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From telling people to listening to them: Changes in approaches to the development and welfare of pastoral peoples

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Changes in approaches to the development
and welfare of pastoral peoples

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"The object of government in peace and in war is not the glory of rulers or of races but the happiness of the common man." Lord Beveridge

Great tracts of the Horn are so arid that only nomadic or transhumant pastoralists, and a few hunters and gatherers, have the endurance and knowledge to wrest a subsistence from them. During the last twenty-five years or so pastoral families have suffered increasingly appalling deprivation, so that now they are among the very poorest of the world's poor. That is why I couple welfare with development because, quite simply, development which is not concerned with the welfare of the people it affects is exploitation. Most of the pastoral people of the Horn are worse off than they have ever been since we have had records. Drought and war have been the immediate causes of their miseries, but they have suffered and survived these in the past with more success than they appear to be doing in the present; pastoralists just do not appear to have benefited from development. Ranch and range projects oriented towards export production, whether market or Marxist inspired, have menaced pastoralists more than drought or the tsetse fly.

The problems of pastoral development, in general terms, are much the same as those of all development, but they present themselves with particular sharpness and urgency because pastoralists have suffered so much, and so often, from both misguided interventions in their lives and from nature's vagaries. My own sympathies, as must be quite clear, are with pastoralists and reflect my own experiences as a social anthropologist who has worked among the Boran and the Arssi. If this paper sometimes sounds rather like the harangue of a Samburu or other pastoral elder, in which old wisdom is praised and new knowledge doubted, it is perhaps only fair; it has usually been the pastoralists who have been harangued.

"Pastoral" and "development", and their derivatives, can be slippery words, but for my present purposes Clare Oxby's pithy definitions are

sufficient. "Pastoralists" are "people whose main livelihood is herding, or at least was so until development projects affected them." "Development" is "long-term planned development to the exclusion of short-term development such as the various forms of drought relief." (1975:1). The demise of African pastoralism has been forecast repeatedly, often by those who would seek to hurry its death, but there are still millions of families which derive their primary subsistence from their herds and flocks (cf. Aronson 1980:182). Pastoralism has taken a hammering in recent years, but it survives in those arid zones in which only men and women inured to hardship could endure and proudly wrest a living. Pastoralism survives, and in a style in which Abraham and Moses could have felt at home, not because of the dogged conservatism of pastoralists, though dogged they certainly are, but because no more efficient way has yet been devised to extract a livelihood from those very dry lands in which food crops cannot be grown.

This paper does not break any new ground, it merely aims to survey in a very general way the problems which assail pastoralists across the Horn, and the changes which appear to be taking place in approaches to the development and welfare of this important, and much abused, section of the Horn's population. Statistics about pastoralists are as unreliable as the rains on which they depend, but probably more families in the world today depend directly on pastoralism than depend on such heavily subsidised totems of the industrial world as steel mills, coal mines and shipyards. Indeed, in each country of the Horn they even outnumber government and party officials. Sandford's minimum estimates are as reliable a guide as any (1976a). Very, very approximately indeed there are 17 million Africans who depend mainly on pastoralism; of these 1.6 million are (or were until recently) in Ethiopia, 3.9 millions in the Sudan, 1.5 millions in Ethiopia, 1.7 millions in Somalia, plus an unspecified number in northern Uganda and Djibouti. A rough total then

of nine millions or so in the Horn and its peripheries.

Only in Somalia do pastoralists make up a majority (around 70%) of a national population, and even there their political influence is not equivalent to their numbers. Pastoralists are poorly organised minorities with negligible political clout. As the great Sahel drought of 1973-4 demonstrated (Sen. 1981:Ch. 8), and as the present drought is showing yet again, it is pastoralists who suffer most in harsh times and who get proportionally the least aid and succour, if only because they are so thinly scattered over the least accessible parts of their country. (Indeed they are often so far away as to be quite invisible from the capital). For example, famine relief for the Boran of northern Kenya has to come up from Nairobi, while that for their cousins over the border in Ethiopia has to travel down from Addis Ababa, and many Somali depend on even more extended and divided lines of supply. It also takes pastoralists much longer to recover from loss of stock than it takes agriculturists to recover from lost crops: a herd or flock takes years to restore itself, it cannot simply be replanted at the next rains, and seed can be more readily bought, and brought in, than can heifers and ewes. A stockless pastoralist is like a landless peasant. On grounds of welfare needs alone pastoralists deserve any help they can be given.

