

Gender & Pastoralism Vol 2: Livelihoods & Income Development in Ethiopia



Edited by
Andrew Ridgewell
Fiona Flintan

September 2007



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Preface

Livelihoods & Income Development in Ethiopia is a book about how increasingly pastoral women and men are diversifying their livelihoods away from a reliance on livestock towards other income generation activities that raise much needed cash and help to spread risks. It describes the challenges that women and men face in establishing and developing their activities and businesses, including both internal and external influences often beyond their control. Many of these challenges are particular to pastoral communities who face a range of constraints to business development including poor infrastructure, communication, markets and access to resources including credit that can provide the first step towards livelihood diversification for many.

Despite these challenges, as this volume will show, pastoral women in particular are taking up new business opportunities and if given the right support in building their skills such as in accessing markets, can develop highly successful businesses and trading activities. This book has taken a gender sensitive approach focussing on pastoral gender relations, the different ways women and men develop and manage businesses, access inputs including credit, and what impact activities are having on these. Case studies, commentaries and first-hand testimonies pave the way for a series of suggestions aimed at development planners that frame pastoral livelihood development and diversification in its gendered context.

The book contains six independent but interrelated chapters. *Chapter 1, A Sharing of Past Experience*, (Fiona Flintan) provides a synthesis of literature from Ethiopia and other countries and presents an overview of gender, income generation, savings and credit. *Chapter 2, Small Business Development in Somali Region*, (Sead Oumer, Getachew Mamo & Nimo Haji Ismail) outlines development interventions including a bread making enterprise among Ethiopia's Somali pastoralists. *Chapter 3, Savings & Credit Interventions in Afar & Borana*, (Lemlem Aregu, Yemane Belete & Samuel Tefera Alemu) reviews women's participation in recent interventions among two pastoral groups. *Chapter 4, Handicraft Production in Somali, Afar & South Omo*, (Kassaw Asmare, Sead Oumer & Zahra Ali) explores revenues derived from handicrafts in three Ethiopian pastoral communities. *Chapter 5, Emerging Markets for Dryland Resources*, (Getachew Mamo & Andrew Ridgewell) offers an overview of the potential commercialisation of pastoral natural resources in Ethiopia. And *Chapter 6, Implications for Gender, Pastoralism, Livelihoods & Income Development*, (Fiona Flintan) concludes by summarising issues raised and forwarding recommendations for future developments based around the gender considerations emphasised in the text.

All the contributors are staff members of the SOS Sahel Ethiopia Gender & Pastoralism Action Research Project. They have been working on the Project for the last two to three years to fill in gaps in our understanding of gender relations

in pastoral communities and to assist both development actors and communities to work together in a more gender equitable and community-led way.

Far from being exhaustive, this book is written with the aim that it will further promote the importance of gender mainstreaming in development interventions in Ethiopia's pastoral and agro-pastoral areas whilst stimulating further debate as to how best this can be achieved. While it addresses specific issues the themes covered have much broader implications that will be valuable for government departments, non-governmental organisations and local community groups who are engaged in pastoral development in Ethiopia and beyond.

The Gender and Pastoralism Action Research Project (GAPP)

The Gender and Pastoralism Action Research Project began three years ago with the central objective of initiating more community-led processes of development and environmental management that would offer a higher degree of equal opportunities for all sections of pastoral societies including women. SOS Sahel believed that if given the right facilitating and supportive environment, all sections of the community would work together to initiate positive change including more equitable and fair decision making and distribution of resources.

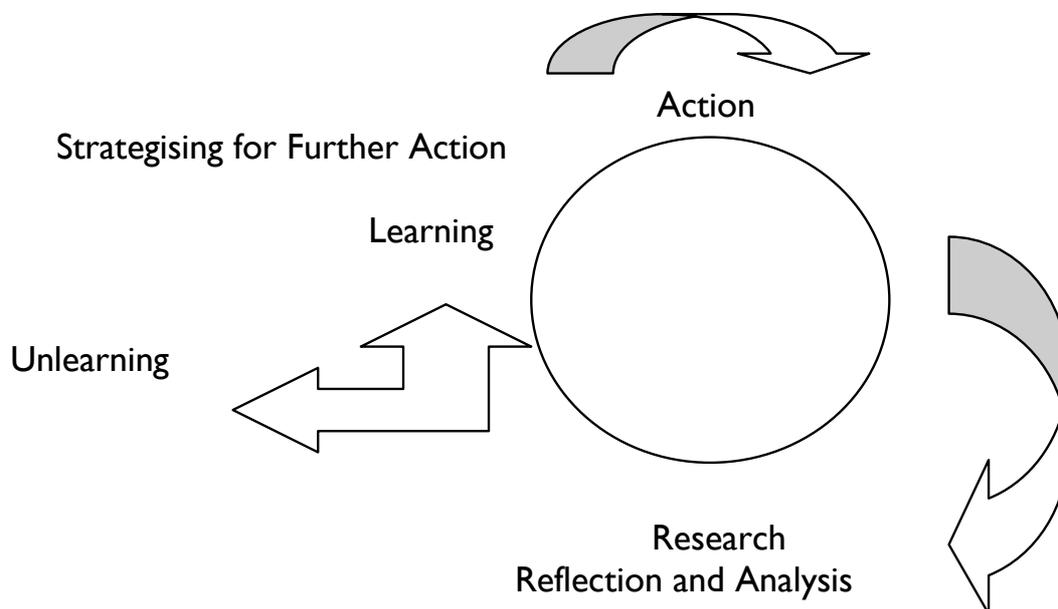
Action research was an approach that was new to many in Ethiopia: a country that had been built on relatively non-participatory and centralised decision making. The action research and learning process, working with partners and communities, was developed from personal and organisational questioning of how research and development is 'normally' done, and a need to do something more; something that would directly benefit those with whom we were going to be working.

The process of action research had inevitable tensions, but also had potential to shift groups and communities to become more thoughtful and self-aware, to grow in confidence, and to enter into new cycles of learning and action which offered greater challenges. The learning process was systematic, but adaptive and flexible. Learning was seen as a cycle of action, reflection, feedback/discussion and strategising for further action (see Figure 1). 'Unlearning' was a necessary part of this cycle.

During the research we focussed on issues that our partners (NGOs, GOs and communities) considered to be important, needed information on and support for: from these we formulated research questions and assumptions for investigation and testing. The research itself was carried out with representatives from all our partners and thus also formed part of the capacity building process. Once the research was completed the information was passed back to the partners so that action could be taken based on the lessons learned. Further action taken was then monitored, though limitations of time constrained the

accomplishment of the full action research cycle. We will continue to support our partners as best we can in the future.

Figure 1 Cycle of Action, Research & Learning



Acknowledgements

This Project would not have been possible without the financial support of IDRC, the initial donor. I would like to express my sincere thanks to Renaud de Plaen and his team in what was then the People Land and Water group (PLAW) for their support and belief in the Project and their assistance in the developing phases. Later funding was received from Oxfam GB Regional Office in Nairobi for which I would like to thank Izzy Birch and Richard Grahn for facilitating, and from USAID, Addis Ababa through the PLI for which I would like to thank the USAID team and the members of CARE Ethiopia under whom we formed part of a consortium.

Moral and logistical support and technical guidance have also proved vital for this Project and I should like to thank our key partners in this endeavour: Oxfam GB Jijiga, FARM Africa and EPaRDA in South Omo, and the SOS Sahel BCFMP in Borana, together with the many international and national NGOs that we have worked with over the last three years. Further I would like to express my thanks to the DPPA Addis Ababa and the Ministry of Federal Affairs Pastoral Areas Development Department with whom we have partnered as well as the regional and local level government departments who have assisted us along our way. In particular I would like to thank the then Minister of State Melaku Fantu under whom the Department sits, and Commissioner Simon Mechale of the then DPPC who both provided immense personal support in the initial stages, without which the Project would not have been possible.

In addition I would like to thank the members of our advisory committee and the many other people who have given us advice and suggestions. Thanks particularly go to Ann Waters-Bayer, Cathy Watson and Ced Hesse for always finding time in their busy schedules to keep up to date with the Project and provide input when in Addis Ababa.

Further I should like to give a huge thanks to SOS Sahel Ethiopia for agreeing to house this Project and the management, administrative and financial teams that have supported us over the last three years in Ethiopia and in the UK. In particular I should like to thank the Director Feyera Abdi for having faith in the Project and for giving it his full support, and to Ben Irwin whose moral support and guidance from the inception of the Project seven years ago through to its completion have been exceptional. In conclusion it comes to me to thank the staff of the Project for their commitment, enthusiasm and energy. The Project has not always been an easy one to implement and many of the concepts new, however they have stood by the Project until the end despite its ups and downs.

Finally I offer my gratitude to the pastoral women and men who have given up their time to take part in the Project activities and research processes. I hope that the Project has also been useful to them and that they have gained from it. Their strength and power in the face of so many challenges and adversities is humbling.

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September 2007

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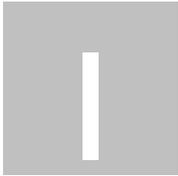
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Acronyms

| | |
|-------------|---|
| ABRDP | Arsi-Bale Rural Development Project |
| AFD | Action for Development |
| APD | Academy for Peace & Development |
| APDA | Afar Pastoral Development Association |
| BCFMP | Borana Collaborative Forest Management Project |
| CAHW | Community Animal Health Worker |
| CITES | Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna & Flora |
| DPPA | Disaster Prevention & Preparedness Agency (formally Commission) |
| EPaRDA | Ethiopian Pastoralist & Research Development Association |
| ETB | Ethiopian Birr (approximately USD 1 = ETB 9) |
| FARM Africa | Food & Agricultural Research & Management Africa |
| FAO | Food & Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations |
| FGM | Female Genital Mutilation |
| GAPP | Gender & Pastoralism Project |
| GL-CRSP | Global Livestock-Collaborative Research Support Program |
| GO | Government Organisation |
| IDRC | International Development Research Centre |
| IIED | International Institute for Environment & Development |
| IIRR | International Institute for Rural Reconstruction |
| IPR | Intellectual Property Rights |
| IRC | International Rescue Committee |
| LFMP | Livestock & Fishery Marketing Department |
| NTFP | Non-Timber Forest Product |
| NGO | Non-Government Organisation |
| OSSREA | Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern & Southern Africa |
| PA | Pastoral Association |
| PCAE | Pastoralist Concern Association Ethiopia |
| PLI-ENABLE | Pastoral Livelihood Initiative-Enhancing Afar & Borana Livelihood Efforts |
| SME | Small Micro-Enterprise |
| SNNPR | Southern Nations Nationalities & Peoples' Region |
| SORC | South Omo Research Centre |
| SOWSHA | Somali Women Self-Help Association |
| TBA | Traditional Birth Attendant |



A Sharing of Past Experiences

Fiona Flintan

1.1 Introduction

Today there are many pressures on pastoralists to diversify their livelihoods beyond a reliance on livestock as was common in the past. Climatic fluctuations, animal disease, market failure and insecurity are all challenges that pastoralists face (Little 2001) together with a reduced resource base due to competition with commercial enterprises, smallholders, changed and enforced boundaries, national parks and other protected areas, and environmental degradation (see Volume I of this series).

Little (ibid) describes pastoral diversification as any form of trading occupation (for example selling milk, fuelwood, animals, or other products); wage employment, both local and outside the area; retail shop activities; rental property ownership and sales; gathering and selling wild products (such as gum arabic, fuelwood, or medicinal plants); and farming (both for subsistence and cash income). Further he suggests that the relatively wealthy herders diversify as a strategy of accumulation or investment; for the impoverished it is a matter of survival. Income options vary by proximity to the nearest town and by the gender and wealth category of the herder.

The challenges of entering income generation activities are many. People lack the necessary skills and knowledge to make the right choices and to identify the most successful income generation activity available. Strategies based on income generation can be vulnerable because many people become reliant on the income generated by a few (Brockington 2001). Pastoralists in particular might find it difficult to access capital for starting up a business due to their transhumance and lack of access to acceptable collateral: in general livestock is not accepted. There may be an unfavourable legal and regulatory environment and in some cases discriminatory practices, together with a lack of access to appropriate technology (Stevenson & St-Onge 2005). Another common and major constraint is a lack of access to markets due to the often isolated nature of pastoral groups and homesteads.

1.2 Gender Relations & Participation in Income Generation Activities

Both men and women are capable of getting involved in income generation activities if the right conditions exist. Indeed as suggested previously pastoralists have always diversified their livelihoods to some extent, and though traditionally they perhaps have not been involved in financial transactions *per se*, they have been involved in trading, exchange and bartering. Women in particular have

played a central role. As Hodgson (2000) suggests the success of pastoralism as a production strategy has been heavily dependent on women's diverse economic roles as traders. Within the Massai though it is said to be mainly young men who are entrepreneurs, given the name *landiis* (Bee et al 2002).

However, increasingly this role is becoming one of necessity as pastoralists struggle to make ends meet and to feed the family from livestock assets alone. As Brockington and Homewood (1999: 525) describe for Maasai families removed from Mkomazi protected area, *"for women in these families opportunistic selling had become a daily necessity. The poorer the family, the more likely it became for food to be bought on a hand to mouth, daily basis in exchange for whatever products women could sell. Most of the women thus relied upon goods sold locally, but some travelled regularly and frequently to towns further afield in Kenya and Tanzania"*.

Income diversification as a risk strategy is often taken to imply a trade-off between a higher total income involving greater probability of income failure, and a lower total income for greater income security (Ellis 2000). For example, women need to ensure that they have a certain amount of money at hand to feed the family and therefore may be happier to have a small but more secure income. Men however may be able to take more risks and are keen to see larger returns for their input: livestock sales for example.

Ensminger (cited in Brockington 2001) found that the impact of livelihoods on women's economic autonomy varied according to their wealth and location. Economic diversification following a more settled existence may give women more freedom because it offers access to more sources of income which they can control. Waged employment is strongly gendered and many of the more lucrative employment options are mainly/only available to men. Salaried employment has been shown to have an impact on income and food security: data from 11 GL-CRSP PARIMA survey sites show that those areas with the highest levels of salaried employment had the greatest influence over cash income and expenditures on food, and the highest amounts of food and cash transfers among households (Little 2001).

Participation in income generation activities, particularly of women, may be limited by a range of factors including level of mobility and resources, cultural and religious constraints and the type of task in the chain of activities from harvesting to marketing. Traditionally men and women have controlled different spheres of economic activity. For example among the Maasai, men controlled livestock and women controlled milk. Also opportunities to get involved in income generation depend upon how many dependents women have and who can perform her jobs for her when she is away or busy with activities. Further women may dislike the extra work and her husband may not like seeing his wife involved in certain activities such as selling fuelwood because it can be a sign of poverty (Brockington 2001). Single women (unmarried, divorced, widowed or 'de facto' heads of

household) are likely to have greater freedom than others. However even here, time and labour demand constrains their ability to travel far (Kepe et al 2000; Monela et al 2000). Anything further than 40km away would be considered more than a day's walk and therefore beyond the ability of many women (Little 2001).

Another major constraint for pastoralists and particularly women is lack of information. That is information on who is producing what, how and in what quantities; market prices; where the best prices can be obtained; new market opportunities; and so on. Though both men and women may find it difficult to access information, it is more difficult for women who do not attend meetings or visit public places such as markets, shops or bars as much as men do.

As a result of these constraints low-income women micro-entrepreneurs tend to work in the same kind of businesses such as commodity trading or food kiosks. These businesses require low capital and are familiar therefore the risk to entering into them is low. Women often get their business ideas when they see other women make money by selling a particular product or service. However, when too many women start similar businesses, the market becomes saturated and everyone's income suffers. A high percentage of low-income women lack the skills, ideas, or ability to innovate, which is needed to respond to threats in the marketplace. When one business folds they often begin another that requires similar inputs, but is in a different sector (Haight 2005).

Indeed it is rare that a micro-enterprise particularly one started by women grows to anything more than a small business and very few small businesses grow into medium and large ones. Their lack of mobility, coupled with their lack of ability to secure proper operating premises means they are often home-based and this prevents them from seeking out markets, information on better economic opportunities, and business assistance. In addition, these women tend to have meagre financial and human capital at their disposal. Women are largely deprived of property ownership and consequently are not able to offer the collateral required to access bank loans (Stevenson & St-Onge 2005). However a study in Kenya suggests that a lack of education was *not* a barrier to women getting involved in income generation activities (Nduma et al 2000).

Exposure to new ideas, innovations, alternatives and options can open up people to different income generation alternatives. Learning visits and study tours can help people understand a situation beyond their own community and learn from the experiences of others. For example Solomon Desta et al (2006) describe how the aspirations of communities in Borana had been raised by exposure of the Ethiopians to the success of well-organised pastoral women's groups from northern Kenya and this fuelled innovative ideas.

I.3 Trainings

Trainings are often given during the setting up of income generation support to improve men and women's business skills, introduce them to different income generation activities and improve their capacity to handle credit. However trainings can be deficient in meeting women's needs for various reasons. Often the trainings take place in towns or villages and there is low outreach to the more isolated areas where many women entrepreneurs are located. It is difficult for women to be able to travel long distances or to spend a period of time away from home. Often trainings will use generic materials and not spend enough time in understanding and then customising them to local needs. Often training is one-off and there is limited follow up if any, and trainees are not provided with assistance back in their workplaces to help them implement what they learned during the training.

Further, the majority of trainers tend to be men and many husbands do not feel comfortable with this (plus women often prefer women advisers). In some cases, women have to obtain their husband's permission to travel and this is also a barrier to their participation. Many women in rural areas require training delivered in their local language and perhaps using non-literate methodologies. Special methods should be devised that take account of this and support them. This is not often offered. Finally many women lack motivation to take training, so the importance of it needs to be promoted through outreach activities (Stevenson & St-Onge 2005). For example, Opportunity International in Ghana assisted food vendors, a traditional business for women, to form institutional partnerships with schools, hospital cafeterias, and restaurants. In this instance, women were willing to pay high fees for high quality training that would help them obtain lucrative institutional contracts with the contacts already established (Haight 2005).

I.4 Income Generation & Natural Resources

Being highly knowledgeable about their environment and natural resources pastoralists will turn to these first as a source of income. Mainly these will be sold in their basic form with little if any processing or 'added value'. Further some pastoralists have got involved in less traditional roles such as mining: the Maasai are involved in mining either as middlemen or owners of mining plots. Mining is carried out on a small scale by both Maasai and non-Maasai people and is not confined to men alone (Bee et al 2002). The Suri (Surma) are also involved in gold mining in southwestern Ethiopia.

