, but the level of engagement with the committees, especially in areas like trade (which is in fact vital to pastoral development) is not high, and the Kenya case study suggests pastoral MPs need more training in how to make the best of parliamentary procedures. There is, however, a pattern of more senior members, with more experience of parliament, “mentoring” more recently-arrived members (who may in turn have better familiarity with conditions in the pastoral areas). MPs, individually or in small groups, also meet with the press, and some also with contacts from NGOs or academia. Individual MPs have participated in workshops outside parliament, and other activities, such as CAPE’s cross-border peace initiatives with Ugandan counterparts, and the PPG informally keeps a watching brief over these individual activities.

The first Ugandan PPG set out in 1999 to inform itself of conditions in pastoral areas and hold discussions with pastoral communities through a series of joint tours, though as the Ugandan case study describes this initiative faltered when the group was fired on in Karimoja. It then settled into a pattern of regular meetings (eight times a year), plus caucus meetings to decide a stance and parliamentary tactics on a particular issue that was to be debated in full parliamentary session. The case study describes the more frequent meetings, formal and informal, before the debate on the Land Bill. Where

¹³ Citing a personal communication from Professor Peter Wanyande.

issues of concern were due to be discussed in sectoral committees, PPG caucus meetings delegated senior members to talk informally with key members of the committee.

The modes of working of the Ethiopian PASC have been dictated by the formal responsibilities given it by parliament, particularly regular meetings with the ministries and agencies it oversees. The manager of the former Livestock Marketing Authority was very positive about the PASC's role in regularly reviewing plans and budgets, although with other ministries there were issues about whether the PASC could communicate directly with departments at sub-ministerial level. PASC members have also participated in meetings and workshops on pastoralism run by NGOs and other organisations; the PASC has considered organising its own workshops for awareness creation on pastoral issues but has not yet been able to do so. The PASC also benefited from a tour of pastoral areas organised and funded by USAID.

In the Ethiopian case study, the PASC members were asked to rank a number of different possible tasks of MPs, as specified by the researchers. In order of priority, from highest to lowest, the overall results were:

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

While these answers need to be taken with a pinch of salt as representing MPs views of what they should be doing rather than what they do, they were fairly uniform across the ten MPs asked, and at least show some theoretical commitment to their legislative and oversight roles.¹⁴

6. Successes and Failures

It has to be said that the success to date of the PPGs has been limited, and also somewhat diffuse and hard to pin down. In none of the three countries have they been able to influence the major national-level policy initiatives of the day – in Kenya and Ethiopia because they were not yet formed or in a period of dormancy, but in Uganda the failure to influence the Plan for the Modernization of Agriculture was less easily justifiable. Nevertheless, a look at some of the achievements PPG members considered their own successes will be useful both the uses, and the best modalities, for supporting them in future.

¹⁴ The low ranking for party activities may have related either to the rudimentary nature of the parties in the pastoral areas (created from above by the EPRDF and/or dominated by individual and factional interests), or, as some MPs mentioned, the practical impossibility of interesting constituents in party issues unless investment and services were visibly being delivered.

6.1 Kenya

The Kenyan PPG, probably because of the difficult circumstances in which it was founded during the Moi government, and its subsequent inactivity until 2003, appears to have had the least impact of the three PPGs, although it is potentially a very important voting block. Its most important concrete success seems to have been successfully arguing, following a report commissioned by the government itself, for a specific budget allocation for boarding schools in pastoral areas, during debate on the government's Universal Primary Education policy. It is hard to pinpoint other PPG successes¹⁵: while an effort was made to incorporate pastoralist concerns and pro-pastoralist analyses into the PRSP and subsequently the Economic Recovery Strategy of 2003, this was during the period of the PPG's dormancy, and the running was made by international NGOs, and a donor-funded project. The Kenya case study is also pessimistic about the prospects for the PPG having effective oversight over the implementation of policy.

6.2 Uganda

The Uganda case study refers to a number of specific cases where the PPG of 1997-2001 was able to make an impact on development policy or practice:

- Stopping, through informal contacts with the President, a wave of evictions of pastoralists from land assigned to ranchers and farmers (although the underlying issues on land ownership were not resolved)
- During the 1999 drought, and again through personal contacts with the President, arranging a suspension of regulations preventing pastoralists grazing in the Lake Mburo National Park
- The then PPG Vice-Chair vigorously pursued, in parliament, allegations that Ministry of Agriculture officials had embezzled millions of dollars allocated to the provision of valley dams as waterpoints in western pastoral areas, a landmark in relations between parliament and the executive
- The PPG, which included both Teso and Karimojong MPs, played an important role in mitigating violence between the two groups, though the success was limited.