To rub salt into their wounds however pastoralists are regularly, if falsely and inhumanely, blamed for being the agents of their own misfortunes because they overstock and overgraze (see Gilles and Jamtgaard 1982 for a short disposal of such canards). Pastoralists are generally unpopular and are interfered with by governments and officials for a number of mixed and sometimes contradictory reasons. For example, they are often blamed for being wildly anarchic and rigidly conservative in consecutive breaths. Oxby summarises 'some of the main arguments used to justify intervention and development in areas of pastoral nomadism:

1. to 'raise their standard of living';
2. to integrate them into the national society;
3. to make them easier to administer;
4. to prevent them from posing a military threat to their national governments;
5. to make them economically self-sufficient;
6. to make them contribute to the national economy;
7. to make pastoral nomadism a 'viable' form of livelihood;
8. to promote better diplomatic relations with the governments administering pastoral nomads." (1975:4)

It is hardly surprising that pastoralists have good reason to be sceptical about the good intentions of governments, and to perceive themselves as threatened rather than as being a threat. The restrictions which have been placed on their movements and the movements of their stock have almost certainly contributed to their destitution. Thousands of families have had to watch their herds and flocks perish while there was grazing and water to which they could move which they either dare not use, because government could not secure them against raiders, or because they had been forbidden to move. Great expanses of the Ogaden have been closed on and off since 1948, and many of the Boran, and almost all the Sakuye, of north eastern Kenya were pauperised during the undeclared shifta war between Kenya and Somalia of the mid-sixties, when they were concentrated in fixed camps (Dahl 1979; Hogg 1980). Many cattle peoples of the southern Sudan and northern Uganda have also suffered heavy stock losses as a consequence of civil wars and disasters. The new states have used grazing restrictions to impose political discipline and order just as colonial governments used to do in the past.

Obviously, peace and civil order are prerequisities for survival, let alone development, as the people themselves are very well aware. Daily prayers for peace and well being for example, are held among the

Boran. (We must all be praying that this symposium may help nudge peace in the Horn just a shade nearer).

More pastoralists, like most poor and marginalised people everywhere, fear even those officials who seek to help them. Their past experiences have taught them that agents from the centre are often arrogant and ignorant outsiders, who bully them and hector them to change their ways and coerce them into "self-help" contributions of money and labour. The poor find such levies hard to distinguish from tax and forced labour; indeed, even the "Food for Work" projects that I have seen in operation were, for their destitute participants, forced, degrading and often pointless toil. Certainly, as Bailey pointed out long ago when discussing Indian peasants, a poor farmer "looks upon outsiders (including officials) as his enemies" (1966). Developers, however benign, must almost always be associated with government, as they certainly must if the development project is a large one. Developers, compared to those they intend to develop, tend to be well off, insulated from the elements, bossy and short-tempered (Chambers, 1983).

Development plans have consistently aimed to increase cash crops and, as we have all become increasingly aware, concentration on cash crops at the expense of food crops has often proved disadvantageous to the poorer peasants. Agricultural economies have been frequently distorted by over production for the market but, even when the people have been forcibly resettled and concentrated in large villages, peasant modes of production have usually had the resilience to bend with the wind and not to snap (Hyden 1983: 48). Pastoral development, at least until very recently, has been bedevilled by aims which, if they had been achieved, would have altered the very economic and social bases of pastoral societies. Sometimes developers appear to have sought to transform pastoral life deliberately, in others they seem just to have blundered on blindly. Generally, development plans seem to have been based on the

following broad premises:-

(i) that sedentarisation is desirable.