Indeed both men and women can be involved in the sale of natural resources. However in general, income from products such as Non-Timber Forest Products (NTFP), even those with added value, remain low. Further, collection is often laborious and collectors can be at risk from wildlife attacks. Wild food sales, for example, represent a strategy for those with few other options, suggest

Brockington & Homewood (1999: 543). And describing the lives of the group of Maasai removed from Mkomazi: “in the poorest of families with few livestock, wives and mothers lived an arduous life gathering wild plant medicines and spending long periods travelling all over northern Tanzania selling their products” (ibid). During the study period one woman died and several were injured in a road accident.

Though for many the selling of natural resource products may be a necessity or a poverty-linked strategy, for the better off it can be a useful way of topping up the household income, particularly in times of stress (Nduma et al 2000). As described in Volume I of this series the ‘better off’ were involved in both fuelwood selling in Borana and in charcoal selling in Somali Region of Ethiopia. Higher value goods (such as charcoal, honey and timber) tend to be controlled by men. However, in some situations/contexts it may be acceptable for women to dominate production and even trade the higher value goods.

Fishing

There is little information on the role of fishing within pastoral livelihoods despite the fact that many lakes and rivers are found within pastoral areas. In South Omo, Ethiopia pastoralists who have taken up a more sedentarised existence are involved in fishing from Lake Turkana. And on the Kenya side of the Lake during the 1960s fishing cooperatives were well established with the Turkana Fisherman’s Cooperative Society employing over 20,000 people. However today, the Lake has receded, the fish have retreated to the deeper water, and there is no good fishing equipment. Moreover, poor storage facilities and marketing constraints limit the industry. As such the number of people involved in fishing has greatly declined (Gamba 2005).

Emerging Markets

Some natural resources such as gums and resins (including frankincense) and medicinal plants such as aloe vera offer enormous scope for commercial enterprises and development. Though these resources may be used on a small scale by pastoralists themselves they are not exploited by them commercially. However in some countries such as Kenya the great potential of these resources has been seen and increasingly ways to exploit them are being developed and markets sought.

However care must be taken not to overexploit the resource and monitoring as well as a sustainable management system would have to be put in place. Because these enterprises tend to be developed by those with an interest in being both environmentally and ethically sensitive, ways to ensure the conservation of the resource and provide benefits for pastoralist communities are also being sought. One way of overcoming the challenges is to grow the plant/trees domestically. Issues of Fair Trade and/or Good Harvesting Practice can be considered and the

products (assuming they comply) can be marketed under these banners, often then being able to access lucrative niche markets.

Another activity carried out to some degree in dryland areas is beekeeping. Though one must be careful of oversupplying a market (which honey is in danger of doing in Ethiopia) there is room for exploring the potential for a product from pastoralist regions (and should be marketed as such). Beekeeping has many advantages as it is cheap, easy to start up and manage, is self-reliant and the technology involved is both simple and generally locally available, though improved hives may need to be imported. It requires no land, so those with few assets can participate. Beekeeping can provide people in poverty with additional regular income and helps the environment as bees feed from their own food all year round whilst facilitating pollination of plants and trees. Both men and women can be involved in beekeeping, though if the reliance is on traditional hives placed in trees this is more likely to be under the domain of men. Of course beekeeping is not without its problems and can face challenges such as infestation of hives by ants or other parasites, or as suggested above an over-saturated market.

Indigenous Knowledge & Intellectual Property Rights (IPR)

With any use of natural resources it is important to consider the issue of indigenous knowledge and IPRs and ensure that these are not overexploited and that pastoralists are aware of and able to control any use of their knowledge. In Kenya for example Gamba (2005) stresses that traditional IPR instruments (patents and trademarks for example) are in most cases intrinsically inadequate to safeguard indigenous people's interest and rights regarding traditional knowledge: *"In Kenya, these instruments are devoid of specific clauses that should protect indigenous innovations and products and new policy frameworks need to be put in place to incorporate the rights of indigenous people to safeguard their innovations"*.

1.5 Livestock Sale & Marketing

Evidence suggests that contrary to the assumptions of many development agents, in Ethiopia and elsewhere many pastoralists are well integrated into a market economy and make informed, rational decisions over how and where they exploit markets at different times of the year and where (Davies 2006; Solomon et al 2006). That is they do not primarily trade livestock during the dry season and only in response to food shortage as suggested by many governmental and development agents.

For most pastoral women, access to livestock is by virtue of their relationships to men (husbands, fathers and sons) who control them (Brockington 2001). Having said that, in general husbands and wives usually discuss the sale of livestock prior to action being taken though men might make the final decision. Further women can have a fair amount of control particularly over small livestock and in some

pastoralist groups where women have traditionally played a key trading role, they can be central to livestock sale and marketing.

Taking livestock to market can be risky. The costs include weakening of livestock on the journey; mortality on the journey; cost of maintaining transport for camels (higher than other livestock); labour demands of livestock marketing; costs of subsistence in the marketplace; lack of fodder or water for stock in the marketplace; failure or delay in finding purchasers; and impossibility of returning unsold stock to the point of origin (Davies 2006). This puts negotiating power into the hands of the traders and often means that pastoralists may have to sell their stock at low prices and in poor condition.

I.6 Livestock Products

Milk & Milk Products

When talking about pastoralism or looking at how to support it, the focus tends to be on livestock. Often livestock products are an afterthought if considered at all. Hodgson (1999) for example, said that a significant failure of development schemes in Maasailand was that they ignored milk products.

In most pastoral societies milk, particularly once it has been taken from the cow, is totally under the jurisdiction of women and they have absolute rights over distribution. Even if the men milk the livestock, as amongst the Gabra of Ethiopia, they will pass the containers to their wives: when it enters the hut, management becomes the responsibility of the wife. *“This means she is able to make decisions about how much milk will be consumed fresh, how much will be conserved as ghee (dehydrated butter) or fermented milk, and how much will be shared with other households”* (McPeak 2006). Talle (1990) observed that Maa-speaking women’s status is closely connected with their ability to provide milk and its scarcity is “not only material deprivation,” it also makes women feel intimidated and socially inferior.

However the presence of a husband often decreases milk sales. While a woman has the right to sell milk it is the husband who decides which animals stay near to the town where she can sell the milk. He may keep the livestock away from the town or household to maximise herd productivity and to let calves, rather than people, use the milk (Brockington 2001; Nduma et al 2000). Where the comparative prices of milk and meat shift in favour of meat, men become more concerned about calf survival and thus pressure women to take less milk (Blench 2001).

For poorer pastoralists the trading of milk means that milk supplies, which would be inadequate for subsistence can be exchanged for grain sufficient for nutritional needs. About three kilograms of milk are required to support a man for one day,

but at an exchange rate of 1:3:5 (by weight) one kilogram of milk will buy enough grain to support nearly five men (Holden et al 1991).

However it is not always true that sale of milk is a sign of impoverishment: where men control the major sources of income, trading provides women the opportunity to control their own money (Brockington 2001). Indeed, Nduma et al (2000) suggest that it tends to be the better off households that sell more milk. As such, the amount of milk sold need not be linked to household wealth or number of cattle, but more to age, status, extent of cultivation, consumption and intra-household separation of rights over animals and milk, transhumance patterns as well as cultural factors (Buhl & Homewood 2000; Nduma et al 2000). Milk need not be sold to gain benefits: it can also be given away for labour or to build goodwill and reputation with a woman's female friends and relatives.

Box 1.1 Selling Milk Through a Cooperative

Women in Erder, Borana Zone have formed a cooperative to sell milk and butter to traders, restaurant owners and families in Moyale. At least two lorries a day deliver the women's dairy products to the town, and bring back sugar, salt, tea, soap and processed food that the women can sell in Erder. The women have an arrangement with the lorry drivers to transport and barter the goods. Membership in the cooperative brings several benefits, for example being able to access credit. The women use their profits to support their families and to expand their businesses: several have made enough money to open their own shops in Erder. Each woman has a bank account in Moyale. The coop provides training on how to manage a coop, business management, income diversification, marketing and subjects such as HIV/AIDS. *"Their financial independence has helped these women develop confidence and has added to their status. They are less dependent on their men folk, and this has helped sustain family relationships and given them a new role in society."*

Source: IIRR 2004: 84

The migratory nature of pastoralism makes it difficult to access a regular market. However as pastoralists become more sedentarised there are likely to be more opportunities to trade. Indeed, as small towns have grown in pastoral areas, so too have women's opportunities to sell milk (McPeak 2006). With continued urbanisation the demand for milk will continue and most certainly increase. Women are becoming more organised in their selling too. In Borana, Ethiopia for example some families set up contracts guaranteeing a regular supply of milk for their clients. Further in some of the more settled villages (*ollas*), the women sometimes sell milk and yoghurt to passing cars during the long rainy season. Though the price is cheap (ETB 0.50 for a cup) it is a welcome income. Other women have organised themselves into a cooperative to sell milk (see Box 1.1). Similarly Somali women in Jijiga, Babile and other small towns sell cow and camel

milk to consumers. Milk is highly perishable, and yoghurt goes sour after several days. If there are no buyers then women have no choice but to give unsold stocks to their families before they spoil (IIRR 2004).

Butter tends to be made only when there is a surplus of milk from household requirements. This is more often during the wet season when more grazing and thus milk is available. Production is also constrained by the availability of female labour and so it depends on the ability of households to migrate seasonally en masse to the wet season pastures. In Afar, Ethiopia for example most sales occur during the season of *gilal*, immediately after the long rains, though butter is clarified and has a reasonably long storage potential (Davies 2006).

Other Animal Products

There is a dearth of information on the use of and sale of other animal products such as hides, wool, horn etc. Only one example was found on the development of a successful business based on wool and woollen products in Eastern Europe (see Box 1.2). Where we have come across the sale of animal products such as hides within our research it has been women who have treated (processed) and marketed them. Engagement in leather crafts by pastoralist women can have a comparative advantage in risk strategies they are pursuing because the raw material they are using (leather, hide etc) can be superfluous particularly in times of drought. They can make use of excessively available skins from dead animals during such times, which is in one way of preventing wastage of useable resources by converting them into a sellable commodity.

However conversations with a leather producer in Addis Ababa suggest a major problem of hides coming from cattle reared in pastoral areas is that they tend to be damaged by parasites or the scarring of skins that is carried out by the pastoralists themselves. Further the treatment of the hides and their salting tends to use methods that damage the hide (salted on the floor rather than on frames). If the marketing of hides is to become an income generating opportunity then much needs to be done to improve their quality. Despite this they could offer a lucrative trade being easily processed and transported.

1.7 Vegetables, Fruits & Crops

As discussed previously many pastoralists are becoming more sedentarised. A major reason for this is the need to grow some grains and vegetables to supplement diets, as pastoralists have become more used to some grain in their diet and because herds are smaller than they were in the past due to various restrictions. When there is a surplus, pastoralists can sell this within the towns or to neighbours. Increasingly pastoralists are seeing the advantage of growing a variety of commodities such as different grains and fruit trees.

Box 1.2 Successful Wool Business in Eastern Europe

Jumabu Joldubaeva lives in Tokbai-Talaa, Kyrgyzstan. She is 42 years old, married and has five children. Jumabu received support from an NGO and training on income generating possibilities from wool – an important by-product of the main activity in the village – sheep production. In spite of the fact that many village women produced handicrafts as part of their cultural identity, they found it difficult to sell their products. In order to tackle this, the project began working with the women and helping the group to develop their products and markets for them. A range of activities was undertaken including: experience sharing; study tours, training with handicraft groups; development of new products through assistance of an international designer. In spite of the challenges that the women faced, they were optimistic that they would achieve success.

Jumabu became the leader of a group and five other women from the village joined. An important outcome of the project's involvement with the handicraft group was the compilation of a catalogue. This enabled the group to market themselves in the region's capital Osh, and overseas. As a result of the training, the groups have started to keep records of their sales and also dedicate part of the revenue for investing in their enterprise. Since 2002, the income of the group members has increased and the total revenue to date is \$1,500. In addition, the group has internal savings of \$270. Through the extra income that Jumabu has gained through her involvement with the handicraft group, she has been able to repair the fourth room of her house. Like others in the group she has also been able to purchase additional livestock for the family. The group has donated some of their profit to a community fund that has been established to install a water supply system in the village and has made steps to secure the group's future by renting a building in the village as a workshop. Their accounts show that they will be able to maintain this on a sustainable basis.

Source: Ubaidilaeva undated

There are advantages and disadvantages to a more sedentarised lifestyle and the growing of crops and other agricultural products. Normally agricultural products would be grown on a small scale around the homestead depending on a number of factors including how transhumant/sedentarised the household is (there would be little need to plant fruit trees if the family were to move after one year); and other factors including availability of water. Many pastoralists are seeing the sense of growing crops on land along rivers: not only does this mean that there is water readily available but it also goes some way to protecting the land from being taken by other groups including smallholders from the highlands and commercial companies. Indeed local government offices are encouraging pastoralists to grow some crops on land in order to protect it: if it is proven that the land is being used then it is more difficult to take it away.

Further issues related to sedentarisation, crop growing and livelihood diversification based on these will be discussed in more detail in Volume III of this series.

1.8 Handicrafts

Both men and women make handicrafts. For example in Namibia "wood carving appears to be the domain of men" while "weaving and pottery is carried out almost exclusively by women" (Suich & Murphy 2002: 3). Similarly in Ethiopia men carve wood into pots, furniture and so on while women dominate crafts (mats and baskets for example) made from palm and grass (see Box 1.3). However both men and women can carry out weaving and pottery. Rather weaving, which mainly takes place in highland areas, is divided more by religion than gender norms, and pottery tends to be carried out by certain (marginalised) ethnic or 'caste' groups.

Box 1.3 Craft Division in Afar

In Afar men make furniture, bracelets, knives, milking bowls, sandals and spoons with prices ranging from ETB 5-10 for a bracelet to ETB 100-350 for a hunting knife. Women make baskets, brooms, goatskin storage bags, fans, milking vessels, necklaces, sleeping mats. Prices range from ETB 2-5 for a broom or fan to ETB 70-100 for a goatskin water container.

Source: IIRR 2004

Trade in traditional handicrafts can generate income for highly vulnerable rural women providing a safety net and helping reduce poverty (Pereira et al 2006). The prices of handicrafts are relatively stable, unlike those of livestock and farm produce. Further it may not be just the cash earnings that matters to the crafter, but what those earnings mean – such as the potential for craft income to improve access to resources such as food, credit, healthcare, education and investments; the risks and time involved in the enterprise; the nature of the work and the degree of dependence or empowerment (Suich & Murphy 2002: 7). In Ethiopia it is said that women tend to control the sale and distribution of handicrafts and have full rights to their income (IIRR 2004).

Handicrafts can be made when women (and men) have the time. The raw materials (hides, skins, grasses, leaves, wood, rocks) are found locally. Many of these materials are affected little by drought. Pastoralists can make handicrafts all year round though some are only made during times of stress and others may be restricted to drier seasons – palm leaves for example can be damaged during heavy rainy seasons. Handicraft making skills are easily learned and passed on. Skilled artisans willingly teach clan members who wish to learn the trade.

Many handicrafts are light and durable. They require only simple tools that pastoralists can take with them easily when they move with their herds. Many handicrafts can be transported easily. Though returns can be small, the flexibility of the product and its other advantages still make it a worthwhile investment. However many households do not feel their investment in these activities can cover livelihood requirements completely and thus divide their time between crafting and other activities (IIRR 2004; Makhado & Kepe 2006).

Handicrafts find their roots in local culture and tradition. Traditional items are culturally important, and will continue to be made for functional use in the homes of rural people and sold to urban dwellers who want to maintain links to their rural customs (Pereira et al 2006). Further as Muhammed (2002: 13) describes, during famine times in Darfur the production of handicrafts by the women resulted in “...*the invention of beauty in desperate times [as] an affirmation of life, an act of self-actualization and empowerment. To fight the aftermath of famine, women artists depicted patterns and symbols in their baskets to signify the cruelty of the times of hardship; it was a self-realization in conquering hunger, destitution and an expression of a hope for a better life*”.

Handicraft businesses however tend to stay small. There are a number of constraints and challenges to their development. Women (and men) lack the skills and entrepreneurship to build up handicraft businesses, as they tend to be started by those who lack skills to start other businesses. They may be illiterate, poorly organised and lack experience. They can lack basic education, accounting and computing skills to support business management including finances, to produce advertisements and leaflets, and to maintain linkages with markets/buyers through technology such as phone or email (if communication is available to them).

Often handicraft makers will copy others and what they are selling, rather than try out something new: they would rather go for a sale (competing with their peers) than risk no sale at all with a new product. Other constraints include not having a central place where the women (or men) can meet, price and display products, and a lack of money to advertise the products such as a sign outside the centre and/or a simple leaflet describing products and providing information on the producers and their way of life. The need for this is described in Box 1.4. Further these issues will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4 of this volume.

Further there can be stiff competition from mass-produced and cheaper goods. Throughout many of the pastoral regions in Ethiopia for example, one can easily observe the replacement of traditional items such as carrying containers by plastic ones (more often than not from China). In general, handicraft producers rarely get assistance from tax relief, and there is a lack of government support in the promotion of handicrafts for local sales or for export. Maybe a government might consider that handicrafts show a backwardness and entrenchment in ‘the traditional’.

Box 1.4 Importance of a “Centre” for Bedouin Craftworkers in Egypt

Due to reduced numbers of tourists, which the increasingly sedentarised Bedouin had come to rely on, the household is turning to women and their bead making to provide income for fulfilling household needs. One woman called the opportunity as the “door of wealth”. Experience has shown the need to have one centre for the women to come and deliver their bead work, and one person in charge of keeping track of the beads, the products, the income raised, the pricing of the products, liaising with and taking orders from clients, and organising the women to fulfil the orders. A basic education is needed to provide adequate skills to do this: one woman said that through the support of her family she had been able to attend school and now she can teach others. The skills for bead work are passed from mother to daughter. The work is often completed during visits to each other’s houses, whilst catching up with news and drinking tea. Exposure of and interest in the Craft Centre helps to motivate women in their work.

Source: Gardner 2003

However there are a number of factors that provide ‘poor producers’ with an advantageous competitive edge over other producers. For example including indigenous knowledge about the resource and about local markets, superior monitoring and protective control over the resources, and as the managers are local people living close to the resources they can access specialist ‘socially/environmentally responsible’ target markets. If these are identified and action is directed at enhancing these factors the low-income local crafters’ chances of success will be greatly improved. (Pereira et al 2006).