Several of these successes can be attributed to the fact that the PPG brought together MPs from two pastoralist and one agro-pastoralist ethnic group. PPG members were encouraged to speak out on issues that did not relate to their own group as a principled stand on issues, rather than merely following up a narrow geographical interest. Nevertheless, three of the four successes mentioned above concerned the pastoral areas of Western Uganda, and the individual role of Elly Karuhanga, MP for a western constituency, Vice-Chair of the PPG and personal confidant of the President, was crucial in all three.

¹⁵ This certainly applies up to the time of the main drafting of the Kenya case-study (mid-2004), but we believe also up to the present time of writing.

While recording the above successes, the first Ugandan PPG failed on a broader front of influencing the development of key policy documents during the period, the PRSP/PEAP and the Plan for the Modernization of Agriculture. The latter document, for example, contains only one mention of “nomads” (sic). Still more fundamentally, the PPG can be said to have failed in not preventing its own dissolution when the key officers were either defeated or decided not to contest their seats in the 2001 elections.

6.3 *Ethiopia*

The successful routine oversight of pastoral departments within various ministries, and in particular the former Livestock Marketing Authority, has already been mentioned. Examples of a more fundamental impact on policy are harder to pinpoint. The Ethiopian case study discusses the creation of pastoral departments within various federal ministries as possible achievements of the PASC, but admits that the timing of some of these developments, and how attributable they were to the PASC, is contested. The PASC has failed to establish pastoral programmes within the federal Ministry of Health, which has in turn limited the ability of regional health ministries to provide appropriately for pastoralists, and has not yet been able to establish a Federal Pastoral Commission (analogous to those in the pastoral regions) rather than the current, looser, Inter-Ministerial Board. PASC members have, however, contributed to broader awareness raising on pastoralism both inside and outside parliament.

7. **Determinants of Success and Failure**

It is important to look at some of the reasons why the PPGs have had the successes they have had, and why they have not had a more generalised impact on pastoral development.

7.1 *National political contexts*

It cannot be emphasised enough that the PPGs do their work in the contexts of particular national circumstances, as the political systems of the three countries evolve. Such contexts include the overall political and economic development of the country and of pastoralism within it, the formal evolution of democratic systems, the balances of power that have to be worked out, and the various hidden agendas of national politics. In Uganda, these include the unique experience of “no-party democracy” and its sudden end at the hands of the judiciary, as well as the limits that Museveni needs to observe in directing resources to his own community, and the way armed conflict between the government and the Lord’s Resistance Army has affected the Karimojong and the Teso peoples. In Kenya they include the use by Moi over many years of pastoralists as a vote bank and in some cases as shock troops, and the current domination of parliament by his (in some cases belated) opponents. In Ethiopia, the context undoubtedly includes the severe limits on regional autonomy, and on the real “representativeness” of MPs, posed by the dominance of the EPRDF. In all cases, the points noted above about the

marginality of pastoralists, living on the countries' borders and vulnerable to charges of ambiguous national identity, also apply.

The implication of the point made here is that donors or NGOs who wish to engage with parliamentarians need to do so with an in-depth and expert understanding of the national political systems they are operating in, and to avoid approaches or programmes that ignore the differences between those systems.

7.2 Parliamentary procedures

It is clear from both the Uganda and the Kenya case studies that PPG members have failed to make the most of the formal procedures of parliament: in particular the opportunities presented by active membership of parliamentary standing committees, but also, in Uganda, of the possibility of initiating private members bills. This does point to the need for training in these procedures, even though more general support programmes, aimed at parliament as a whole, had already attempted to address this.

7.3 Leadership and the role of individuals

The successes of the PPGs, in building themselves across party and ethnic lines, and in influencing development, are inescapably linked to the roles of key individuals. Livingstone, in the Uganda case study (2005b) has used the idea of charisma to describe these key individuals, but also a concept of leadership which can be learnt. As indicated above, these ideas need to be supplemented by the idea of individuals as policy entrepreneurs, putting together and then operating within networks which relate them to actors in other parties or outside parliamentary politics; in NGOs, academia, the bureaucracy. Such individuals appear frequently in the case studies and have also featured in this report.

Perhaps another aspect, less commented on in the literature, is that the most effective operators are sometimes those that have non-political, or at least non-parliamentary, careers to fall back on. Elly Karuhanga decided not to stand for re-election in 2001 in favour of his successful career as a corporate lawyer; one suspects that Abdel Karim Guleid can engage in brinkmanship with Ethiopian ministers because his networks reach not only into a successful transport business but also into another country, Somaliland, where he has close relatives.