(ii) that, because of their remoteness from urban centres, milk is not a viable cash crop, so the pastoralists should change to beef production.

(iii) that, they should reduce their stock holdings, i.e. be made poorer.

Pastoralists have resisted (i) sedentarisation and (ii) the switch to beef and (iii) their herds and flocks have been destroyed by droughts and loss of pastures anyhow, so that undergrazing, rather than overgrazing, has become the fear. Simply, to restrict the movement of stock and the herders who subsist from them to fixed sites is to kill them; when this happened to the Boran in some part of Kenya during the _shifta_ wars of 1964-6, they called it 'The time of Stop' _Gaf daaba_ (Hogg 1980:299). Adam (1982) has vividly described the damage done to the economy of the Baggara of southern Darfur and Kordofan by similar, ignorant, "elitist ideas about nomads". Even a cursory reading of the social anthropological literature makes it clear that pastoralists lead transhumant or nomadic lives because they and their stock would perish if they did not do so; they are not afflicted with itchy feet nor romantic temperaments which cause them to wander (Baxter; 1975).

A forced switch from milk production for subsistence to beef production for the market can be as dangerous as forcible sedentarisation. It means running a herd mostly made up of steers rather than of milking cows, and reliance on the sale of stock in order to buy grain to replace the lost milk. All pastoralists know full well that when drought strikes grain prices soar and stock prices slump. As the Dyson-Hudsons made crystal clear long ago the differences between subsistence herding and beef production for the market are fundamental. "The common aim of

ranchers and (western) dairy farmers is the conversion of herbage.... into marketable produce, and their objective is achieved by associating small numbers of people with large herds of livestock. In subsistence herding large numbers of livestock are associated with large numbers of people, and the aim, within the limits of the available technology, is the production not of a marketable surplus but of a regular daily supply of food" (1969:76). Market oriented dairy farmers in the European Economic Community who have had to change from dairy to beef herds in recent years have been heavily subsidised to protect them from bankruptcy; yet, poor African herdsmen have been expected to switch without any assistance at all. It is no wonder that few have been enthusiastic for change and that range schemes have flopped. Radical social changes follow from what, to outsiders, may seem only a simple change in herd composition. Innumerable studies by social anthropologists have demonstrated that cattle and camels are never just cash on the hoof though, of course, they are that and their owners know and appreciate commercial values very well. They are shrewd marketers. But, in all the pastoral societies of the Horn most social relationships are established and maintained through the exchange of stock. A diagram which charted a families network of stock exchanges, bride-wealth transactions, loans and debts would also be a diagram of its web of effective social relationships. Stock are also essential to the spiritual and physical health and wellbeing of every family, because they are the ideal sacrifical victims, and sacrifice is essential to the welfare of a family. Animals are not so much owned as given by God into human care, and are crucial attributes of the social personality of the man in whose care they have been entrusted. In many ways a stockless man is not fully a man at all. Periodic sacrifices are essential to the welfare of a family. Pastoralists, like everyone else, need to make provision for expenditures on health and on religious obligations. Such intangibles

are difficult to quantify, but they are central to the people's conceptions of a proper and good life: even the destitute do not live by bread alone.