The majority of handicrafts are made from natural resources. Though some handicrafts use only parts of a plant or tree such as palm leaves, others utilise the whole of the living tree or enough of it to cause damage. Unless this is sustainably managed the resource can easily be overexploited and eventually be destroyed. As IIRR (2004) suggest, trees near towns and along main roads are often overexploited for fuel and construction. Some handicrafts are made from slow-maturing trees that are disappearing fast. As such it is likely to be necessary to introduce or support resource monitoring schemes and strengthen resource property and access regimes. An example of a community based monitoring scheme can be found in Namibia (see Flintan 2001).

Handicraft production needs to keep up with new trends and adapt products to changing lifestyles. For example, there is going to be more need for household goods as pastoralists become more settled and travel around less. Further businesses need to keep up with new markets. For example tourism in Ethiopia has increased greatly over the last ten years and with it a demand for the purchasing of cultural goods. As long as the security situation in the country

remains calm and other 'external' factors remain positive, then this market will only increase.

Traders

Traders are important for ensuring that handicraft businesses and their marketing moves beyond 'the local'. However relying on 'middlemen (or women)' can add complications and remove some of the power of the producers to gain a fair price for example.

Traders can also face problems. For example, traders involved in the mat and basket trade in South Africa faced numerous challenges, which included local people taking products on credit, oversupply of the products at the market and poor access to the markets where business might be better (Makhado & Kepe 2006). Indeed marketing is the largest constraint to the development of handicraft businesses. Pereira et al (2006) suggest that if external markets can be brought to the source of the trade, transport costs can be reduced and the risk of local producers being exploited by 'middlemen' can be avoided. However this is more easily said than done and will be discussed in more detail below in the section on marketing.

Development Interventions

Finally it should be noted that increasingly over the last decade or so, NGOs in particular have targeted women through supporting handicraft businesses. However often these interventions have been poorly devised and in most cases the development of markets has been completely neglected. As such these businesses can rarely be sustainable and if they are, they fail to grow beyond a small supplementary activity.

Time and again one finds NGOs handing out fairly substantial amounts of money to producers to buy raw materials from which to make the crafts. More often than not once the crafts are made the only purchaser available is the NGO who feels obliged to take them in order to encourage the women/men to keep producing. If the NGO does not make the purchases then the business will likely lose momentum and ultimately collapse. For example in Namibia, though there has been success in the development of handicraft businesses, this success was highly dependent on the purchase of craft items by the Rössing Foundation (the single major buyer and one of the original donors). This regular purchase created a dependency of the weavers on the Foundation (Suich & Murphy 2002). However not only is a dependency created and a growing reliance on 'hand-outs' but also such a situation fails to encourage a proper business sense or experience among the producers.

1.9 Tourism

Many pastoral areas are key destinations for tourists due to their high wildlife numbers, 'open' landscapes and strong 'traditional' cultures. As a result there could be a number of opportunities for pastoralists to benefit from tourism if the right conditions exist and if those involved such as tour operators are prepared to ensure that communities benefit as well as themselves.

Pastoralists can benefit from tourism both directly and indirectly. Directly pastoralists can act as guides, cooks, security guards (usually the men) or cleaners (women). Further tourists want to purchase handicrafts and other pastoral artefacts, as well as watch 'traditional' dances or visit a 'traditional' village. The taking of photographs can also prove highly lucrative particularly within groups that wear decorated dress, jewellery and the like. The Maasai for example are involved in cultural and ecological tourism around their *bomas* (homesteads) where young people perform traditional dances for the tourists. Groups of women have established cultural *bomas* where they sell a variety of articles and handmade local crafts (Bee et al 2002).

Indirectly it is more difficult to benefit from tourism. However there are a number of schemes where a tourist venture or a protected area that is controlled by either commercial or government interests, share their revenues with pastoralists who are affected by the venture or area. An example where this might be the case would be where restrictions are placed on the pastoralists and their activities, and in order to compensate them, a revenue share is provided to them. This kind of scheme is very difficult to implement, not least in identifying exactly who should receive benefits and to what amount. Gamba (2005) for example describes the problems found in trying to implement 'ecotourism' in Kajiado District of Kenya. Further there are always conflicts between conserving the wildlife and resources and providing an acceptable attraction for tourists, and the development of local communities and how they wish to lead their lives.

Some suggest that tourism can have a very negative impact on culture. Tourism encourages the production of "...*industrial parks, living historical villages, and enactments...*" (Bruner & Krishenblatt-Gimblett 1994: 435). Further disruption to established activity patterns, anti-social behaviour, crime and overcrowding caused by tourism development can also have a negative impact on local lifestyles and the quality of life of both indigenous and non-indigenous communities (Gamba 2005). In some instances prostitution has grown (Omondi 2003).

It is likely that tourism in Ethiopia's pastoral areas will increase: at the current time only South Omo receives any significant numbers. If managed properly pastoralists (both men and women) could benefit greatly. It is not within the scope of this publication to discuss further the advantages and disadvantages of

tourism, however in Volume III of this series some of the issues found in South Omo will be explored in more detail.

1.10 Employment

It is not only tourism that can provide jobs for pastoralists. More are seeking wage employment in towns and urban areas. For men such jobs can be as security guards and watchmen. The Maasai for example also perform other minor activities such as constructing tents, looking after livestock and plaiting 'rasta' hairstyles. In a few cases some Maasai girls also seek employment as housemaids. Nonetheless, wage employment demands certain levels of education, skills and experiences, which most pastoralists do not possess. Because of this, most Maasai are employed in the lesser paying jobs that are socially and economically unsustainable. In the case of security guards, for example, private securities companies are emerging which now employ better educated people (Bee et al 2002).

Furthermore, socially this form of employment may not be desirable as most of those who go to towns leave behind their families to be looked after by other members of their kin. Since there is a general decrease in income and an increase in poverty, sustaining large families will be a difficult task if not impossible. Women may then engage themselves in socially undesirable activities such as prostitution (ibid).

Many NGOs also encourage some employment of pastoralists through interventions such as supporting Community Animal Health Workers (CAHW). However though it is common for both men and women to be trained it has been found in Ethiopia through our research that it is usually the men who take the jobs. Why this is so is not entirely clear but it is probably linked to the fact that a woman working as a CAHW is not seen as culturally acceptable.

1.11 Control of Income

It should not be assumed that if women are involved in income generation activities that they are able to control income raised: sometimes men will take control. As Brockington (2001: 310-11) describes though Maasai women have control over milk the control over the income may be "*continually negotiated and contested*." In addition, any new patterns of trade and change are to some extent dependent on the impact on the autonomy and interdependence between men and women.

Indeed, once again in relation to milk, some Gabra husbands in Borana are attempting to stop their wives marketing the milk, by moving further away from the towns. The findings of McPeak (2006) suggest that this is because the husbands are not comfortable with their wives gaining control over income.

Further milk for consumption was reduced and thirdly men felt uncomfortable with their wives being alone in the town fearing that they might develop relationships with other men.

If the woman is able to keep her earnings, though the income may be small, it may be the only means by which she can obtain cash that she has control over. Indeed, it is said that men are more likely to respect women if they are raising monies that form a significant part of the household income (ABRDP 1999). NTFPs in particular have been found to represent an important source of income and employment particularly to women, encouraging increased production and harvesting for local trade (Marshall & Streckenberg 2002).

However, even if women can control their income this might not always be to their advantage. In East Africa it has been shown that where a man may consider his wife's income is adequate for household needs, he may withdraw his own contribution. As such it is said that they have only won the 'freedom to be poor' (Robertson 1995 cited in Brockington 2001). As Brockington (ibid) concludes the extent of dependence upon women and the extent of their independence in using their income as they wish is the product of delicate negotiations and power play.

Further within pastoral societies there is much pressure to share all one's possessions including income. As Davies (2005: 36) describes for the Afar in Ethiopia, "*The strength of the sharing culture in Afar also ensures that surplus income is seldom accumulated by the individual*". Obviously this has its advantages and disadvantages.

1.12 Impact of Drought & Emergencies

During drought and emergencies households need cash to purchase grain. Therefore not only will livestock be sold, but also other ways of generating cash need to be determined. This is true for those both outside refugee camps and those inside: both may take up opportunities to generate cash. For example those living outside the refugee camps may try to sell fuelwood, timber and bamboo to the camps. Those staying inside may attempt to find other ways to generate cash such as unloading sacks of food.

Migration to towns and major trading centres occurs: men move in search of jobs as casual labourers on agricultural plantations or as security guards; women and girls can also migrate in search of work in roles such as housemaids. This also means that they are likely to be closer to the famine relief distribution centres and to obtaining help from churches and humanitarian organisations. Men may also get involved in long distance trading such as selling blankets, tobacco or veterinary medicines in areas not hit by drought.

However, in general businesses suffer during these times because people are poorer than usual so their purchasing power is reduced. Additionally people will have less time for activities such as handicraft making: having said that they can prove an important source of income to buy foodstuffs (Wawire 2003). Further not only do income generation activities during times of emergency generate cash, but they can also play an important role in increasing feeling of worth and self-esteem, which often will be at a low during these times as control over the situation is taken away. As Muhammed (2002: 9) describes for Darfur, Sudan “*the big concern that faced people was finding the means to buy grain. It became a responsibility of the women to come up with ideas to generate cash. The breakthrough for women in Darfur during the famine was to turn to traditional handicrafts, the spirit of tradition brought women together to develop and invent in accordance with circumstances*”.

As crises have become more common, pastoralists are increasingly planning further ahead than they would have done in the past. Women often buy jewellery (gold) as a means of saving for times of stress rather than relying solely on livestock assets. Further increasingly pastoralists spread risk by investing in different livelihood strategies such as livestock *and* non-livestock income generation activities, and sending a boy *and* a girl to school so they can access different employment opportunities. However Little (2001) cautions that diversification is not the panacea that many policy makers assume it to be and research shows that diversification strategies have multiple causes and most generate low incomes and can actually increase risk during periods of stress. Herd mobility and herd diversification remain the major means of managing risk in pastoral areas and efforts to encourage diversification should not impede these strategies.

1.13 Commercialisation

Commercialisation tends to open up opportunities for different groups of people. However those who have power previously tend to be in a better position to exploit the situation and to turn it to their greater advantage. The commercialisation of charcoal has been discussed in Volume I of this series. As described there are two main groups of traders: wealthy businessmen and poor women struggling to supplement any income from pastoralism.

Commercialisation can have both positive and negative impacts. The young *landiis* (Maasai entrepreneurs) discussed above are encouraging education among their people and tend to marry better educated women, locally known as *ormekii*. *Ormekii* are schooled women who may be viewed somewhat negatively by the more traditional community members. In turn, they are settled with their husbands conducting their own independent businesses including foodstuffs vending, making and selling beads, tobacco, and milk especially in growing towns and market centres. These *landiis* and *ormekiis* are said to be involved in bringing

about changes in the power structures and authorities in their communities (Bee et al 2002).

A number of complexly interrelated factors influence whether commercialisation will benefit or harm women's (and indeed men's) socio-economic status and access to assets. These vary spatially, over time and socio-economic development, and at different stages of a woman's life. But once women have invested money or energy into an initiative they are loath to abandon it, hoping they will receive some return in the future (Watson 2005).

Commercialisation within pastoral societies can have particularly concerning impacts as for many it is a relatively new concept and many still rely on informal methods of exchange such as bartering, trading and providing gifts as in Mongolia (see Robinson 1999). Encouraging continued commercialisation, the expansion of markets and subsequent commodification is likely to have an impact on this and probably result in the marginalisation of such methods. Services that were once given free are now being charged for, and the traditional benefit sharing methods that have been important in helping communities get through crises such as drought, are losing their importance (see Volume I of this series). For example, women are engaged in selling traditional medicines and herbs mostly in urban centres. Traditionally, such services were offered free among the members of the Maasai community, but now it is an emerging source of income for women (Bee et al 2002).

Milk, for example, is a traditional product, produced and consumed within a clear set of cultural rules. The creation of markets challenges these social norms and provides new opportunities, however as described above it can also result in restrictions. These norms surrounding milk are being renegotiated, both implicitly and explicitly, as households face the costs and benefits of these new opportunities (McPeak 2006).

Commercialisation and access to money from income generation activities can have other social and cultural repercussions. In Volume I we have discussed the negative impacts resulting from the youth and other groups getting involved in the charcoal business including loss of respect for the elders, and increased anti-social behaviour. Further both men and women, and particularly women, are getting involved in the selling of products that have a negative social impact such as *khat* in Ethiopia and *miraa* in Eastern Africa (leaves of *Catha Edulis* that are chewed to produce a mild 'high').

Where women are the main processors of natural resource products, the processing technology tends to be rudimentary, returns on labour are relatively low, and the work is often conducted in or near the family residence. Location matters: that is proximity to markets, transport costs and access to extraction zone and/or intensive agriculture. One feature common to many

commercialisation programmes, for example of NTFPs, is an effort to improve processing technologies for a variety of reasons: to improve quality, to increase locally added value, or to increase or accelerate product supply. Some studies of new technology introductions reveal a pattern whereby men displace women from processing. Even where commercialisation has been targeted at products previously controlled by women, they have failed to retain or gain increased income (Campbell 1991; Neumann & Hirsch 2000).

Sometimes women may not be as interested in the financial benefits of commercialisation as the social aspects such as meeting and working with others, social interaction and a chance to exchange information. Further in many cases, if their businesses become successful, women owners face the dilemma of either handing over the business to male relatives to prevent conflict between household and business responsibilities or they slow the growth of the business in order to retain control (Haight 2005).

1.14 Markets

As suggested above a primary constraint to increasing income generation activities and commercialisation is the lack of ability to access markets. This is particularly true for pastoralist areas, which are often isolated, with poor infrastructure and are far from commercial centres. Roads are poor quality and can damage goods in transport. It can be difficult for pastoralists to access adequate materials for proper packing. Despite this many pastoralists have no option but to rely on local markets.

Women may have their mobility restricted by work, cultural norms or lack of access to transport or money to pay for it. Also they may lack access to information about markets that would be suitable, how to access them and how to negotiate prices and favourable terms of sale. Further there is little coordination and/or collaboration to access markets further a field for example organising linkages with traders in the cities, and/or sharing transport.

Low-income women in particular tend to hold weak market positions and they can be vulnerable to gender exploitation because they lack economic and social power. An example is women fish traders in Uganda who regularly find themselves subjected to sexual harassment and are forced to provide sexual favours to fishermen in order to gain access to good quality, fresh fish at reasonable cost. However women are not powerless and when working together can force change. For example, in Pakistan the women established tent markets outside their homes, which eventually encouraged the government to allocate space for a weekly bazaar where they could sell their products (ibid).

I.15 Savings & Credit

Micro-finance institutions consist of agents and organisations that engage in relatively small financial transactions using specialised, character-based methodologies to serve low-income households, micro-enterprises, small scale farmers, and others that lack access to the banking system. They may be informal, semi-formal (that is, legally registered but not under central bank regulation), or formal financial intermediaries (Gamba 2005). For pastoralists such savings and credit institutions can have two major benefits. They stabilise income and consumption, not only minimising sale of livestock during drought when prices are low but also allowing pastoralists to have regular income and consumption patterns. Further they enable people to diversify income sources and reduce vulnerability to future shocks.

Indeed, lack of credit is said to be a constraint to potential diversification and the starting up of income generation activities (Gamba 2005; Smith et al 2001). While such micro-enterprises typically foster little productive employment growth, they do alleviate the severe unemployment that threatens the survival of the rural poor, whilst providing increasingly needed cash.

However without land to use as collateral, women in particular have trouble obtaining government provided credit even though they need it to start businesses to have any income at all. Women are rarely considered creditworthy not only because they do not have collateral but also because often they cannot read and write, and are not used to frequenting governmental or official institutions without their husband's consent and being accompanied (Bravo-Baumann 2000).

However even pastoral men face problems: they too may lack land and in most cases livestock is not accepted as collateral. Formal financial institutions perceive high risks associated with lending to rural households living in dryland areas as well as lending to Small Micro-Enterprises (SMEs), and in general there is a lack of appropriate instruments for managing risk (Gamba 2005). Within Ethiopia in the past there has been a lack of support in general for small enterprises, the rural economy having focussed almost entirely on agriculture (and mainly subsistence). It was not until 1997 that the Ethiopian Government released the country's first Micro and Small Enterprise Development Strategy for example.

Giving credit to pastoral communities is difficult because of the risk of drought – many people need cash at the same time, so credit institutions are in danger of bankruptcy (IIRR 2004). And some studies have shown that people who have received credit with little guidance use it for food consumption and then find themselves having to sell livestock in order to pay off their debt, leaving them worse off than they were originally (Vilie 2002).

Financial services are hampered by poor physical and communication infrastructure amongst other things (see Box 1.5). Financial institutions are likely to have weak institutional capacity due to poor governance and operating systems, and low skills of managers and staff (Gamba 2005).

Box 1.5 Impediments to Efficient Rural Financial Markets in Drylands

The characteristics of rural financial markets are largely determined by the spatial, temporal, and covariant nature of most rural economic settings and include the following inherent impediments to efficient markets:

- Low population density in the drylands, small average loans, and low household savings increase the transaction costs per monetary unit of financial intermediation.
- Lack of infrastructure (communications, electricity, transportation, etc.) and social services (education, health, etc.) and low integration with complementary markets result in highly fragmented financial markets that involve high costs of overcoming information barriers and limit risk diversification opportunities.
- Seasonality of dryland agricultural production and susceptibility to natural disasters (such as flood, drought, and disease) heighten the probability of covariant risks (in prices and yields) and add to the risks and costs of rural financial intermediation.
- The high risk associated with the main economic activities - rainfed agriculture and livestock - and the difficulties in diversifying away this risk because of segmented markets caused by the above difficulties, the strong seasonality associated with this activity and the resulting high probability of co-variant price and income shocks.
- The absence of traditional physical collateral normally required by the banking system. The costs and risks associated with the delivery of lending services in dryland rural areas is likely to be high, with negative consequences for the outreach and quality of the portfolio.
- Financial services are constrained by a weak legal system, which makes it impossible to penalise defaulters. Usury acts and interest ceilings reduce the ability of financial institutions to recover the high costs of lending to micro-enterprises. Often they themselves are highly regulated which can constrain their flexibility and prevent them from adapting to client needs.

Source: Gamba 2005; Smith et al 2001.

The transhumance of pastoralists means it can be difficult to access banks (*if they should exist in the area*) and make regular payments. Plus Islamic rules forbid the charging of interest (a service charge is made instead). Further borrowing any substantial amount takes so much time that many pastoralists (particularly women) are discouraged (IIRR 2004).