“Leadership” in the sense used in management writing, can be taught, and there is mileage for including leadership training (not just of MPs, but also of civil society leaders) in programmes for pastoral development. But those wishing to work with parliamentarians must also learn to recognise and foster the individual talents of policy entrepreneurs.

7.4 *The capacity of parliamentarians*

Besides the leaders and the policy entrepreneurs, hard questions must be asked about the rank and file membership of the PPGs. Some of the commentators contacted in the course of the Kenyan study were particularly scathing about the educational level and motivation of MPs in Kenya, judgements from which pastoral MPs were not exempted. Minimal educational qualifications, as implemented in Kenya and Uganda, can only do a little to raise the quality of parliamentary candidates, and raising MPs salaries can be a distinctly two-edged sword. As will be clear, the researchers involved in this study believe in the possibilities of education provision and capacity building for MPs, and the Kenyan case-study shows how the PPGs themselves can work with the individual talents of MPs, matching the knowledge of pastoral conditions but lack of formal education and parliamentary experience of the newly arrived, with the greater canniness, but lesser drive of the old hands. But outsiders wishing to work with the PPGs must be conscious of the existing capacity of the “raw material” with which they work.

7.5 *Continuity, and linkages to civil society*

The drive to create a Ugandan PPG was clearly badly damaged by the failure of all the leaders of the first PPG to be re-elected in 2001, and the lack of any written record or institutional memory that could benefit the successor group when it came together in 2003. But this is only an extreme case; in all the countries of the region there is a very high turnover of MPs at each election.

A linked problem is the lack of institutional connections between the PPGs and civil society. Individual parliamentarians may have networks that include civil society organisations (and other sources of information such as international NGOs, researchers, and donor-funded projects), but the PPGs have suffered from a lack of such linkages as PPGs. As argued persuasively in both the Ugandan and the Kenyan case-studies, parliamentary groups can only ever be one small part of a drive for pastoral development that includes empowering and involving pastoralists themselves, community-based organisations, NGOs and the media. The PPGs need linkages to civil society to assist their own efforts for continuity and institutional memory, to access information (see the next sub-section) and to take their part in a broad front for pastoral development.

7.6 *Information*

All the PPGs clearly stood, and recognized they stood, in great need of information. In Kenya, information on the procedures of parliament itself, as mentioned above, was clearly important, as was technical information on subjects such as water resources, land tenure and livestock marketing. The case study expresses the need for detailed technical support to develop policy positions, rather than information delivered in isolation. Again in Uganda, technical information, on issues such as the transition from pastoralism to mixed farming, was the greatest felt need of PPG members, though the study

points out the differences between members from Karimoja, many of whom had an NGO background and were familiar with newer thinking on pastoralism, and members from the West, who lacked this exposure (but did not necessarily recognise they lacked it). In Ethiopia, where the Pastoralist Communication Initiative and other bodies had been involved in exposing PASC members to new thinking, members still wanted, or said that they wanted, access to research findings, both environmental and socio-economic. In all three countries, it was clear that the multiple demands on MPs' time, as well as their lack of technical background, would constrain the ways in which information could be made available.

But it was not only information on technical and policy issues that was needed. PASC members mentioned, in the same breath as these, their need for information about conditions and problems in the pastoral regions, including their own constituencies. The need for communication with the constituencies was also stressed by the Kenyan and Ugandan MPs.

There is a powerful argument that it is a core duty of parliament and government to give their MPs the wherewithal to communicate regularly with their constituencies, and that certainly in Kenya, MPs are now remunerated well enough to do so. However, this neglects some of the special circumstances of pastoral constituencies, that many are very distant from the national capitals, and that they occupy vast areas. MPs do not only have to travel to their own homes or their constituency centres, but should also be able to gauge conditions across their constituencies. In the Kenyan and Ugandan case studies, mention was made of the possibility of extending telecommunications into pastoral constituencies (cell phone networks are already expanding fast into some Ugandan pastoral areas) and ensuring that MPs and those who needed to contact them had access to these. In Ethiopia, USAID has already arranged vehicles for a study tour of the pastoral constituencies by the PASC. In view of the continued need to keep MPs in contact with their constituencies, and the difficulties of doing so, neither approach should be dismissed.

8. Challenges for the PPGs

The PPGs themselves must rise to various challenges:

- Engaging with policy questions and influencing the big debates on policy
- Mastering parliamentary procedures, both formal and informal, to influence government
- Maintaining their own continuity as key individuals do not return to parliament: the groups should explore more formal arrangements for civil society or research organisations to provide ongoing advisory and/or secretariat services, and ways of co-opting ex-MPs and non-MPs as honorary members
- Accessing appropriate information for the debates they engage in and their capacities
- Mobilising their own resources, and those of parliament and government: this will be important to avoid fatiguing donors with demands for support
- Overcoming local, clan and ethnic particularism
- Making use of the potential synergies between members of different backgrounds, generations, regions, standings within government: “mentoring” less experienced MPs
- Maintaining effective regional networks of PPGs and similar groups, to ensure exchange of experience of organising themselves and influencing policy, while guarding against the possibility of these networks descending into expensive talking shops.