As the agricultural and industrial populations of the world have increased pastoralists have been forced out to the most arid areas, and agriculturalists have encroached on those reserve pastures and permanent water sources which are crucial to survival in the height of each dry season. Obviously, agriculturalists can only farm and townsmen settle where there is a reasonable likelihood of there being adequate rainfall to farm and a supply of potable water available throughout each and every year. In the arid zones there are few such favoured places, and the few that do exist have been the crucial fall back resource for pastoralists in bad dry seasons. Pastoralists have demonstrated great skill and political sophistication over the centuries, and ensured that these vital fall back areas are not degraded by over exploitation (Baxter 1975, Halland 1980). In effect such comparatively lush areas are the famine reserves of the pastoralist and, if they are deprived of them then the stock must die and the people be forced on to famine relief. Farms and townships, though they may have brought schools and pharmacies and such like, have also exacerbated pastoral destitution. In the dry Borana lands of northern Kenya, for example, towns and settlements have burgeoned. In the early nineteen-fifties the only permanent settlements were a few small administrative stations, _foma_, around which were clustered a few small shops which sold essentials such as maize flour, sugar, tea, salt, tobacco and cloth and which bought stock, hides and skins and aromatic gums. A _foma_ only made slight demands on local resources of wood and grazing and water. Now every permanent well or spring has its settlement and the old _fomas_ of Marsabit and Moyale had become townships of around eight thousand inhabitants by 1979, and were growing rapidly. Every scrap of cultivable land

around is cultivated, and the nearby grazing and water have been taken over by the stock of the townsmen, some of whom are wealthy but very few of whom are Boran (c.f. Little 1985).

I do not, of course, represent the townships just as simple evils; as Anders Hjort (1979) demonstrates in his study of Isiolo a small town can offer "survival opportunities" for dispossesed pastoralists from its hinterland and an urban income which can tide a family over bad times (see also Abdel G.M. Ahmed and Mustafa A. Rahman 1979). But, clearly, both the great Sahel drought of 1973-4 and the present one have only hastened the pastoral destitution which social and economic changes had already set in motion, and have not been the root causes of the ruin of so many families of pastoralists. Almost certainly the people would have survived, with much less suffering, if they had had access to the grazing and water which was available to them a quarter of a century earlier.

As pastoral resources were being whittled away the rich world's greed for meat increased, so that pastoralists were pressed to produce more and more meat for the cities and for export; meat, like avocados and strawberries, can even justify airfreight charges (See Ormerod 1978 for an excellent analysis of a comparable situation in West Africa). A mixed bag of intentions and events hastened the process, such as; the avarice of governments and companies; the befuddlement of some economists with chimera such as GNP figures; the concern of ecologists to conserve friable soils; the arrogance of technocrats and the modernising zeal of newly independent governments. These all combined, in the fifties and sixties, to inflate the dream that the vast arid zones could be transformed into productive rangelands, if only enough money and technology, (and both seemed abundant then) could be poured in and the backward local inhabitants neutralized. No one ever seems to have even thought of consulting any members of the indigenous populations at all.

There was a flurry of rangeland projects most of which soon wilted (Haaland 1980, Oxby 1982).

Even those rangeland experts and livestock men and economists who were sympathetic argued that, for their own good, pastoralists should be restricted in their movements and reduced in their numbers, because they were too conservative and ignorant to manage their own affairs; let alone able to do so in ways which were also profitable for their countries and their rulers. Brown, for example, argues on ecological grounds that,

> "to conserve the habitat in arid lowlands such as those that surround the Ethiopian plateau, with a good population of wildlife and an adequate living for some pastoralists, we must urge not only the removal of domestic stock, but of surplus human beings as well." (1973: 74, My emphases)

Today, ironically, the Ethiopian Government is appealing for immense aid funds so that it can "resettle" farmers from the devastated and degraded northern plateau lands on those dry lands which are the carefully conserved, traditional, reserve dry season grazing lands of the Arssi Oromo and other southern Ethiopians. Konczacki (1978), an economist who has clear sympathies for the plight of pastoralists, has argued on economic grounds; for the tight control of pastoral movements, and for the resettlement of "redundant" pastoralists, and that "adequate arrangements" should be made for the siphoning off of "surplus" people and livestock in to the larger economy. The excellent standard guide to rangeland management and ecology in East Africa by Pratt and Gwynne (1977) hardly mentions the pastoral people themselves. If even friendly experts found pastoralists a tiresome anomaly, it is not surprising that pastoralists feared all the experts.