In general, not enough is done to adapt to the needs of pastoralists even in countries with more experience. For example, Gamba (2005) argues that government schemes (such as in Kenya) have not given enough attention to informal savings and lending mechanisms (such as merry-go-rounds, savings collectors, and women money saving societies), which are based on common bonds and knowledge about the borrower, even though these mechanisms have proven their ability to manage risk, enforce lending contracts, and reduce the transaction costs of delivering credit. Indeed there are several ways to overcome many of the constraints associated with credit for poor rural communities including pastoralists.

For example the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh reduced the transaction costs of lending to the poor by adopting group-based lending with peer pressure to monitor and enforce contracts. It has reached over 2 million households in more than half the villages in Bangladesh with approximately 50% of loans featuring livestock. The overall repayment rate exceeds 95%, which is remarkable given its primary focus on poor women (Quereshi et al 1996). Peer pressure is also used in Ethiopia (see Box 1.6) to encourage members to pay back loans though this is easier when the group is small and everyone is known to each other (IIRR 2004). The performance of best-practice institutions indicates that the self-employed are willing to pay high rates of interest to obtain access to financing (Gamba 2005). Further, there are ways to spread risk – by loaning only for certain types of activities that are likely to succeed or by diversifying credit across a range of enterprises.

Box 1.6 Starting Small in Somali Region

Somali women in Afder and Liban Zones in southeastern Ethiopia earn money by selling food and drink along the main road at night. They are known as *elaw* or 'eye of the night'. Business is poor because there are few customers and the food spoils quickly. Women are also selling goats on commission. In 1999 PCAE gave ETB 200 to 20 of these women. The women repaid ETB 10 every week, plus a service charge of ETB 5. After 20 weeks, when they had repaid their initial loans, they were able to qualify for a second-round loan of ETB 1000. The group used the accumulated service charge to fund projects for the community. The success of these initial groups mobilised nearly 300 women to start their own businesses. Through teamwork and by involving traditional leaders and elders, these women have coped with various challenges: currency fluctuations, insecurity, drought and lack of transport.

Source: IIRR 2004.

Many NGOs have supported savings and credit schemes, and increasingly in pastoralist communities. In the past these have started as very small loans and in a comparatively informal manner. However in more recent years the loans have

increased quite substantially and informal groups have become cooperatives (see the following section). NGOs can address the constraints through specialised techniques but frequently suffer from lack of sustainability because of their welfare orientation, small scale, low absorptive capacity, and lack of exposure to best practices of micro and SME finance (ibid).

For any intervention to work, the local situation has to be well analysed to ensure that those who borrow the money are able to control its expenditure and be responsible for and are capable to ensure its repayment (Bravo-Baumann 2000). Often NGOs in particular place less emphasis on repayment than a government scheme might do, accepting a higher risk of loss. Though this might benefit some borrowers, it can also damage relations in the long term by not instilling a good sense of business or encouraging responsibility.

1.16 Groups & Cooperatives

Collective action is well known as a positive community-development force. Group formation can build social capital and enhance income generation and access to resources (Coppock et al 2006). However in general among pastoralists there tends to be less of a history of collective behaviour than in more sedentarised groups.

Within many countries there can be a divide between 'groups' and 'cooperatives', the latter usually being more highly formalised and regulated. Groups tend to form through ideas and assistance from GOs or NGOs, though later on others may form having observed the success of existing groups. Groups may form with a common goal such as to engage in hide processing or marketing. Common characteristics of groups are described in Box 1.7. Though recruitment may not be restricted initially, it is likely that after time this will need to take place: then a more careful screening process may occur. Entry fees are common. Groups can be self-governed with reference to a constitution and by-laws. Illiteracy need not be a problem as a study on groups in Kenya proved: the groups took pride in having detailed memorised knowledge of their constitutions, by-laws, philosophies and administrative and operational procedures (ibid). Usually a committee is set up, and group officers assigned as chairperson, secretary and treasurer. Once profit has been accrued, together with regular contributions, the pooled funds could be used to yield loans for more and larger spin-off activities (ibid). Further such groups can prove a useful 'testing ground' for introducing new ideas such as financial concepts before going through what can be a lengthy process of cooperative formation and overcoming the other challenges of cooperative establishment.

However it can be difficult for informal groups to access the same resources available to cooperatives. Therefore most groups once established tend to move towards formalisation and becoming a cooperative. Cooperatives are guided by

recognised country or region wide frameworks or regulations, though local adaptation can be achieved through establishing local by-laws. They tend to be linked to and under the responsibility of local government offices such as a cooperative desk.

Box 1.7 Characteristics that Support or Constrain Group Formation

Group characteristics that promote sustainability reportedly include unity of purpose, transparency and accountability of leadership, and making good business decisions that lead to diversified micro-enterprises. The ability of a group to secure external funding, training or technical support from development partners was also regarded as important for sustainability. The factors that readily lead to failure of a group included negative internal dynamics such as poor leadership, uncooperative members lacking shared vision, and mismanagement of group funds. One negative external factor of note was political incitement or interference.

Source: Coppock et al 2006: 2

As IIRR (2004: 83) describe, cooperatives rely on certain basic conditions and “...constraints include drought, ethnic and clan conflicts, and the low level of education of coop members”. State and federal policy in Ethiopia for example encourages formation of voluntary producer cooperatives as a foundation of rural economic development (Solomon et al 2006) though in the past under previous governments they were seen more as a means of coercive group action than a business enterprise.

Indeed maintaining a good working cooperative that represents all of its members is highly challenging. As a result cooperatives are often plagued by financial problems including debt and corruption. Further consensus is difficult to reach amongst a diverse group of members: there can also be disparity in power between men and women, and the reluctance of women to become members of coops where the majority of members are men, mean it is difficult to form mixed-gender coops (IIRR 2004: 83). Often both men and women need support in improving their capacity to work as a cooperative and to manage them properly including leadership skills and support in working as a group: a somewhat alien concept to some.

1.17 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that both in Ethiopia and elsewhere pastoralists are increasingly looking beyond livestock to other means of generating income in order to diversify their livelihoods and spread risk. Women are at the centre of this move being both under pressure to raise cash for household purchases and also willing to make the most of new opportunities arising. However it is not clear

exactly what impact this is having on socio-economics, culture and other factors such as gender relations, and how best these new opportunities can be harnessed by women (and men) to really benefit them and their dependents in the most positive way. This chapter has reviewed the literature that has focussed on experiences mainly outside Ethiopia and issues have been raised. The following chapters will explore recent experiences closer to home within four regions of the country, and focus in a much more detailed manner on the gender aspects of the changes taking place. It is anticipated that by doing so the means to overcome the constraints and challenges raised above can be identified, and experiences shared so that ways to support women and men to further diversify their livelihoods through successful and sustainable income generation activities can be made.

2

Small Business Development in Somali Region

Sead Oumer, Getachew Mamo & Nimo Haji Ismail

2.1 Introduction

Extending across four countries in the Horn of Africa, Somali pastoralism transcends international borders with people and livestock still moving informally from one country to another. The livestock trade has been a central pillar of pastoral livelihoods with trading routes (formal and informal) moving from inland countries to those with a coastline and ultimately an open door to export markets. However in recent years these markets have been threatened by environmental, socio-economic and political challenges such as the livestock ban by the Gulf States (previously major markets for Somali livestock) or reduced access to grazing and other resources.

Further, the Somali economy has become one that relies on monetary exchange rather than the bartering and non-monetary exchange common in the past. As a result, increasingly pastoralists are looking for alternative means of raising an income. Often this responsibility will fall on women who are under more pressure to find money for food and household goods, and often show a more innovative and entrepreneurial nature than men, despite employment opportunities being more limited. Indeed, it has been suggested that the success of pastoralism as a production strategy in general is heavily dependent on women's diverse economic roles (Hodgson 2000).

Small business development offers one avenue to more secure sustainable livelihoods for Somali women and in turn improved household well-being. When we talk about small businesses we are referring to enterprises such as cafes, tea stalls, petty trading enterprises, hide and skin curing and trading, as well as cross-border livestock rearing and fattening groups. These small businesses may be run by individuals or as formally registered cooperatives. Development interventions in Somali Region have attempted to facilitate the growth of these businesses by providing start-up capital and offering training in book-keeping, accounting and so on.

However, while women's livelihoods have been identified as crucial in reducing household vulnerability, men's dwindling control over livestock threatens to upset the balance of Somali society and household security. Lack of alternative employment opportunities for men increases the burden on women to provide for household needs. Men are left under-worked and liable to become addicted to *khat* and other narcotics. While the future might be brighter for women and their daughters as Devereux states (2006) without also addressing the concerns of

Somali men and their sons the positive position of women may well be compromised.

In this chapter we will be discussing the roles and responsibilities held by Somali women in the pastoral economy with regards to income generation. Our emphasis is the ways these roles and responsibilities have changed and evolved in line with livelihood interventions on the part of government and non-government agents. While we will dwell on women's activities a focus will also be given to men's livelihoods and how gender relations have been reshaped through changes in the pastoral economy. Some examples are drawn from specific interventions including SOS Sahel's attempts to support a bread making enterprise – requested by a local women's group.

2.2 Gender Roles & Income Generation

The Somali nuclear family, or *haas* as it is known, is the basic unit of production allocating labour between family members. Despite popular images of camel husbandry, livelihoods in Somali Regional State are extremely diversified and in addition to pastoralism most households engage in income generating activities and participate in local markets. Women are not only responsible for tending sheep and goats, but also for maintaining the household and for agricultural production where undertaken.

Somali women's powerlessness and marginality have often been highlighted (Affi 1995). Through a combination of pastoral customs and Islamic teaching, Somali society has established a patriarchy that has restricted women's access and use of many productive resources. Women in Somali Region see themselves as disadvantaged in many ways. Men have better access to education, are better informed and have greater skills than women. They inherit more land and livestock assets and undertake the vast majority of decision making at the household and community level (Belay & Etenesh 1997).

This patriarchy defines ownership over key productive resources with men owning nearly all large livestock and women owning small animals. Though some might see this as unequal, small animals can be more readily converted into cash and are more easily managed (easier to feed and water). Further if a woman earns money herself she retains control over it and does not have to consult her husband over how it is spent. Although a Muslim society, many Somali women are allowed to work outside the home and are able to participate in income generation activities. However, this has also meant that a greater burden of providing for the family has fallen on women's shoulders (Devereux 2006).

Indeed it is clear that women participate much more than men in non-farm income generating activities. A surprising aspect of livelihood change in recent years is the willingness and ability of women to try new livelihoods while men

seem reluctant to abandon the livestock sector that they know so well. However, women still face many economic and social constraints over their involvement in these new opportunities.

2.3 Constraints to Participation in Income Generation

Few pastoralists have the initial capital to begin commercial enterprises. For women, who have been unable to trade major livestock assets, they are even less likely to have savings. In addition there is little or no precedent for business management in the area and few have the skills to share with others. Women's mobility is limited as they are tied to a much greater extent to their household than men are. Domestic responsibilities of raising children limit the time they can spend away from home. Also some men are reluctant to allow their wives to work outside.

Despite these constraints many women have been able to establish small businesses. One way they have been able to overcome these obstacles is through 'traditional' savings and credit groups. Many women participate in these groups, paying in small amounts of cash and withdrawing lump sums at intervals. Women are said to save more than men, because they chew *khat* less and do not expend their resources on patronage politics. By earning incomes independent of their husbands, who themselves have seen their livestock assets decline due to drought and other factors, women have taken on greater responsibilities and their status has risen.

2.4 Cross-Border Trade

Location and cultural ties with Somalia mean that businesses often have an international dimension in Ethiopia's Somali Region. A great deal of the Region's livestock is transported to ports in Somaliland and then on to the Middle East while other goods move in both directions. Most of those involved in this trade are middle-aged men although there have been a growing number of young people and women join the businesses (Baulch & Umer 2005).

Women are in a very favourable position to capitalise on this aspect of business development, as they do not have a primary role in inter-clan conflicts. Animosity and violence between Somali clans is common and has been complicated by rivalries between Ethiopia and Somalia as well as the effective collapse of the Somali Republic since 1991. Men therefore find it difficult to cross clan boundaries and may be viewed with suspicion or even hostility if they do so.

Women's roles as non-combatants and even peacemakers on many occasions gives them much greater freedom firstly to move into other clan territories and also to work with women from other clans to build business alliances. This opens up many possibilities although the restrictions mentioned above still apply. In

addition it also entails many risks as it involves travelling far from home in a region well known for gender-based violence irrespective of clan allegiance.

2.5 Government & Non-Government Interventions

In most pastoral settings financial services are often unavailable. In particular women are rarely considered creditworthy in the formal sector because they have no capital to present as collateral. Though pastoral men may also have trouble accessing collateral they can obtain cash through informal clan-based redistribution, but this is only available to men. Also men tend to have greater access to government and non-government credit schemes as they are more often recognised as the household head. Due to this, individual women in particular find it extremely difficult if not impossible to begin any kind of business venture.

However, in recent years the Somali Regional Government has promoted small business development through the Women's Affairs Office and the Cooperative Promotion Bureau. By working with various development projects including the Somali Women Development Initiative a number of small scale business cooperatives have been established and savings and credit schemes supported.

These projects have tried to support pastoral women specifically. To date they have provided initial capital investments as well as assistance in livestock and livestock product marketing. The Somali Women Development Initiative was reported to have had remarkable success in small scale business development and empowering Somali women. Working in close collaboration with the regional Women's Affairs Office the project is said to have benefited 391 poor pastoral women directly and more than 3000 family members indirectly (Habtamu 2006).

In total 23 cooperatives have been established in Aware, Aw-Barrey, Degahabur, Harshin, Jijiga and Kebrige yah *woredas*. By working with GO and NGO partners training in entrepreneurship, marketing and business management has been provided to the cooperatives as well as practical and logistical support such as legal licensing and the provision of land. The different cooperatives have been encouraged to work together to solve problems and undertake market assessments and to ensure product quality and supply. The small scale business cooperatives that have been established have concentrated on different areas of trade like livestock and livestock products, petty trade, fruits and vegetables and so on.

IRC has been supporting the capacity development of these groups and will be constantly looking to increase women's involvement. The main thrust of the capacity building will be training in livestock-related issues and awareness raising on markets and other business opportunities that IRC identifies as profitable for women's groups. The training needs identified by IRC (2006) include

organisational and business management; agro-processing; livestock marketing; and small scale industry management. A request has also been made to SOS Sahel Ethiopia's GAPP to assist with this training agenda and increase gender awareness.

Oxfam GB Pastoral Community Development Programme is also active in the region and focuses its interventions around Harshin with the overall objective of enhancing the capacity of the local people to better develop and manage their own pastoral-linked livelihoods. This will be achieved through building local institutions and educational opportunities that allow the community to manage their affairs and command the resources they have at their disposal. Having began in 2002 and with a 15 year time span the project's four principle targets are: pastoralist representation in the socio-economic and political arena; increasing access to and control over key resources; developing effective disaster management mechanisms; and enhancing socio-economic development and livelihoods by improving access to basic services such as quality healthcare, education and water.

The improvement of basic services has acted as an entry point while cooperative formation is seen as essential. Some of the key activities of the project cooperatives are to steadily increase capacity, support human and animal health services through Traditional Birth Attendant (TBA) and Community Animal Health Worker (CAHW) training, construct *birkas* (cisterns) with community participation, offer training in natural resource management, and introduce energy saving stoves.

The development of small scale businesses to improve the livelihoods of pastoralists in Harshin district has been supported through this project. Progress has been made in livestock and livestock product marketing. Following training on small scale business development using locally available materials such as livestock products, cooperatives have been organised. By 2005 these had supplied 2,320 pieces of hide to the Hargeysa market, which sold at a price of ETB 10-15 per piece gaining substantial profit. In addition, 180 shoats were supplied to the cross-border markets of Hargeysa and a further 1000 hides and 500 shoats were ready to be marketed (OGB 2005). Further Oxfam has been supporting the development of handicraft production – this will be described in more detail in Chapter 4 of this volume.

The SOS Sahel GAPP has been working with the Oxfam GB Pastoral Community Development Programme to assist them in better integrating gender within their work and to carryout action research activities, based on priorities of the organisation and of the communities with which they work. Oxfam GB itself identified natural resource use to be a priority area of investigation and support, and the results of the research are provided in Volume I of this series. One of the community groups with which Oxfam works requested assistance in the

development of a bakery as an emerging business opportunity. The outcome of this is described in Box 2.1.

Box 2.1 Supporting Somali Women to Establish a Bakery

Harshin Town is situated between Jijiga and the Somaliland border. There is a flourishing trade and movement of people, goods and livestock between them. Surprisingly this included bread, which was imported from Hargeysa over a three or four day transit. Bread from Hargeysa was expensive and by the time it reached Harshin it was far from being fresh. Therefore a women's group (Halgan Cooperative) felt that there was a good business opportunity in baking bread locally, which should make it cheaper and fresher. In response to their request, SOS Sahel decided to support this initiative as an experimental venture as part of its action research programme in the area.

SOS Sahel assisted the Halgan Cooperative to undertake a feasibility study that looked into raw material supply and profitability. Five cooperative members were then trained in bakery construction and bread making. The bakery was built with project finances and materials supplied by the community. The women negotiated with the local administration office to obtain land near the centre of Harshin for the bakery: this land was convenient for both buying raw materials and selling the finished product.

The Cooperative established a marketing strategy to begin selling to shops and hotels in the town and, if this was successful, expand to the surrounding villages. It was recognised that they would continue to face competition from the Hargeysa bakeries and be limited by local market infrastructure. However, over time the community became aware of the new business and started to buy bread locally although the Hargeysa bakeries remained popular. Raw materials continued to be available and did not hinder production.

However a recent visit to the bakery and the Halgan Cooperative indicated that they were facing problems. The price of imported wheat flour had rocketed and could not be purchased from the local market due to movement restrictions on cross-border foodstuffs, recently imposed by the government. Their production has reduced and they cannot cover the production costs.

Therefore at the moment the bakery is running ninety per cent below its capacity and it is likely that it will stop production altogether if the input market does not change soon. In the future the Cooperative suggests that it should only focus on baking bread for specific orders such as ceremonies including weddings, welcome and handover events within their location.

The lessons learnt from the experiences of these interventions are that women in Somali Region are willing and highly capable of setting up and running viable business ventures. They have a good business sense and entrepreneurial spirit, which when supported by capacity building, credit and support such as in identifying and accessing markets, can result in successful and sustainable businesses. NGOs working with the women have found the support of basic services to be a good entry point into the communities before working on more challenging issues.