9. Lessons for Donors and NGOs

The epigraph of this study, from the words of an Ethiopian PASC member to Mohammed Mussa, reads “the wind is blowing towards the pastoralists, but it has not yet rained”. The three case studies have shown that the PPGs, in their different ways, are institutions with great potential to contribute to pastoral development, but have hardly begun to do so. The partners in this research consider that the PPGs are worth supporting, as one strand of the development of pastoralism, but they can only ever be part of the picture. Strengthening the PPGs must be one front in a broader initiative of empowering pastoralists through strengthening civil society organisations, the media, communications and decentralised local government.

Within that general approach, we feel we can identify guidelines for donors and NGOs who are considering funding, or working with, the PPGs in the countries we have studied, or future PPGs, or “PPG-like organisations” elsewhere, or indeed parliamentary groupings that are concerned with other development topics.

9.1 *Analyse in a real-world political context*

Donors and NGOs seeking to work with PPGs must make themselves aware, by careful study carried out by those with expert knowledge, of the context in which the PPGs work, not only of politics and formal institutions, but also of deep historical trends and of the strategies of individual actors.

9.2 *Be pragmatic*

All the parliamentary systems we studied, and systems in Africa in general, are far from perfect as democracies. There are profound questions about the motivation and the ability of MPs to represent their constituents, and the extent to which the real systems of power in their countries will allow them to do so. But “representation” should be seen as a process, rather than an either/or state of “representativeness”. It should also be remembered that many useful functions, particularly parliamentary oversight, are only partially related to the representative functions of MPs.

9.3 *Work with individuals*

As shown in the case studies, individual personalities can be key to successful initiatives by the PPGs. “Charisma” and leadership abilities count, but the PPGs, and the cause of pastoral development in general, can particularly be furthered by individuals who can network across the different worlds of political parties, NGOs and academia – “policy entrepreneurs”.

9.4 *Work regionally*

The problems of pastoral development, like pastoralists themselves, cross national borders, and need to be considered regionally. The report has shown how the different national PPGs have influenced each other at key

points in their evolution, and they continue to meet at intervals. In a globalising world the fact that pastoralists and their MPs can move across frontiers and work across frontiers is an asset, not a liability. Some measure of assistance to regional exchanges between the groups is appropriate. But the PPGs are first and foremost national bodies, formed within and in order to influence national parliaments. Assistance given to them should be tailored to those national mandates, and, as stated above, tailored to a deep understanding of their national circumstances. A regional approach to assistance needs to be highly focussed on beneficial mutual learning, and not encourage workshopping for its own sake.

9.5 Build capacity, hard and soft

The PPGs clearly need several important capacity constraints addressed. Foremost among these are their needs for information – of various sorts, and including information they may not know they need. That information will have to be delivered to them at levels of details, and over timescales, that suit their purposes. At the same time, the capacity of PPG members to use that information will need to be strengthened. This may have to include training in leadership, in planning, and in the procedures of parliament itself.

In order to function well, the PPGs are also likely to need more material support: administrative staff, telecommunications and office equipment, and vehicles. Some scepticism may be in order as to whether parliament itself should provide these things, and over the ability of parliamentarians, like other elites, to demand and absorb such resources. But in view of the issues of continuity and alliance-building (see below) and the communications difficulties that are intrinsic to pastoralism, carefully-appraised programmes of material capacity building may well be in order.

9.6 Address continuity

Given the high turnover of MPs in virtually all developing-country parliaments, it will be a very important task of donors and NGOs to assist PPGs to develop an institutional memory.

9.7 Build alliances

As already said, support to parliamentarians can only ever be one strand in pastoral development. It will be essential to assist parliamentarians to develop their linkages with civil society, with international NGOs, with researchers, with sections of the media sympathetic to pastoral development, and with other stakeholders.

The last three guidelines/objectives are closely interrelated, but there is no single blueprint for addressing them. In some circumstances, a formalised institutional linkage with an NGO, an NGO umbrella group, or a research organisation may serve the objectives of providing a flow of useful information, building capacity among PPG members, creating broader

linkages, and ensuring basic administrative systems and an institutional memory. In other circumstances, it may be more important for the PPG to take some or all of these functions in-house, by employing not only administrative staff, but also researchers. Donors and NGOs need to work with the PPGs, in full knowledge of their contexts, their strengths and their weaknesses, to find the best models of support.

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