Developers optimism dimmed in the seventies as money got shorter, as governments found that the political kingdom was difficult to administer,

as the consequences of the Sahel drought became more apparent and as new approaches to development of the "small is beautiful" and appropriate technology type became acceptable. Donors also got more wary. Development fashions changed. For the first time, at least in the Horn, social anthropology was given a nod and the substantial body of published data about pastoral societies was recollected. Excellent studies exist of the Nuer, Dinka, Mandari, Kabbabish, Baggara, Rufa's al Hoi and White Nile Arabs (Sudan); Samburu, Rendille, Maasai, Boran, Gabbra and Turkana (Kenya); Jie and Karimojong (Uganda); Boran, Guji, Dassaneth, Mursi, Nyangatom, Bodi and Dime (Ethiopia) and of the Somali. A very clear summary of the literature and problems has been written by the Dyson-Hudsons (1980).

It became increasingly clear that pastoral development was not on the right track; all the big schemes had turned into expensive failures so new approaches had to be sought. Goldschmidt (1981:53) forthrightly sums up the reasons that projects failed;

(i) that they took no cognizance of the knowledge of the indigenous populations.

(ii) that they were unaware and unconcerned with the goals of pastoral people.

(iii) that they totally ignored indigenous social organizations.

(iv) that they ignored the "inevitable fact that change in one aspect of behaviour has repercussions upon every other", so that the consequences of apparently beneficial schemes can end up being destructive.

(v) that planners did not learn from their mistakes - "and anthropologists' criticisms of their efforts are brushed aside as merely reflecting the vagaries of the natives."

Some anthropologists also began to present their data in ways which

could seem relevant to planners, and I will refer to some of this new work in the final section of this paper. But first I will introduce an anecdote to illustrate the changes in attitudes which, hopefully, are taking place. In 1977 I attended a seminar which had been designed to bring together rangeland and stock experts, planners and a few social anthropologists. There was more confrontation than consensus. When I pleaded for someone to cite just <u>one</u> pastoral development project which had been even partially successful, so that we might learn from success if we refused to do so from failure, I was put down pretty sharply. I was told not to be destructively critical, because it was assumed that success must follow, <u>in the end</u>, if only the science and the grazing controls could be got right. The suggestions, constantly made by the anthropologists present, that the knowledge of the indigenous populations might have something to contribute was treated by the "hard" scientists as sentimental, unhelpful and backward looking. The civil servants present took an even tougher line. The conference however was a start, and though it did not produce a set of published papers it did let in a chink of light. In 1980 another conference on pastoralism was held in Nairobi, at which the paper by Goldschmidt which I have just cited was read, and it was possible to take as a central topic for discussion, "whether pastoral development programmes are part of the problem" (Galaty, Aronson, Salzman and Chouinard 1981:10). If pastoralists and their problems had not changed very much, responses to their development appeared to be doing so. A few analyses of failed projects also began to appear, such as David Western's pioneer ecological examination of failed schemes in Maasai land in Kenya (1974), Harbesons political analysis of the reasons for the failure of a large project among the Afar of Ethiopia (1978), the Henriksens (1974) account of a self-defeating project among the Turkana of Kenya. One report which might have modified

a scheme, and so prevented its failure, was that of Dahl and Sandford (1978) on range controls in north-eastern Kenya; but sadly, if predictably, it was rejected by those who had commissioned it. (Researches on the probable consequences of the Jonglei Canal in the Sudan suggest that it could have extremely disruptive and destructive consequences for the pastoral economies of the Dinka and Nuer, however much it might berefit Egypt and the northern Sudan, but despite thecanal's present disruption its proponents still seem as eager for it as ever. (Lako 1985).

A convenient dating line for the revival of interest in anthropological studies of pastoralism might be 1974, when the International African Institute held a seminal conference on Pastoralism in Tropical Africa in Niamey (see Monod 1975), two years earlier than the combative seminar to which I have just referred. (This last was convened by the International Livestock Commission for Africa in Nairobi in 1977, and was probably the last serious inter-disciplinary seminar the organizers of which assumed that the problems of development were technical or organisational).