The establishment of cooperatives have been important in mobilising and acting as a forum for management and control. Somali women appear to work well together, perhaps encouraged by clan relations and a longer history of doing so then perhaps in other pastoral communities. The women in Harshin have been exposed to trading (cross-border and otherwise) since they were children and thus have grown up in an environment that encourages them to get involved.

However as the examples above have shown the markets are highly volatile and supply of materials and goods inconsistent in quality and price, making a steady income and business difficult. Further it has proved extremely challenging to access markets beyond the local, which proves extremely limiting: many pastoral settlements are very isolated with poor infrastructure and communications so making transport extremely difficult. Finally it has been shown how influences that local people have no control over can greatly affect their activities, whether it is livestock bans by neighbouring countries or new regulations imposed by governments. It is important therefore that businesses are flexible enough to adapt to such influences, and that those investing in them are willing to try different avenues and ventures to make them succeed.

2.6 Small Business Development & Changes in Gender Relations

Traditionally, in Somali society men are the heads of their households and undertake much of the decision making for other family members. Livestock will be sold, money will be spent and the household will be moved according to his decisions. In some cases a husband consults his wife but ultimately he decides. Through these decisions men are expected to provide for the household economically whether in the pastoral, agricultural or urban environment. In this system women manage the home, prepare food and care for children as well as tend small animals and sometimes cultivate land. If she has daughters then there will be some assistance in these tasks.

However, today, for many households this is no longer the case. The livestock that men relied on to provide subsistence and cash for their families have been reduced through issues such as recurrent droughts, conflict and insecurity as well as restrictions on mobility through land use change (see Chapter 3, Volume I of this series). In most cases men have not been able to rebuild their herds to what

they were in the past, nor have they found alternative livelihood options to replace what has been lost. Women have suggested that this is not necessarily because there are no options or opportunities for men to diversify livelihoods but rather it is the reluctance of men to enter what they see as menial and low-paid jobs (Devereux 2006). Women however are willing to pursue such jobs and as a result are taking over the roles and responsibilities of men as 'household provider'. As one informant in this study stated:

All women, whether they live in the town or in the countryside, are fighting for the survival of their families. This used to be only the responsibility of men.

Women's role as breadwinner is new and challenges long held views on the appropriate role for Somali women. Women are increasingly moving out beyond the domain of the home, whether by choice or necessity, and trying to establish themselves as business owners. Many are petty traders selling tea, *khat*, cigarettes, food or clothes and a few are involved in larger businesses, such as wholesale *khat* dealing, livestock trading and charcoal selling.

These changes have generated much debate in society particularly between elders and younger people. One elderly man spoke for many of his generation at a workshop when he asserted that women should maintain traditional roles, and cited a Somali proverb: "*Hooyadu mar waa dabaakh, mar waa doobi, mar waa daabad, marna waa furaash*" (A mother's function is to cook, launder, nurture and be a wife to her husband). This view is based in part on tradition but also the frustration that many men feel when not being able to support their families as custom prescribes.

By earning an income independent of their husbands, women now make many more decisions within the household. A major change in this regard is that in the past a large sum of money would be earned occasionally from the sale of an animal but now there is a small but continuous flow of money from petty trading or other businesses. Due to this, as well as the tendency of women to spend money on necessities rather than 'luxuries' (such as *khat*), household security has improved in many cases. Additionally those women who have started businesses have gained more confidence, status and self-esteem. This new assurance was expressed by one woman in the following terms:

Whatever happens, women will not return to their homes even if normality returns, because we have gained economic independence.

Although all of these can be seen as positive changes, business development also has a number of negative impacts on women. In most pastoral societies women have a heavier workload than men as they undertake activities in the home as well as livestock and agricultural management. As women's business activities

become more important this workload will further increase. This is having a detrimental impact on their roles within the home. Early childcare is traditionally the responsibility of mothers and many women feel guilty about not having enough time to spend with their children. Most women traders work in the market place from 5.30 a.m. to 6.00 p.m. Some, particularly *khat* sellers, do not return home before 10.00 p.m. Young daughters often have to fulfill the role of their mother, so that they in turn are unable to attend school.

In addition these new opportunities can put women in vulnerable positions. In most cases women petty traders do not have a permanent place of business and must work in the open market where it is crowded and dirty. Harassment by men is commonplace particularly for *khat* sellers. These days, working is not a matter of choice for Somali women so they must endure these hardships. Despite this most women seem to be of the opinion that even those in families with a male household head earning a secure livelihood should have the right to earn a living themselves if they want to.

Further, as mentioned before the impact of women's increasing control over income generation can be having a detrimental impact on men's self-esteem and confidence. They are no longer the 'sole provider' for the household. As a result many just 'give up' and leave the responsibilities to their wives. Rather than carryout menial and labourious jobs, perhaps considered to be 'women's work', they would rather sit with their fellow men and chew *khat*.

2.7 Recommendations

The current changes occurring in pastoral systems in Somali Region are necessitating the need for some level of livelihood diversification. To date it is more often women who have ventured into these areas establishing small businesses with the assistance of GOs or NGOs. This has gone some way to breakdown the gendered division of labour in Somali society and has allowed women to have access to more assets and make more decisions. Such economic empowerment has also increased their worth, self-confidence and position in society.

However, establishing and maintaining small businesses is not easy and without better markets and the support of networks as well as society as a whole, including their husbands, fathers and sons, small businesses will remain small needing high inputs of labour and giving small returns. As we have seen men appear to be unwilling to support their wives, mothers or daughters where they need it, in providing assistance with the businesses and for example, labour. Attitudes have not changed enough to encourage men to help the women and rather, doing so would still be seen as demeaning and highlight their failure in providing for the household.

As a result though it is encouraging to see women take up business opportunities, care should be taken in their promotion to ensure that women and men understand the consequences. Further an emphasis should be placed on encouraging men to also take up business opportunities and suitable options should be identified. However, again care should be taken when doing this to make sure that men do not once more take full control of household assets, income generation and decision making processes. Women appear to be happy that they have more involvement today and do not want to return to their subordinate position within the more traditional society of the past.

3

Savings & Credit Interventions in Afar & Borana

Lemlem Aregu, Yemane Belete & Samuel Teffera

3.1 Introduction

Pastoral livelihoods are dependent on their environments, which are subject to regular shocks such as droughts and floods. These crises often cause pastoralists to sell their livestock under pressure when prices are at their lowest. By establishing savings and credit schemes it is possible for pastoralists to sustain their assets by providing an income buffer. In addition during better times these schemes can offer capital that can be used to diversify livelihoods (IIRR 2004). In many cases women are often targeted for credit services, as they are directly responsible for everyday household needs.

Women and men in pastoral and agro-pastoral societies have differentiated access to and control over resources including monetary incomes. Also they have different decision making statuses over how household assets are sold. Men undertake the majority of economic decision making partly because inheritance is usually along the male line and as they are recognised as household heads. More often than not women have a secondary role in this decision making as they do not have control over the household's principle assets. Women in Afar and Borana control the income from the sale of milk and small ruminants while men make decisions over large stock such as cattle and camels and decide how to spend any revenues if they are sold.

Over recent years both the Afar and Boran have been finding it increasingly difficult to cope with the regular environmental crises, which increases the need for improved livelihood security and diversification. However, women have very few opportunities to explore alternative livelihoods, as they are unable to access capital funds or loans due to them having no assets to put down as collateral. As women are seen as crucial in ensuring household security they have been targeted by development interventions. A number of these projects provide savings and credit to pastoral households. In this chapter we will review the successes and continuing challenges of some of these interventions paying particular attention to their impacts on gender relations. Some examples are drawn from the Pastoral Livelihood Initiative-Enhancing Afar & Borana Livelihood Efforts (PLI-ENABLE) intervention, which has recently started providing such services. Most of the research was carried out in the Awash (Afar) and Yabello (Borana) areas.

When we are referring to savings and credit interventions in pastoral areas we are talking about the provision of financial assistance to communities who previously had no access to such services. Commercial enterprises generally refuse to operate in these areas due to the risks of the pastoral economy and the

transhumance of the people making it difficult to access banks and services. In order to provide savings and credit most interventions first promote the establishment of groups (women, youth, marketing etc.) and then train them in business skills. Credit is then made available to group enterprises or to individuals within a group. In time the group needs to be formalised into a cooperative to ensure government recognition and future support.

3.2 The Status of Women & Men in Afar & Borana

The Afar and Boran mainly practice pastoralism and agro-pastoralism depending to a greater or lesser extent on available environmental resources. In some places settled farming is also practiced. However, it is livestock that is the mainstay of the economy in most cases. Apart from the economic benefits of livestock pastoralists and agro-pastoralists consider their animals as a source of food and a sign of prestige. However due to many factors including a reduced resource base (discussed in more detail in Volume I of this series), recurrent drought and other environmental shocks this sector has become threatened, affecting pastoral livelihoods. As a result, pastoralists in Afar and Borana also pursue alternative income strategies to meet subsistence needs and to act as buffers against shocks caused by climatic fluctuations, livestock disease and market failure (Little 2001).

In this economy women and men have differing responsibilities to engage in productive, reproductive and community tasks (as illustrated in Table 3.1). Most of the reproductive and many productive activities are the roles and the responsibilities of women, which gives them a heavy workload and limits their time for other activities. This burden partly explains women's limited options in income generating activities like livestock marketing.

During the dry season and drought periods men move their herds in search of pasture. Children also move with the livestock staying with them for the whole day when there is rain and the whole season when it is dry. Grass, which is used as livestock fodder, is collected by women from the edges of irrigation canals in Afar and from around the homestead in Borana. During the wet season this is an easy task but during the dry season women and girls have to travel between six and 12 hours just for a single trip. Collecting water is also very time consuming for women. In Afar water points and irrigation canals are used during the wet season, which takes around two hours. During the dry season they are often forced to go to the Awash River, which can take up to eight hours. In Borana women travel up to four hours to fetch water during the dry season.

It is important to understand, therefore, that the gendered division of labour varies between seasons. During the wet season grass collection and watering of animals are not tedious activities compared to the dry season. However, the opposite is true for fuelwood collection as it is more difficult to find dry wood during the wet season at a time when a greater quantity is needed. As we can see

from Tables 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3 (drawn up by community members during focus group discussions) the workload of women is greater than the work of men in all seasons. However, over recent years this situation has started to change with men beginning to share some parts of women's workloads.

Table 3.1 Gender Roles and Responsibilities in Afar and Borana

| Activity | Male | | | Female | | |
|-------------------------|-------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|
| | Child | Adult | Elder | Child | Adult | Elder |
| PRODUCTIVE | | | | | | |
| Herding | X | X | | X | | |
| Animal Health | | X | | | X | |
| Animal Mobility | X | X | | | | |
| Grass Collection | | | | X | X | X |
| Preparing Milk | | | | | X | X |
| Churning Butter | | | | X | X | X |
| Lifting up Animals | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Slaughtering | | X | X | | | |
| Managing Small Animals | | | | X | X | |
| Livestock Marketing | | X | X | | | |
| Land Preparation | | X | | | X | |
| Land Clearing | X | X | | | | |
| Harvesting | | X | | | X | |
| Threshing | X | X | X | X | X | |
| Store Constriction | | X | | | X | |
| Charcoal Making | X | X | | | X | |
| Sowing | | X | | | | |
| Weeding | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Guarding Crops | X | X | X | X | X | |
| Migration | | | | | | |
| REPRODUCTIVE | | | | | | |
| Food Preparation | | | | X | X | |
| Fetching Water | X | | | X | X | |
| Fuelwood Collection | X | | | X | X | |
| Protecting Children | | | | X | X | X |
| Washing Clothes | | | | X | X | |
| House Construction | | | | | X | |
| House Cleaning | | | | X | X | |
| Fencing Field | | X | | | X | |
| Fencing Kraal | | X | X | | | |
| Cleaning Kraal | | | | X | X | X |
| COMMUNITY | | | | | | |
| Veterinary Services | | X | X | | X | X |
| Collecting Mineral Salt | | X | X | | | |
| Meetings | | X | X | | | |
| Weddings | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Funerals | | X | X | | X | X |

Table 3.2 Afar Seasonal Calendar

| Activity | KARMA | | | GILEL | | | SUGUM | | | HAGAYA | | |
|------------------|---------|---------|---------|-------|-----|-----|-------|-----|-----|--------|-----|-----|
| | Apr | May | Jun | Jul | Aug | Sep | Oct | Nov | Dec | Jan | Feb | Mar |
| Available Water | XX X | XX X | XX X | XX | XX | XX | XX | X | X | X | | |
| Available Grass | XX | XX | XX | | X | | | X | X | | | |
| Fodder Trees | | | | X | XX | | | XX | XX | XX | XX | XX |
| Farming | XX | | | | | | | | | X | XX | XX |
| Women's Workload | XX | XX | XX | XX | XX | | | XX | X | XX | XX | XX |
| Men's Workload | XX | | | | | | | | | XX | XX | XX |
| | | | | | | | | | | X | X | X |

Table 3.3 Borana Seasonal Calendar

| Activity | GENNA/ BALESSA | | | | BIRRA | | | | BONA | | | |
|------------------|----------------|-----|---------|---------|---------|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|
| | Feb | Mar | Apr | May | Jun | Jul | Aug | Sep | Oct | Nov | Dec | Jan |
| Available Water | X | XX | XX | XX | XX | | X | X | X | | | |
| Available Grass | X | XX | XX X | XX X | XX X | X | XX | X | | | | |
| Crop Residue | | | | | XX | XX | XX | X | X | X | X | |
| Fodder Trees | | | | | | X | XX | XX | XX | XX | XX | XX |
| Farming | X | X | XX | | | | | | | X | XX | XX |
| Women's Workload | X | X | XX | XX | XX | XX | XX | XX | X | XX | XX | XX |
| Men's Workload | X | X | XX | | | | | | | X | X | X |

One example is the assistance men now provide to women in collecting fuelwood and water. When there are shortages some men now take a camel or donkey to distant forests or rivers to collect what is needed. This would have been unheard of in the past, as a man who helped in this way would have been looked down upon. One reason behind such a drastic change is various development interventions that have raised the issue of gender equity and explained to men how they can help to share the burden on their wives.

According to these seasonal calendars, different activities are carried out in different seasons based on the available resources. This includes income generating activities. During the rainy season, for instance, there is a surplus of milk (and butter) in many households and women are able to make a small

income. However, during the dry season livestock products are not in abundance due to the shortage of water and pasture. At these times charcoal production and selling becomes the most important income generation activity in many areas and in particular Hassoba, Sabure, Gelcha, Meddo, Medecho and Dhas because of their proximity to Awash and Metehara in Afar, while the same is true also for many parts of Borana.

It is clear from these observations that women maintain a very heavy workload throughout the year undertaking reproductive and productive activities around the household. As a result they have far fewer options to explore alternative income generating activities than men. This is compounded by their relatively lower economic status in both Afar and Boran societies. Men are able to control the income from livestock, which represents the largest household revenue. Women control livestock products, which represent a smaller but more regular household income. In addition men have greater mobility and therefore can access other income generating activities more easily.

While women have very limited income generating options those that they can access are generally low return activities such as fuelwood collection. Men however mainly undertake activities such as charcoal production although it was found that a very small number of women also sell charcoal around Dire, Metahara, Moyale and Hagere Mariam in Borana. Despite these restrictions alternative income generating activities are increasing. Some of these activities are listed in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4 Income Generating Activities in Afar and Borana

| Afar | | | | Borana | | |
|-------------|--------------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------------|---------------|
| Amibara | Fentale | Dalifage | Elidaar | Moyale | Dire | Dugde-Dawa |
| Livestock | Livestock | Livestock | Livestock | Charcoal | Petty Trade | Petty Trade |
| Milk/Butter | Milk/Butter | Milk/Butter | Handicrafts | Fuelwood | Beverages & Alcohol | Casual Labour |
| Petty Trade | Petty Trade | Petty Trade | Petty Trade | Casual Labour | Casual Labour | Beekeeping |
| Farming | Farming | | | Livestock | Khat | Farming |
| | Wild Fruits | | | Milk/Butter | Salt Mining | Milk/Butter |
| | Charcoal | | | Farming | Small Ruminants | |
| | Fuelwood | | | Petty Trade | Broker | |
| | Grass | | | | Water | |
| | Labouring on sugar plantations | | | | | |

By making savings and credit facilities available many of these income generating activities can be expanded and diversified. Crucially if they are targeted towards marginalised groups they can make available the capital and skills that hinder livelihood diversification for many pastoralists. However, if women are to be involved then interventions need to understand the restrictions on women's roles and understand the impact that such interventions might have on gender relations.

3.3 Savings & Credit Interventions

So far efforts have been made by the NGOs within the PLI-ENABLE consortium (CARE Awash, Afar Pastoral Development Association (APDA), FARM AFRICA, Action for Development (AFD) and CARE Borana) to support the pastoralists in diversifying their income through women's savings and credit schemes including livestock marketing and processing groups. In Borana in particular much of this support has been based on lessons learnt and the experiences of GL-CRSP PARIMA who have been supporting savings and credit interventions very successfully for some years – see Box 3.5

Organising pastoralists into savings and credit schemes has been used as an approach to diversify incomes through engaging them in commercial business. Special attention has also been given to women's empowerment by improving their income status by helping them to engage in the more profitable, sustainable and effective business sector. Accordingly CARE Awash, APDA, FARM Africa, CARE Borana and AFD in collaboration with the co-operative offices of their respective *woreda* (and learning from GL-CRSP PARIMA) have been able to offer various opportunities to women and men by providing savings and credit. Its aim is to enhance the saving culture of the group members and to provide financial assistance. Further, to facilitate the provision of credit services to the members from the group and help them to run their own business individually or in groups.

Micro-enterprise development has been seen as a particularly important development intervention for women because of their existing high level of participation in the small scale sector. This is due to the flexibility of the businesses they run and location of the businesses near their homes. Such support is greatly appreciated by the group members who have learnt to manage finances more efficiently. This has had a positive effect on poverty alleviation and gender inequality through the expansion of women's employment and stimulation of the local economy in general.

Savings and credit interventions such as these have tended to mainly focus on livestock marketing as a means to stabilise the pastoral economy. Under great pressure most pastoral households will sell their animals when there is an immediate need for money. Sometimes women are involved in selling small stock but in general it is men who market most livestock. Marketing livestock for more commercial interests, while not a new phenomenon, is far from the norm.