In 1977 a group of social anthropologists, stirred by Philip Salzman, got the Commission on Nomadic Peoples started. In the same year "L'equipe ecologie et anthropologie des societes pastoral" was set up in Paris. The news letters started by both groups have grown into the widely read journals Nomadic Peoples and Production Pastoral et Société. In 1976 Stephen Sandford, of the Overseas Development Institute, started the Pastoral Development Network which has circulated a series of papers and held occasional lunch-time seminars. Both the papers and the seminars have been influential, at least in the UK, and have brought the mixed bunches of specialists together. The antagonism to anthropologists, if not to anthropology, which marked some of the earlier meetings has melted away and the meetings are invariably constructive and creative.

Two social anthropologists who combined field research with development involvement each produced influential papers around this

time. Helland's (1980) has an East African orientation and Horowitz's (1978) a Sahelian orientation, but both draw similar conclusions. These, to oversimplify, are that development policies are more likely to be successful the more consistent they are with local pastoral values, that local expertise and organisations should be incorporated rather than denigrated and that "piece meal planning" (as Helland calls it following Popper) is more likely to be successful than grandiose planning.

There was also a concurrent, but much wider, revival of interest in indigenous knowledge systems as stores of practical and relevant information which can contribute to development. The collection of essays edited by Brokensha, Warren and Werner (1980) brings many of these scattered contributions together. This trend in the discipline was paralleled by a general re-examination of the works of earlier anthropologists which had a developmental orientation. Van Donghe (1985), for example, demonstrates that many of the publications of the Rhodes-Livingston Institute of Social Research are mines of valuable data and insights which are relevant to contemporary development.

A new generation of anthropologists, with specific interests in development and the opportunities to influence its planning, have started to work on problems of pastoral development, though unfortunately only a few of them in the Horn. They start, as anthropologists should, with respect for indigenous knowledge and society and the desire to listen and to learn rather than to tell. Only a fraction of this work has so far been published, so I can only indicate the direction it is taking. I should be grateful to hear of similar work elsewhere.

O'Leary has followed his research among the Akamba of the arid lands of Kitui in Kenya (1980, 1984 b) with research among the Rendile and Gabra. His work, some of which I have been privileged to see in manuscript (O'Leary 1984a), like that of Hogg and Little, indicates that;

(i) Grazing is very unevenly utilised. Some areas are undergrazed from fear of raiders and others, which depend on deep wells, require more fit labour to work than the stock camps can provide, because so many young men have been driven to migrant labour or are at school. So much for the need to "siphon off" redundant stock and labour! The "redundant" are the old and the very young. There is a tragedy of the commoners rather than of the commons!

(ii) A number of settlements have sprung up which are both consequences of destitution and creative responses to destitution. It has become a rational policy for herding families to settle part of the family near to permanent wells in order to use the shops and, in need, get famine relief. Indeed relief has become part of the new pastoral economy (Cf. Hogg 1980, 1982). New patterns of herd and flock division has developed, as has also been reported for Turkana, Boran, Somali of Garissa, and the Njemps (Baxter, 1975; Hogg 1980, 1982, 1985; Hjort 1979: Merryman and Merryman 1980, Dahl 1979 and Little 1985). Those many extended families which have already settled segments of their families in, or close to, the new townships have done for themselves what developers have tried, for quite different reasons, to force them to do. To a visitor the pastoralists of northern Kenya may seem to have been squeezed into an arid zone lumpen proletariat, and indeed that may yet be their fate, but the signs are that, despite their sufferings, the people are adapting their traditional life-ways to new conditions. The Rendile, Boran, Sakuye and Turkana, for example, have all suffered similarly horrendous losses of livestock, but each of their adaptations has its own cultural stamp. To a casual passerby the settlements may look very much

alike, just a huddle of ramshackle huts, but in their internal social organizations and in their external connections, each is differently constituted. To treat them all as clones is not only insulting, but a recipe for developmental disaster. (Sadly, the country for miles around all the new settlements has been denuded of trees and bushes, which have been chopped for firewood or fences; i.e. land degradation has followed sedentarisation).