Box 3.5 Improving Savings & Credit Development in Borana

In Borana a programme led by GL-CRSP PARIMA has aimed to improve the environment of savings and credit development. Communities were first given capacity building through a combination of non-formal education to improve literacy in Afan Oromo, arithmetic skills to the first grade level as well as speciality training in the management of savings and credit associations, micro-enterprise development and group leadership skills. Participants were then encouraged to create personal or group business plans and embark on small scale entrepreneurial activities using loans from their newly formed savings and credit association. Though both men and women have been involved, women have emerged as the most innovative leaders. As of April 2005 there were ten community pilot projects that incorporated 59 savings and credit groups overall.

The repayment rate across 109 loans disbursements has been 100 per cent with a total accumulation value of ETB 1.7 million (about USD 200,000). The savings and credit groups provide the core organisational unit for livestock marketing. As the community pilot projects flourished it was decided to assist the communities to more fully explore development options like livestock marketing. For example members were taken on a study tour to see export abattoirs, tanneries and the LFMD. They were helped to understand the marketing chain. Further, policy makers and owners or managers of livestock export enterprises were taken to the Borana plateau and discussions held with the producers: the pastoralists. Support and linkages with markets were established. All of the ten pastoral groups and the cooperative appear to have been capable managers of their small ruminant trading activities. Over 25,000 head of goats and sheep were sold over 12-18 months to two of the exporters. Three of the savings and credit groups managed largely by women were among the top performers overall. But the cooperative was the highest achiever.

However, the pastoral savings and credit groups and the cooperative were not able to bargain for higher prices and they had to accept what the major buyers offered. The need for local traders and pastoral groups to organise themselves into a larger marketing association or cooperative union was evident. This move could give them a better negotiating position. Today these groups want to widen their business horizons outside of livestock. All have plans to use their revenues to establish new, non-livestock enterprises that can allow them to further diversify their livelihoods. Various savings and credit groups want to graduate into formally recognised livestock marketing cooperatives and later into a cooperative union, so they can expand their market share and raise their involvement in directly supplying the export market. Growth will not be without problems, however the future looks promising for the groups.

Source: Solomon et al 2006

However, even if more households did want to market livestock the vast majority are unable to secure sufficient capital and it is therefore only a few rich men who are able to take advantage. Therefore organising livestock marketing groups has been one of the interventions carried out by PLI-ENABLE geographical partners in Afar and Borana. The aim has been to assist pastoralists to systematically enter the livestock business and to profit from the main assets and resources of the economy. It has also aimed to open up these opportunities to poor and otherwise marginalised pastoral groups, including women, who previously would have been unable to participate.

As recent studies on pastoral livelihoods have begun to acknowledge, and as our activity profile in Table 3.1 confirms, both women and men in Afar and Borana are involved in livestock management (Hodgson 2000). Women's roles in processing and marketing livestock products led the PLI-ENABLE partners to provide training on milk processing and also improved butter making. However, for many households the reduction in grazing land and water means that there is rarely a surplus to market and as a result it was decided not to provide improved churning equipment. Further it has proved difficult to get many pastoralists to sell milk even when a surplus is available (though some do go from hut to hut selling milk with butter or 'ghee' and other goods, and some women travel as far as Djibouti to sell the 'ghee'). In local towns people tend to drink powdered milk. This clearly suggests that livestock product processing interventions need to be included in a wider programme of rangeland improvement otherwise it will prove to be entirely futile.

Box 3.6 PLI-ENABLE Support to Savings & Credit Schemes

To encourage women to form groups in order to empower them and promote greater gender equality the PLI-ENABLE intervention provided the following support to groups/cooperatives:

- Training on some income generating activities like petty trading
- Technical assistance to register as a legal cooperative with the relevant cooperative office of the regional government
- Training on handicraft production and accessing markets
- Training on business management, bookkeeping and accounting
- Technical support in running businesses and sustaining groups/cooperatives, which has been provided by the regional government

However, despite the role of women in livestock management the PLI-ENABLE intervention recognised men as the buyers and sellers of most animals and in particular cattle and camels. Customarily women are normally prohibited from selling these animals. Even women who head their own households are forced to sell their livestock through a male relative. Because of these factors in nearly all the project assessment areas men have been targeted for livestock marketing interventions as it was felt that they would be more effective than women. The only exception to this that we found was a small number of women who had joined a group in Fincha *woreda* of Borana.

Many women complained about their exclusion from these opportunities especially as they believe that livestock marketing is much more profitable than the petty trading that had been targeted towards them. They felt that the customary roles of men should not block their access particularly as this was an intervention coming from outside the community. In general they saw no reason why they could not be successful buying and selling livestock given the right assistance and from the experiences of Somali women described in Chapter 2 and Volume I of this series, they are likely to be correct. For those groups that were exclusively male they also faced problems due to a shortage of capital and limited market access, which means that most of them are not as active as they would have liked to have been.

3.4 Impacts on Livelihoods & Gender

Interventions targeting income generation for women should be seen as a process whereby they can attain gradual control over resources through the managing, financing and marketing of goods and services. In this regard PLI-ENABLE partners attempted a number of strategies. CARE Awash, CARE Borana and APDA reinforced already established women's groups while AFD and FARM Africa established new cooperatives and groups. FARM Africa also further reinforced groups that it had established previously. All partners work with the relevant government offices to encourage sustainability. Through these interventions it can be seen clearly that the savings and credit component of the PLI-ENABLE project has many benefits.

Women have been able to generate their own additional household incomes through, for example, handicraft production in Suula, trading activities in Dalifage and farming in Meddo. This has helped pastoral households to stabilise their incomes by making available alternative incomes to women (see Box 3.7). For most pastoral households the need for external incomes is seasonal and so activities such as these minimise the possibility of having to sell livestock assets when the market price is unfavourable. They also allow women to build their own capacity through group training in financial and business management.

Box 3.7 Making Savings & Credit work in Fentale Woreda, Gelcha Kebele, Oromiya

Momina Mussa, 23, has a son and a daughter. She is married and never went to school. She is engaged in livestock husbandry and agriculture including growing maize, tomatoes and onions. Momina and her friends sell their products to merchants who collect the harvest from their villages. Momina's family assist her and the only challenges she has faced are the reduction of irrigation water when the canal is closed during clearing and the loss of onions due to disease.

Momina received credit from the Chala Women's Savings & Credit Group and before this she borrowed money from neighbours. She received training through the scheme and provides advice to other women. Her husband is literate and assists her – she knows how to count notes. Through the group she received two loans of ETB 90 and 100. She spent the ETB 90 on expanding her agri-business and bought a sheep from the second round of credit. She has paid her loans back with an interest rate of 3 Birr. From last year's harvest, Momina used the maize for household consumption and sold the onions for ETB 1000. She saved some for her monthly contribution to the credit scheme and bought a goat for ETB 80. Both she and her husband discuss her investments. She saves ETB 2 every 15 days, which is deposited in their bank account.

The group has 20 members including one man whose wife left and he replaced her. It was established two years earlier under the support of CARE Awash. Every member paid ETB 5 as a registration fee and to purchase a cash box. Credit is provided to members for trading as well as covering basic needs. At the time there was no problem in joining the group, however now they do not accept any more new members. The group monitors its progress and makes checks on its balance twice in a month before every regular meeting. When half the members are in attendance, the cash box is opened for a check in front of the members.

In the future, the group has plans to buy a water pump and produce onions on common land they have access to, having contributed ETB 50 each amounting to ETB 1,000. Care Awash has proposed to buy them a water pump and for the group to repay the money on a credit basis. The group has regularly attended trainings held by CARE Awash as well as FARM Africa on mobile emergency slaughtering and dry meat preparation, basic record keeping and business management as well as small ruminant management.

Momina has saved ETB 106 and serves the group as cashier. She wants their group to attain cooperative status to reap further opportunities to better expand their businesses and improve women's livelihoods. Though her workload has increased as a result of her involvement she accepts it believing that in the end it will bring prosperity and a better tomorrow.

Specifically, the savings and credit interventions of the PLI-ENABLE project have allowed pastoral households in Afar and Borana to pay for expenses such as schooling and healthcare. Indeed some have suggested that micro-credit should not be confined to income generating activities, but can be more popular as loans for consumption or covering particular social responsibilities (such as paying for weddings or funerals). Using credit means that borrowers do not have to sell assets upon which their future livelihoods depend (Alemu Tessema 2006). The savings culture amongst pastoralists has also begun to shift away from buying livestock, which are becoming increasingly susceptible to risks, to investing in other businesses.

As the capacity of group members, particularly women, grows they have been encouraged to start businesses on their own such as petty trading and small ruminant marketing. This has promoted greater gender equality and opened up other opportunities to women, as the two testimonies from male community members show in Boxes 3.8 and 3.9. Indeed increasingly men are accepting that the women in their households can play an active and successful role in income generation (ibid).

Box 3.8 Obbo Jilo Dida Gufu, a PA Committee Member of Meddo.

At this time I am completely dependent on my wife, she is now running a small business. She buys and sells different items like sugar, tea, soap, cigarettes, soft drinks, beer, khat and the like. She buys these things from the markets at Moyale and Tuqa. While she is busy working I take care of our two babies at home. Sometimes, I prepare food for them, fetch water and even clean the house. I also run her business until she comes back home and takes over again. With the money she earns from the business, she covers all the expenses of our family and we have even bought a few goats and a young heifer, which we never had before in all our seven years of marriage. We have also started to construct a house in the centre of the PA and we have a plan to expand our shop when we finish it. At this time my wife is not only the mother of my children but also she is my means of existence. Having seen our experiences, many men have followed our lead and made their life better and easier rather than depend only on livestock rearing and farming.

However, while there are many success stories a number of challenges still exist that hinder the effectiveness of savings and credit groups. In all the groups surveyed illiteracy of women in the executive committees is seen as the main cause of corruption. In some groups this was made worse by distrust between group members based on differences in religion or ethnicity. One specific problem that emerged in Dalifage was the refusal of the predominantly Muslim population to buy items from a shop run by a women's cooperative that had been financed by Christian Aid.

Box 3.9 Obbo Molu Wario a 35 Year Old Resident of Dhas PA

Ten years ago I was a student in Mega Town but the drought of 1999/2000 killed all of my parent's livestock and they were unable to support me anymore. I returned to my village and found that my parents had only ETB 60 left. One day I was sitting under an Acacia tree trying to decide what to do and I came to the decision to start trading khat with the money that we had left. My father didn't like this idea but I went to Mega anyway and bought khat for ETB 50. When I got home I sold it for ETB 85. After about six months I had built up a capital of over ETB 1000 and felt confident in the business.

A few years later, in 2003, I got married and my wife joined a savings and credit group in Nega Kayain Dhas PA. We decided to change our business and we built a two room house in the village. In one room we started to sell tea, coffee and bread, which proved very profitable and we were able to improve our lifestyle considerably. We bought a milking cow, some goats as well as some other investments. These days we have a business capital of around ETB 15,000. We are no longer poor and are always looking out for other opportunities.

Limited capital has also meant that many group members have been unable to receive credit services. There continues to be a lack of business knowledge particularly among the Afar, which is made worse by a general shortage of market information that makes investments extremely difficult. In part this is due to there being few market centres in either Afar or Borana leaving pastoralists isolated. In Dalifage this also means that the Afar are also forced to sell their livestock in Diwe, which brings them into conflict with the Oromo.

Further the lack of harmonisation between the PLI-ENABLE partners has been somewhat confusing and disabling, including for community beneficiaries and local government offices. Though in some intervention areas the repayment of loans has been 100 per cent (Alemu Tessema 2006) some of the partners have been more vigilant than others in ensuring that the seed money provided is a grant and not a gift. Common methods to encourage payment on time include the chasing up of payments through mechanisms such as peer pressure and encouraging the establishment of mirror groups (to which the original loan is passed when paid back). Further the amount of the grants given to groups has ranged from ETB 13,000 (for a group sized 20-35) to ETB 20,000 (for a group sized 5-8 providing an excessive ETB 3,000 each).

Some of the partners provide a higher degree of training than others. Further the level of working with government partners is not consistent. There is a difference of opinion on the optimum size of the group: one NGO suggests 10-20 and another argues that 20-35 is better. There is also a difference of opinion on whether grants should be given for a specific business or activity or left to the discretion of the grantee. Some also argue that groups should only focus on one

commodity rather than a mixed enterprise. Additionally none of the NGOs have established or used implementation guidelines specifically designed for the intervention and one NGO has carried out little/no monitoring of the support or evaluation of the impact. In general there is a lack of consistency in approaching credit and savings interventions with a business approach and losses are too easily accepted. As a result, as a study assessing two of the partners and their interventions concluded, “*the groups are weak with respect to self reliance...namely portfolio financing and donor dependency*” (Alemu Tessema 2006: 7).

Having said this the partners are trying to better harmonise the interventions. For example it has now been agreed that ETB 2000 should be the maximum individual grant with an extra 10 per cent raised by the community themselves. All grants should be promoted as revolving funds unless money has been requested for a specific community infrastructure project. Further implementation guidelines are under production.

3.5 Recommendations

Women have benefited greatly from some of the savings and credit initiatives discussed above. Direct positive impacts on food security and nutrition have been found and where income is earned on a steady basis it tends to be more beneficial than lump sums. In addition to improving livelihoods they have also increased awareness on the importance of diversifying livelihoods and the roles that women can play in household security. Further when women control the income there are said to be more positive impacts.

However, they continue to remain marginalised when it comes to marketing livestock, which represent the principle asset in most Afar and Boran households. Unfortunately men still seem to be recognised as livestock owners and managers despite the clear and demonstrated role that women play. Women are often identified as better managers of household income than men and are more likely to spend income on their families' needs such as clothing and education. As we have tried to show it is more challenging to involve women in savings and credit schemes due to their already heavy workload but the benefits of doing so are improved household security as well as greater gender equity.

In addition, much more work needs to be done to increase the capacity of group members as this has been seen to hinder their success in business. Informal education for at least those who sit on the executive committee is vital to increase their confidence and mitigate against corruption. Interventions need to be long term to offer technical advice and help identify future income generation activities that are difficult for pastoralists in a local setting to see. Greater assistance is also needed in the lengthy legalisation process that establishes the group as a recognised cooperative.

It is clear that providing financial assistance on its own is not enough to diversify pastoral livelihoods. In both Afar and Borana market integration is poor. Without up-to-date pricing and access to market infrastructure businesses will always be susceptible. While physical infrastructure is expensive and difficult to justify in remote regions a number of other innovative options have been suggested. For instance mobile phone coverage has begun to expand into Ethiopia's pastoral regions, which can offer coordinated market information to villages along with the Internet and WorldSpace Radio. Organised into groups, this technology is affordable and reliable (Jama et al 2004).

Despite this, in general those pastoralists who were able to access financial capital through savings and credit schemes have been able to establish their own small businesses and improve their livelihoods. However, this number remains small and judging by their successes projects such as these could be further expanded in both Afar and Borana. Indeed the study carried out by Alemu Tessema (2006) in Afar and Oromiya as part of the GAPP concluded that “*the demand for credit amongst the poor is infinite*”.

4

*Handicraft Production in Somali, Afar & South Omo
Kassaw Asmare, Sead Oumer & Zahra Ali***4.1 Introduction**

Making and selling crafts such as baskets, bags, mats and leather goods represents one of the diverse livelihood strategies of pastoral women and men in Ethiopia. Though more commonly produced for use within the household and as part of cultural identity and traditions, increasingly the opportunities and benefits of selling crafts are being realised. Not only a supplement to the pastoral economy these items offer an opportunity to create value from natural resources that, if sustainably managed (either communally or individually), could provide incentives for conserving them.

Making handicrafts reflects gender differences between women and men as well as their different roles and responsibilities within the household and community. Men tend to make more crafts from wood and leather, reflecting their closer relationship with these two resources, and women from grass and plant material that are freely and readily available to them. Men often make items that are linked to protecting the family such as knives and spears, or wooden implements that they might use within agricultural activities. Women make items that are commonly used in the household or are used as adornments such as jewellery and clothing. However, it is more common to find women producing crafts for sale, their entrepreneurial spirit together with guidance from NGOs and government projects awakening them to the opportunities that exist to raise money increasingly needed to purchase items for the household. Additionally in some parts of Ethiopia a growing tourism industry has further opened up markets for such goods.

This chapter will describe assessments of handicraft production carried out in Somali and Afar Regions as well as South Omo Zone in SNNPR as part of the GAPP. The assessments were carried out with NGO and government partners and worked with community members to better understand their constraints and challenges, why they exist and how to overcome them.

4.2 Reflecting Culture & Pride

'Handicrafts' refer here to those marketable products produced by pastoral people that utilise natural (and increasingly non-natural) materials and draw on local heritage and culture. Each society has its own handicrafts depicting social, economical and environmental circumstances. Colours, styles and motifs all carry unique features portraying the culture of pastoral and agro-pastoral life and builds on people's indigenous skills. These products are made by hand often with the use

of simple tools. They are created on a small scale within the household and little mass production takes place.

These items have begun to take on greater economic importance but they also serve to promote the cultural values of their producers. Those that make handicrafts are representing their own communities in the carvings and designs that they create. Pastoral crafts are both beautiful and contain many symbolic representations that convey the cultural beliefs of those that make them. The value of preserving, promoting and invigorating cultural heritage and pride should not be underestimated and provides ample justification to support these practices irrespective of economic incentive.

4.3 Utilising & Managing Natural Resources

Handicrafts are made using local knowledge, skills and creativity, which draw on the surrounding environment for their materials and inspiration. Many Non-Timber Forest Products (NTFP) including grasses, reeds, gourds, palm leaves and tree bark are worked to make mats, baskets and bowls (see Box 4.1). Animal hides are cured and cut to make clothing, pouches and water containers. Soils and sediments are used to make and colour pottery. Shells, metal and plastic beads, needles and dyes are purchased at local markets and used to decorate the finished crafts before they are ready to be sold or traded with neighbours or tourists.

Box 4.1 Income Generation from 'Aunga'

Pastoralist women in Elidaar, in northern Afar Region, have managed to generate income from the sale of handicrafts processed out of the 'aunga' used for roofing or sleeping mats. The palm is also used for food and as medication for joint pain. Making mats from aunga has been a traditional day-to-day activity for Afar women. Now, through a capacity building programme provided by Afar Pastoral Development Association (APDA), the women have organised themselves into groups so that they can process, dye, decorate and then sell palm tree leaves to the local market. Though in the past women would collect the palm themselves, as the resource has reduced women have started buying it from other sources. A bundle of unprocessed palms bought for ETB 6 can be sold for ETB 10. They have plans to develop this market and even to sell to tourists in Ethiopia's capital, Addis Ababa. This will be extremely challenging as transport and communication linkages are very poor and the women lack the necessary knowledge and skills to market the goods. Some training and exchange of skills has been provided by women from neighbouring Djibouti and local NGOs will continue to assist them.

As many of these materials do not need to be purchased producing handicrafts can be done with little capital investment, which is unlike most business options open to pastoral communities. In all of the study sites these environmental

resources are held as common property that can be accessed and used in a sustainable way by most members of the society. Women in particular have greater access rights to these resources than they do over livestock for example, which makes handicraft production particularly suitable for them.

Crucially, all of these natural resources can be harvested in sustainable ways that do not harm the natural resource base unlike charcoal production and other emerging livelihoods. However, this needs management and controls over use – without these the natural resources can equally be exploited to destruction. And indeed in Afar, for example, the unsustainable use of palm trees described in Box 4.1 has threatened the resource to such a degree that many women have to purchase palms from elsewhere. In many cases customary forest and resource management regimes have been eroded in recent years, which have led to increased resource degradation. Many trees that would traditionally be used for handicraft production such as *Haegenia Abyssinia* are now protected by government legislation. It would be hoped that by increasing the value of environmental resources in this way would help to secure their conservation through more sustainable use.

4.4 Division of Labour

Both women and men produce crafts although there seems to be a clear division of labour when working with different materials (Suich & Murphy 2002). Women weave mats and basketry, which is very popular in Afar and Somali Regions, while men are usually involved in woodcarving. Unlike in the Ethiopian highlands pottery is not common with pastoralists although the Mursi make lip-plates, popular with tourists, from clay as well as wood. Clay lip-plates, of which there are a number of styles, are generally made by women while wooden ones are made only by men although these are becoming less common (LaTosky 2006).

Many of the crafts that we found for sale were quite elaborate and take a considerable amount of time to make from beginning to end. However, women are able to contribute their labour when time is available and are able to pick up, put down and restart when they have a spare moment. Further such activities can be combined with childcare or while supervising cooking duties etc. Where more intensive production has begun, women (and men) have been organised into cooperatives pooling their resources and time. However, due to the individual production techniques that are normally practiced consistency as well as quality varies from one piece to the next.

4.5 Alternative Livelihoods

As described in other chapters in this volume, there are many pressures on pastoralists to diversify their livelihoods beyond a reliance on livestock. One Afar elder put it:

Now we do not have the strength our forefathers had. We are severely hit with drought. Our livestock are not productive. We are really hurt. Previously, we had milk to drink and meat to eat. Now we only have porridge and Hashera (a drink made of coffee husks).

Turning customary skills and resources into products for sale is one of a number of emerging income generating activities that are supplementing pastoral livelihoods. Handicraft production usually does not provide high returns, and therefore men tend to leave such 'menial' work to women with other labour intensive low return income generating activities such as fuelwood collection and sale.

However, high prices can be gained for handicrafts made with obvious skill and quality materials. For example in Ethiopia one only has to travel to Harar to find baskets selling for between ETB 100-500 or more. The production of some crafts, such as intricate milk carrying containers that are highly decorated and form a central part of a girl's possessions that she makes before getting married and moving to her husband's home, are highly labour intensive and as such should demand a high price. The challenge is persuading people to pay what it is worth.

4.6 Finding Markets

But the greatest challenge for the development of handicraft businesses is accessing markets, particularly markets that receive a constant flow of buyers who are willing to pay the 'true' value for a craft that reflects the skills, labour and effort that have gone into making it. Although in Addis Ababa one can expect to find people who are willing to purchase handicrafts, outside the city it is much more difficult and along regular tourist routes the marketing of handicrafts has been poorly developed. Even in South Omo where one can find the most developed of markets selling handicrafts to tourists, marketing in general is still a major problem for producers (see following section).

Further there are few traders dealing in pastoral handicrafts beyond those who might buy cultural items from individuals to sell at inflated prices in Addis Ababa. There is no networking or central places that sell 'pastoral goods' – combined with an education centre perhaps. Indeed, there is no effort to educate the buyer about the area from where the item came from, what it means culturally, why it was made and who made it – something that is often found in countries with more developed handicraft enterprises such as Namibia, South Africa or Kenya. Knowing this information provides an incentive for the buyer to make a purchase, being able to make a connection (albeit a distanced one) with the producer and anticipate that their purchase will have a direct positive benefit for her/him.

As such, outside the cities producers must rely on local markets for their goods. Here local buyers of handicrafts are far fewer. For example in Somali Region, it is

only newlyweds who buy crafts to decorate their houses. Further as with all markets often 'outside' influences beyond the control of local communities, can have an impact. For example, Afar women in Elidaar Town have been unable to sell handicrafts in the town since the closure of the Awash-Assab Road from the early 1990s due to conflicts between Ethiopia and Eritrea. Today their only option is to try to send crafts to markets at Aysaita or Logia, around 150km away, which adds transportation costs making it less profitable. This also passes the control of sale onto middlemen/women.

4.7 Tourism Opening Markets

Though by no means fully developed, one increasing market is that brought by tourism. Tourism in Ethiopia is an ever-growing industry, as long as the relative security and peace in the country continues. At present tourism in Ethiopia's pastoral areas benefit the local populations in only very limited ways with most revenues from transport, accommodation and so on flowing to local or international tour agencies. Developing incomes from culture and heritage including handicraft production therefore offers one of the few ways that pastoralists can profit from tourism in the present circumstances. In addition targeting women's livelihoods including handicraft production is widely acknowledged as a direct way of reducing poverty (Suich & Murphy 2002).

To date the most developed pastoral area for tourism is South Omo where over 200,000 visitors travelled in 2005/06. Spending only two or three days in the area, most tourists want to see the different ethnic groups, take some photos, make a purchase as a memento and then leave. Local women in particular have been quick to see the opportunities of this and have set up various small outlets selling local handicrafts and cultural items.

Research by the GAPP among the Hamar community around the small market town of Turmi in South Omo revealed that local men and women have increased their handicraft production greatly to fulfil the growing market from tourists: Turmi and nearby Dimeka being favourite stopping places for tour groups. Most tourists will purchase at least one item from the community(s) they visit. Mursi lip-plates and Hamar *berkota* (stool/headrest) are some of the most popular items that tourists buy. Most handicraft sellers are able to earn much higher prices from foreigners than they do locals, which can make the business very profitable although it remains seasonal.

Indeed there are only so many crafts that tourists will buy and it will not be long before the market is fully saturated. Large numbers of foreign visitors have only begun to arrive in this area in the last five years and restrict themselves to a very small number of locations. With its campsites and small hotels Turmi is one of them. For the Hamar who live in walking distance this has provided chances to sell handicrafts but for those further away there are simply no tourists.

For those that can access tourists the rewards are high. One widowed woman with seven children reported that she earns between ETB 200 and 500 per week from buying crafts and reselling them. In Dimeka, an unmarried girl can make up to ETB 600 in a single market day from handicrafts and photographs. These are huge sums of money in the pastoral economy and can have a significant impact on livelihoods allowing the women to purchase grain for the household, livestock, clothing and other necessities. However, many reported that at some times of the year there are no tourists and therefore no one to sell handicrafts to.

Some communities have been extremely innovative and perhaps some might suggest a little too aggressive in their selling of crafts and 'photos'. Taking photos of local people in South Omo is not possible without paying at least '1 Birr' and often more. Often as soon as a tour group has been sighted on the road, local groups will throw on their 'traditional' (and sometimes not so traditional) attire to look the most decorative and attract the tourists to take a photo. And in Mursiland some villages literally block the tourists in the village with a barrier until they have taken their photos and bought their lip-plate! Though some might see this to be acceptable aggressive marketing, many tourists do find it too much and would prefer a more subtle approach: a balance needs to be worked out and a more harmonious relationship developed between the tour operators, guides, tourists and communities.

One exception to this trend is the South Omo Research Centre (SORC) based in Jinka. While this is primarily a research facility it also houses a small museum and is on the itinerary of most tour groups. The centre displays and sells a number of handicrafts from the different pastoral and agro-pastoral peoples including the Hamar, Mursi, Nyangatom and Dassenatch. Tourists can talk to the knowledgeable students or representatives from the local communities who work in the museum. Videos and a resource centre are also available. The selection of crafts for sale is of high quality pieces priced for the tourist market and offers a model for other regions.

4.8 Lack of Business Skills

Though in South Omo the local communities are very aware of the opportunities that tourism has presented and have developed profit making businesses as a result, in general pastoralists lack adequate business and marketing skills that would allow their businesses to grow from a very small 'petty' business to a commercial enterprise. Having said that, whilst the business is small women tend to be able to keep control of it and enjoy the flexibility it provides. Once a business becomes bigger and more profitable it may be that their husbands might want to take control of it or at the very least have a stake in it, whilst commitment of time and labour is likely to increase.

Additionally the consistency of products is extremely varied and often the quality of the handicrafts is poor and certainly not up to a standard that a tourist, for example, would want to buy. For instance, increasingly plastic is being used within some products, whereas natural materials may often be preferred. Very bright and gaudy colours and trimmings may be used whereas natural dyes and subtle, more 'traditional', decoration would be more suitable. Often designs are not symmetrical, baskets are badly finished off and it is common that the finished product is grubby, even dirty, as little care has been taken in its making (perhaps with dirty hands) nor its storage. If handicrafts as a business are to really take off, then a certain quality must be reached and maintained, and those making the products must understand this and know how to obtain it.

4.9 Development Interventions

One reason for this lack of consistency and quality can be blamed on poorly administered and designed development interventions that have provided large financial backing to small producers to cover the costs of raw materials so that handicrafts can be made. However throwing money at communities without properly considering the quality of the crafts and the issues of markets and marketing will achieve nothing. This can be clearly seen in Somali Region where a number of small handicraft organisations have been provided with funding to produce crafts, which have piled up and up as more money has been given, yet few sales are being made. Further in Afar, one local NGO has provided 'gifts' of ETB 3000 to women to produce handicrafts, yet there are no sustainable local markets and the crafts (mainly mats) are not being sold. This is no way to introduce a sense of business to pastoralists, nor how to develop a sustainable business.

However, support is needed by the women, men and groups who do want to develop businesses including those that can be developed through the production and marketing of handicrafts. And indeed there are many opportunities for this development. If one looks to countries such as Kenya and South Africa their indigenous handicraft business is enormous, and though Ethiopia is yet to experience the numbers of tourists that these countries see, the opportunities for selling handicrafts, good quality handicrafts, is growing.

Indeed it is normally the case that local communities are not able to access adequate markets without assistance from 'outsiders' be they academics, NGO projects, local Cooperative or Women's Affairs offices, or tour operators. As one Afar elder explained:

Even if we die, our children remain here. But we have nothing to give them to live on. We expect your help, your ideas that bring change to our livelihoods.

Interventions to date have included the provision of materials and market outlets, assisted in the development or establishment of groups or cooperatives, improved existing skills and technologies as well as small business training. Many existing skills are being promoted alongside new techniques and materials by NGOs in both Afar and Somali Regions. However, it should be noted that no NGOs have intervened in handicraft production in South Omo, which as we have seen has become successful on its own thanks to the growing numbers of tourists. Likewise in Borana no handicraft interventions have so far taken place though here handicraft making for sale is not common.

In Afar APDA has promoted the production of new items like purses using introduced materials such as plastic beads. Using new materials reduces the dependence on environmental resources that may be scarce although as has been noted the use of non-natural materials may make the product less marketable. Such changes also risk establishing a dependence on NGOs to supply materials that are not always readily available locally. Training in using the new materials must be given and it is difficult to transfer all the requisite skills in a single session, which requires follow-up activities.

In Somali Region Oxfam GB as part of its cooperative formation has also organised women into handicraft groups. The Halgan Cooperative based in Harshin has been very successful in working together and taking up the new skills they have learnt to produce an array of different handicrafts. Another organisation that produces crafts in the area is SOWSHA who received support from a small charity in Addis Ababa. SOWSHA produce many items that could not only provide an income for its members, but also carry messages on the crafts (pillowcases, soap, bowls etc.) against the practice of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). However both groups struggle to work as an active business because the quality of the goods is not high, there are very few local markets and they are unable to access markets further a field. As such neither of these enterprises can be sustainable without continuing support from their donors.

4.10 Support from GAPP

As part of SOS Sahel GAPP's action research programme in Somali Region, we have tried to expose and educate the women to help them to understand the constraints and challenges that they face, why they exist and possible ways to overcome them. A learning visit was arranged for members of both SOWSHA and the Halgan Cooperative to visit Harar and Addis Ababa to see how crafts are produced and sold there. This included a visit to the Ethiopian Women's Handicraft Promotion Centre and other market outlets.

This visit helped the women realise that they need to improve the quality of their handicrafts if they are to access outlets such as the Handicraft Promotion Centre. They realised that this would not be easy and there was very strong competition

between the suppliers of handicrafts to the larger markets especially in Addis Ababa and pastoralist producers have to satisfy customers' needs and demands to be competitive in such markets. Further they saw that they needed to improve their skills in business planning, marketing, entrepreneurship, record keeping and financial management and requested us to further assist them.

As a result in July 2007 as an initial step in this process of assistance, SOS Sahel GAPP organised a Women's Training Forum in Fentale, Awash. This forum not only brought the women's groups from Somali Region, but also groups from Afar, Borana and South Omo to receive training in income generation development, basic business and accounting skills, handicraft improvement and marketing. Trainers came from our own staff as well as from the Ethiopian Women's Handicraft Promotion Centre and SAK Consulting (a group experienced in providing basic training on accounting and business including to non-literates). The Forum proved highly successful bringing together around 70 women who not only learnt new skills but exchanged ideas and began developing a more collaborative approach. The GAPP hopes to continue supporting these groups in the future.

4.11 Gender Issues to Consider

As discussed, women are the principle producers of handicrafts (particularly for sale) with men playing supporting roles. In Afar, for example, men cut-and-carry palm leaves from distant places and deliver them to their wives who weave them into the mats and other items they produce. In some specialisations, such as woodwork, men take the lead but this seems to be more unusual. The income (albeit often small) that handicraft businesses have allowed women to earn has increased their status in society and provided them with opportunities to have greater control over revenues than from other pastoral products.

However, as handicraft production grows there are likely to be impacts on gender relations including those related to livelihood dynamics and resource use. For example, as mentioned before it may be that as businesses grow men may be more interested in getting involved and ensuring that they are also reaping the benefits. Further any increased income into a household tends to have impacts, some negative some positive. For example it may mean that a household can now afford to send both children to school not just one.

There may also be changes in relation to the resource being used. Unless sustainably managed a resource may decline with use, as a result an alternative may have to be found or a different source. This has implications for access and property rights. Natural resources in the rangeland are normally held as common property and women have relatively good access to them unlike in some other aspects of the pastoral economy. However, access rights change due to alterations in the availability of resources brought about by environmental degradation and overuse, which makes it more difficult to find previously plentiful

resources. Access and use rights also change when a resource gains an increased and more widely recognised value through commercialisation. This can lead to the marginalisation of those who previously freely accessed resources including women.

Once raw materials have been collected, women turn them into crafts. Expanding this process can be severely hampered by women's workloads elsewhere in the pastoral economy. Although there are some observable changing trends in the gendered division of labour, women still share a greater workload than men throughout the year. Further, as discussed in Volumes I and III of this series, when pastoralists become more sedentarised women often find their workload increases. In this sense it is not sufficient to target women without also addressing the concerns of men. It is often the case that men's roles in livestock production have diminished leaving them under worked, and therefore perhaps more business enterprises should be directed at them, or they should be encouraged to assist their wives more.

Marketing in general remains the major limiting factor in handicraft-based livelihoods. Again it is mainly women who take up this role but much needs to be done to establish secure and accessible facilities to sell crafts. Generally buying and selling is carried out locally and can be managed by women close to their homes. However, if longer distances need to be travelled, which is increasingly the case, it becomes more difficult for women who may be limited by commitments in the household or be restricted by their husbands.

One would like to hope that revenues from livestock products, petty trading or handicrafts are usually controlled by the women who earn them and that they would normally spend the money on household necessities. However, as we discovered through work with SOWSHA and the Halgan Handicraft Cooperative women are unable to make many independent decisions about the money earned from handicrafts. In general women made joint decisions with their husbands, which in this case helped them to gain experience and benefit from the skills of their spouses, as they had never held this responsibility before. Whether this will develop into more independent control of finances remains to be seen.

4.12 Recommendations

There are many challenges to the development of handicraft businesses in Ethiopia, however there are many opportunities too. Firstly a proper and in depth marketing assessment and value chain analysis needs to be carried out to fully understand what are the challenges, constraints and opportunities for the development of the trade. Realistic and frank conclusions need to be reached in order to identify whether it is worth investing in the development of these businesses, whether there are adequate and sustainable markets 'out there', and how can the isolated pastoralist communities properly and fairly access them. The

full risks of relying on tourist markets should be recognised and evaluated. Opportunities for marketing abroad should be assessed. High-end crafts can be marketed to fairs, galleries and specialist African art distributors, catalogues of the crafts could be developed.

If such an assessment proves positive and a good marketing strategy and value chain established, then the right products for the market need to be identified – preferably those products already being made by pastoralists, but maybe there will be a need to adapt and/or produce new items. Producers will need to be given adequate training in producing these items to a quality that is acceptable and ensure that this remains so. A quality control system would need to be put in place. Most pastoral handicraft producers have a limited knowledge of their market, which could be addressed through exchange visits to major markets in Addis Ababa or even Kenya where the handicraft and/or tourist industry is much better established.

Groups and/or cooperatives will have to be established, developed or strengthened so that women (or men) can work together to access materials, markets, and provide checks on quality etc. Further, formal recognition will help them access credit for example, whilst also increasing their community standing and making them look more professional. Links can be made with organisations such as the Ethiopian Women's Handicraft Promotion Centre and/or other marketing outlets.

Ideally an organisation should work to coordinate this from Addis Ababa or elsewhere. This organisation should help to establish marketing outlets with educational material on the crafts, where they have come from, what is their cultural meaning, who has made them etc. This could take the form of a 'Pastoralist Centre' for example. Using isolated examples like that of SORC some 'best practices' could be developed and demonstrated in different regions. As well as places to display crafts it is also worthwhile to explore the possibility of establishing production centres that tourists could visit. Seeing how crafts are made provides an attraction in itself and can increase contact and understanding between tourist and host. Working together in a group or cooperative also allows women to share knowledge and skills as well as pass on techniques to the younger generation. Making crafts outside the home in a specialised centre means that women are less likely to be distracted by other chores.