(iii) The pastoral economy can no longer provide an adequate subsistence; stock sales, labour migration and sales of milk, charcoal and firewood have become essential contributions to household budgets and to the pastoral economy. As Hogg (1982) found in Turkana;

> "The settlement of Turkana at irrigation schemes or along the Lake does not suddenly transform them into farmers or fishermen. Rather, like Boran and Somali pastoralists who have experienced similar kinds of economic changes they become part-time fishermen or part-time farmers, in that they continue to invest in livestock and maintain an interest in the pastoral sector. Indeed, it is inappropriate to talk of individuals in this context because households are the production units, not individuals. Each production unit may incorporate a number of different economic activities and a different range of personnel. For instance, the woman with her young children at a relief camp may be part of a larger unit, which includes her husband and co-wife caring for the family livestock in a pastoral area, and son working elsewhere as a primary school teacher or extension officer.
>
> The implication is obvious: development projects must not be so rigid as to restrict the establishment of cross linkages between apparently distinct economic sectors. Furthermore, because of these linkages, planners should be aware that intervention in one sector may have consequences for other sectors. For instance, fishermen will invest part of their profits in livestock. But the major lesson is that planners should not stifle indigenous enterprise; so long as they provide the opportunities for increased prosperity Turkana will do the rest. In the last analysis Turkana are their own best rehabilitators".

(iv) Pastoralists are still victim of cheap meat policies and "should be provided with a market system which would guarantee good prices on a regular basis....which would also enable them to relate to the wider economy not as dependents but as equal trading partners" (O'Leary 1984a).

We are all re-learning then to consult the local people and to learn from them, and to encourage them to use their own knowledge and skills in development; just as we are also re-learning to utilise traditional medical and midwifery skills. The European explorers of Africa who survived were those who listened to the local people!

I conclude by quoting from David Turton's recent paper on spontaneous settlement after drought by a group of destitute Mursi, a people of the Omo Valley in southern Ethiopia. They migrated and settled themselves in a suitable vacant niche in the highlands, even though it meant radical changes in their lives and livelihoods and required them to negotiate a modus vivendi with new neighbours:-

> "It is also a salutary reminder, in view of the widespread failure of externally organized agricultural settlement schemes for "pastoral nomads" in Africa, that the key to the success of these schemes lies in the active participation of the settlers themselves in planning and decision making. Indeed, it may be that the only sensible role for outside authorities in the settlement of 'pastoral nomads' is that of facilitating local initiatives, on the assumption that the only successful settlement schemes will be those....which have been initiated by the settlers themselves." (1984).

Turton's conclusion, that settlement schemes which the people have initiated themselves are more likely to succeed than others, is surely correct, though his "only" may be too restricting. Certainly, also, we must all agree with Hogg (1983:590) that the way forward is through "modest schemes which provide a supplement to pastoral production, and which enable pastoral families to diversify a little....and with luck [become] economically viable".

AN AFTERWORD

On the day I posted this paper two depressing pieces of writing arrived on my desk. The first, a letter from a Kenya Borana state:-

> "The face of Marsabit is changing a great deal. Land adjudication is going on and all the pasture-lands are threatened by sub-divisions into commercial ranches! What will happen to my peoples lifestyle is anybody's guess".

The second shows that the naive hopes of the ignorant technocrats are still voiced:-

> "Livestock rearing also is at a very early stage, depending entirely on migratory pastoralism. Scientific stock breeding, range management practices, and marketing concepts are unknown. Migratory pastoralism is practised by separate ethnic groups. They still live in semipermanent homes and are not yet prepared to function at occupations other than herding, since they have not yet acquired the skills and confidence for crop farming....and livestock rearing practices need to be replaced by individual, owner-operated farms allowing enterprising farmers more scope and opportunities for permanent farming and independent experiments in scientific agricultural improvements and sedentary stockbreeding."

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