Such human and physical capacity building would require significant investment. Lobbying to highlight the centrality of pastoral cultures and environments in Ethiopia's national tourist earnings could help to promote greater interest from regional government offices. Increased benefit sharing from national parks and trophy hunting as well as levying taxes on tour operators can be fed into community funds for those who host foreign visitors. These resources can be used to develop cultural centres that market crafts as well as other tourist

infrastructure. A first step in this process will be the results of a study being carried out by SOS Sahel Ethiopia as an economic valuation of pastoralism - the results of which will be available in November this year.

Development interventions that promote handicraft production in these ways need to be aware of the roles of women and men and the impacts that commercialisation etc. will have on gender relations. In particular a greater understanding of women and men's access and use rights to natural resources, which are the primary source of handicrafts, needs to be gained and rights to resources secured for those who need them. Further an adequate and functioning monitoring of resources needs to take place and their proper and sustainable management put in place. This may need the revitalisation of common property regimes or other controls.

Finally, it is noticeable that development interventions to date have failed to coordinate themselves with other projects in their target areas. Pastoralists are becoming complacent and dependent on grants and loans (not to mention per diems paid for workshop attendance) that are not properly followed up. Producing handicrafts and stockpiling them because there is no market outlet is entirely unsustainable and does not allow pastoralists to develop effective business skills. NGO and government support needs to be carefully thought out and be grounded in business and enterprise thinking: without this the handicraft businesses are not going to survive and make the most of the opportunities that currently exist for them.

5

Emerging Markets for Dryland Resources

Getachew Mamo & Andrew Ridgewell

5.1 Introduction

Pastoral economies are highly diversified and often include a number of specialisations based on natural resources including Non-Timber Forest Products (NTFP). In Ethiopia this includes the collection of products such as gum resins that for centuries have been traded within the Horn of Africa region and far beyond. Sustainable pastoral resource management practices have conserved these resources and many still exist in large quantities and on a renewable basis. Few of these resources have been utilised in a commercial manner though national and international markets exist. As such with thoughtful and effective support these could be sustainably exploited to assist pastoralists diversify their livelihoods further and improve their resilience to many of the pressures facing them today.

Many people believe that by ensuring that natural resources can realise a high monetary value this will not only contribute to people's livelihoods but will also ensure the conservation of the resource, as those who exploit it will do so sustainably to allow for a continued income. However this is not always the case and particularly where those who are using the resource are not able to manage it and protect it from others, then the resource can be overexploited, even destroyed (see Chapter 4 for the overexploitation of palm trees in Afar). In order to avoid this suitable and effective management regimes and controls need to be in place.

Natural resources are considered here as the biological reserve found in both natural and managed areas including forests and rangelands. In this chapter we are interested in those (non-timber) resources that can be developed into commercial business enterprises. The pastoral economy already utilises a number of natural products including gum resins, honey and beeswax as well as fruits and nuts that are used for their aromatic, medicinal or nutritional values and are traded and increasingly, sold. However, while it is widely known that natural resources are important to rural household incomes this does not seem to have been appreciated in recent Ethiopian development plans (Mulugeta et al 2003).

Indeed in Ethiopia the development of pastoral natural resources for a commercial market is very rare, practically non-existent. This chapter focuses on a number of products found in Ethiopia's pastoral regions and reviews their economic potentials. Emphasis is given to how the commercialisation of these products may impact differently on women and men as well as the implications this might have on livelihood diversification and security. One issue that we are

particularly concerned with is the lack of entitlements held by women to access social, physical and financial assets as this has been shown to hinder business development (Marshall et al 2003). Some examples are drawn from SOS Sahel's Borana Collaborative Forest Management Project (BCFMP) in southern Ethiopia and SOS Sahel's Bees Products Development & Trade Promotion Programme.

5.2 Gum Resins & Essential Oils

In many parts of Ethiopia trees of genus *Acacia*, *Boswellia* and *Commiphora* are found that produce gum resins known commonly as frankincense, myrrh and gum arabic. They have a long history of both domestic and international trade from the country. In the local market the Ethiopian Orthodox Church has used and still uses them for ritual purposes while the wider public use them for fumigation and within the traditional coffee ceremony. Pastoralists themselves also burn the gum resins for fumigation and sometimes for certain medicinal purposes. The Afar, for example, use myrrh to seal the wound created from a clitorrectomy (removal of the clitoris). Many pastoralists however collect gum resins mainly to sell, which can account for a large part of household income.

Internationally a variety of industrial processes rely on these products to produce pharmaceuticals, foods and beverages, adhesives and beauty products. Many of these sectors have turned increasingly towards natural products in recent years in line with the growth of the natural health sector in many western countries. Reliable market information on gum resins is lacking and value chains are based mainly on qualitative information. One recent estimate puts Ethiopia's gum resin production potential at 2,577,231 quintals around half of this derived from pastoral areas (Mulugeta & Demel 2003). The current export potentials of these products is also seen as very favourable with a buoyant worldwide demand but a lack of local environmental, human and technical resources (Roukins et al 2005b).

Trees continue to grow wild and no attempts have been made to implement more intensive agricultural systems. Therefore collection must take place over large areas especially as trees tend to be found in inaccessible parts. Depending on local practices trees are either tapped or the gum resins are simply collected where they ooze out of the bark. When gum resins are collected for the purpose of sale it seems to be mainly the role of men. In Afar Region the local people do not collect gum resins to sell although many commercial collectors operate in the area. Here it is often women who collect small quantities when they are going about their other tasks such as fuelwood collection.

In Somali Region, collection takes place twice a year during the two dry seasons. This makes gum resins excellent products for livelihood security, as they are available at times when forage and grain are scarce and many pastoralists need alternative incomes to supplement the direct pastoral economy. Selling gum resins can therefore act as an income buffer, which means that pastoral households are

not forced into selling livestock assets at greatly deflated prices, common during the dry season. Here the local people play a significant role in the collection process and gum resins can contribute up to one-third of total household income. Despite this importance forest resources have remained communally held and no ownership rights are conferred on specific trees (Mulugeta et al 2003). However, as described in Chapter 3, Volume I of this series, many in Somali Region are introducing enclosures that may go some way to protecting trees for individual use, if incentives are provided.

It seems that many in the industry directly employ tappers but also buy from the local communities. In Borana the Natural Gum Marketing and Processing Enterprise (NGMPE) is the major purchaser and was reported to pay between ETB 2 and 3 per kilogram for the different gum resins. At present the expansion of agriculture in the area threatens the resource and without the promotion of profitable market outlets this may well continue (Yitebitu 2004a). In general in all the regions mentioned there is little or no knowledge on improved production and harvesting techniques although there is great potential to link communities with processors and exporters.

Many of these gum resin resources can be further processed to produce essential oils used in perfumery. Essential oils are non-traditional products derived from natural resources through industrial processes such as distillation and solvent extraction. They can accurately be described as value-added products with the potential to increase the earnings of local producers. To date Ethiopia exports only the raw materials with industrial processing occurring elsewhere. Most of the relevant plant species such as eucalyptus, citronella and geranium are found at higher altitudes and in the lowlands it is only those gum resin resources discussed above that can yield essential oils (Roukins et al 2005a: 9).

5.3 Honey & Beeswax

Ethiopia is believed to have one of the largest bee colonies in Africa, which contribute to livelihoods throughout the country. Nearly all of the honey and a large percentage of the beeswax are used locally and only a small amount is exported. Much of this is used in the production of *tej*, a honey mead, and in making candles used in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. In addition to honey and beeswax, propolis and pollen can be extracted. Internationally these different products are used in pharmaceuticals, cosmetics, polishes and varnishes as well as colours and dyes.

Most of the honey that is produced falls below international quality standards although this does not stop the profitable domestic trade. Oromia (41 per cent), SNNPR (22 per cent), Amhara (21 per cent) and Tigray (5 per cent) are the largest regional producers. Although improved hives have been introduced in some areas the traditional log-hives continue to account for over 95 per cent of

production. These have relatively low efficiency and are unsuited to commercial production (Matchmaker Associates Ltd 2006). Unlike honey, beeswax is exported in much larger quantities due in part to there being no international quality standards.

Pastoral communities in Borana and South Omo, although not Afar and Somali, use honey and its by-products in their subsistence economies and as items for trade and sale. For the Hamar, who live in South Omo Zone of SNNPR, men hollow out logs and then place them in tall trees. The honey that they collect is an important part of bridewealth payments and also represents a major part of the subsistence economy. The Hamar do sell honey at local markets when the need arises but in general it is consumed within the household (see Box 5.1).

Box 5.1 Beekeeping in Hamar

It is we men who are responsible for preparing hives and beekeeping because women are not allowed to climb trees to place the hive in our culture. The hive is too heavy for my wife to lift but she helps me to place it in the tree. We usually go to the hives together but she will always stay under the tree. There she sets a fire to smoke the bees from the hive so that I can collect the honey. After I have the honey she helps me down from the tree. My responsibility stops when we reach our home. After that it is my wife's duty to look after the honey. The honey is kept on a shelf under the roof and she covers the jar and protects it from insects that will eat it. If the honey gets eaten I will be upset and will quarrel with her. If we decide to sell some of the honey she can do it if she wants otherwise I will sell it...

Extract from a community interview at Degakeja PA in Hamar woreda.

Despite the importance of honey in the livelihoods of the Hamar and their neighbours in the Omo Valley there is a clear tendency to overlook these activities in favour of large scale agricultural developments, which have been a feature of this and other pastoral areas for some time. For the Tsamko, who can be found to the northeast of the Hamar around the Weito River, the growth of a cotton plantation has led to the complete destruction of their bee colony through the use of chemical insecticides (Melesse 1997). This highlights the importance of working with pastoral communities to secure their existing livelihood activities rather than replace them with external ventures that only benefit the local people in very marginal ways.

SOS Sahel Ethiopia has been working to improve honey production in a number of locations via improved technology and in particular marketing assistance. Despite the greater challenges of honey production in the pastoral drylands this has included interventions in Borana. Processed and packaged honey from the groups involved in these interventions is now available in many shops in Addis

Ababa and is competing directly with other commercial products from both Ethiopia and abroad.

5.4 Fruits, Nuts & Spices

Although fruit trees are generally unsuited to arid climates there is some potential in promoting their economic and subsistence value. In most pastoral communities women collect wild foods including fruits, leaves and stems during periods of drought. In most cases these would not be suitable for commercialisation with a few exceptions. Some of the key advantages of fruit production are that it can be done on a small scale, starting at a single tree inside a compound; there are established markets for most fruits; fruit trees are more tolerant to drought than other crops; little work is required to maintain them once established; and they can be combined with other crops (Yitebitu 2004b).

It has been suggested that in Borana papaya, avocado and mango can be introduced under small scale management systems. Each homestead can tend a few trees within the homestead by using some innovative techniques such as porous pot irrigation to maintain a water supply (ibid). Afar Region already has a good population of wild date palms that can yield an abundance of fruit if managed properly. Domesticating these and other species has been shown to have a significant impact on poverty alleviation (Schreckenberget al 2006).

5.5 Aloe Vera

The Aloe Vera plant comprises of over 200 species and subspecies. The most commercially used is the cultivated *Aloe Barbadosis Miller spp Chinensis* that is presently only grown on a commercial scale in the United States, parts of Europe and in northern Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda and predominantly the Cape (South Africa) (SOS Sahel Ethiopia 2006). The gum is mainly used for antibacterial and antiviral products, hair enrichment, lotions, beverage additives, pharmaceutical products and tick repellents. Indigenous aloes have advantages of helping reduce land degradation, providing bee forage and livestock fodder in the dry season, and enhancing biodiversity enrichment.

By 2004 in Kenya drylands farmers in Kajiado and Samburu districts identified Aloe farming as a better alternative to wheat and livestock since the crop is drought tolerant, requires little tending and has a ready market. Trade in Aloe, which is of immense value to the cosmetic and drug industry, is restricted under CITES because the plant has been overexploited. The plant grows wildly within the huge tracts of land owned by drylands farmers in the Northern and Eastern provinces of Kenya, but with a proper regulatory mechanism the farmers could exploit the resource since it grows wildly and even on private land (Gamba 2005).

Similar exploitation could take place in Ethiopia, as the plant also grows wild in the country and particularly in pastoralist areas (see for example SOS Sahel Ethiopia 2006). To date the plant has not been exploited commercially. To do this however first a mapping and resource survey of the Aloe will need to take place and a monitoring and control system of the resource put in place to ensure that its use remains sustainable. Plants can be 'wild harvested' in a sustainable manner, so it is possible to gain all the necessary certifications such as Organic and Fair Trade as well as effective informative eco-labeling to promote the community trade aspect. This can be used as a marketing tool to inform the buyer that he/she is assisting to create incomes for isolated rural communities by buying the products (ibid). Domestication can also be promoted and markets developed. The community, that is pastoralists, should be at the forefront of this development.

5.6 Gender & Commercialisation

Much has been written about the commercialisation of the major pastoral products (milk, meat and hides) and its subsequent impact on social relation (see for example Sikana & Kerven 1991). However, less has been said about pastoral specialisations such as the sale of products from natural resources despite it being evident that these often represent a significant element of household incomes. In the pastoral context commercialisation needs to be understood as a distinct process that occurs when the monetary value of a product is taken into account during the production process itself rather than when commodities are sold out of sheer necessity. Unsurprisingly such a dramatic shift in production goals often has a significant impact on social relations, property rights and wealth (re)distribution.

In most pastoral societies access to and use of products is determined at least in part by gender. When these products take on a more commercial character we can clearly observe the differentiated impacts on women and men. Commercialisation, by its very nature, amounts to a focus on a single product to the detriment of the diverse livelihoods that are usually a feature of pastoral societies.

When milk, a product usually controlled by women, is commercialised in some instances women have retained their control while in other cases men have taken over. It seems that where a premium value is attached to milk products and/or where there are limited alternative supplies women are able to make more herd management decisions and gain greater prestige as they, rather than men, refocus their efforts on commercialisation. This effect has been noted in Somalia, where camel milk is regarded as a premium product that has a near constant market, as well as in Sudan (ibid). However, where demand is less than buoyant women often lose control over dairying. In instances such as this and where men feel threatened it is doubtful whether women would be able to maintain control (Bravo-Baumann 2000). Among the settled Maasai of Tanzania it has been

recorded that men have taken over nearly all the roles previously associated with dairying by women (Sikana and Kerven 1991).

While milk, meat and hides are the mainstay for many pastoralists, natural products remain an important resource for both subsistence and sale. Most households rely to a certain extent on these resources although women and other marginal groups tend to share a greater dependence (see for example Getachew Mamo 2007). Like the other pastoral products access to and control of these resources is again determined partly by gender. In general women probably maintain a greater control over natural resources than they do over meat, milk and hides. However, they are disadvantaged with regards to human, financial, physical and social assets (Marshall et al 2003). This suggests that the commercialisation of a given natural resource without targeting the constraints on women's participation will see that product alienated from some of those who need it the most.

As we have seen natural resources in the pastoral economy are controlled and managed by *both* women and men. Indeed research indicates that very few product value chains are women only (Schreckenber & Marshall 2006). Commercialisation will therefore involve both, but as the discussion has shown in the pastoral context even by targeting women this process can still often lead to their marginalisation. In essence increasing the value of a particular natural resource that was customarily accessed by several household members may result in the alienation of that resource to only a few. This can have the affect of magnifying gender imbalances in a given society.

Despite these risks research also suggests that one of the biggest successes of business development is in improving the economic status of women (ibid). The implication is that by overcoming these gendered constraints commercialisation can have a significant impact on gender equality. Furthermore, in addition to altering customary practices associated with the production and collection of natural resources, commercialisation would most likely lead to greater involvement in processing and possibly storage, transport, marketing and sale. These new livelihood activities, despite having no customary equivalent, would remain subject to existing social relations and would continue to require gender mainstreaming.

Recommendations

Recent comparative studies have highlighted the numerous risks of the unconsidered promotion of natural resource commercialisation (see in particular Belcher & Schreckenber 2007). If natural resources in Ethiopia's pastoral regions are to be targeted for future commercialisation a thorough assessment of specific value chains should be first undertaken as called for in these recent works. One issue that is not expressly addressed in these reviews is that of gender, which has

been the focus of this chapter. Gendered constraints need to be understood as inherent in customary natural resource production and will not simply disappear if a given resource is promoted for business development.

Commercialisation of the principle pastoral products has been shown to have differential impacts on gender relations dependent on local social, economic and political factors. If pastoral women become marginalised through the commercialisation process, which should be seen as a distinct possibility, livelihood vulnerability for many poor families (in particular female headed households) will increase. In turn these households will deepen their dependence on the remaining resource base leading to further degradation. So what measures can be taken to promote and sustain women's involvement and help to ensure successful commercialisation of natural resources?

Recognising women's roles and responsibilities in customary natural resource value chains is an essential first step. All too often in the past men have been recognised as the owners and managers of pastoral resources leaving the position of women undermined. We have tried to show here that this is not the case for natural resources in Ethiopia's pastoral areas. In general men are responsible for collecting natural resources as they are spread over a large and inaccessible area. Women, who are less mobile due to their household responsibilities, are realistically unable to perform these roles. However, when these resources are processed and sold women often play a prominent role.

Research from South America suggests that mobility is a key factor in determining women's involvement (Schreckenber & Marshall 2006). At present processing is undertaken at the household level allowing women to undertake their domestic responsibilities. Up-scaling this process will most likely take at least part of it outside of the household. Locating new processing facilities within the reach of women is thus essential in ensuring their continued involvement. In a similar manner if selling takes place at a distant market town or trading centre this will also likely be restricted to men. Providing mobile collection points that can regularly visit producers would help alleviate this situation.

This last suggestion also highlights the need to organise pastoral women and men into cooperative groups, which can pool resources and help ensure a consistent supply of a natural product from a community. SOS Sahel's experiences show that assisting communities in this way and providing new (intermediate) technologies and business skills can have a significant impact. However, the official representation of women in these groups can be problematic. In the BCFMP, for example, women represent on average a quarter of all participants. This is significant as they held no such status previously but nearly all of them are at the lower positions in committees and associations.

One avenue that needs to be explored carefully is value-added products. In this regard investment in essential oil processing should be viewed favourably but would require a large capital investment. A more realistic short term target could be the establishment and promotion of 'special statuses' for some of the products mentioned above. 'Organic', 'Fair Trade', or 'Natural' certification are becoming increasingly popular in the west and represent a lucrative niche market. Here many lessons can be learnt from the Ethiopian coffee industry. Many Ethiopian coffees now fetch premium prices with a guaranteed minimum paid to producers irrespective of market fluctuations. Expanding this certification to any of the products mentioned above could seriously bolster livelihood security. However, as recent international disputes highlight this would require significant governmental support.

Finally, it should be remembered that while we have attempted to briefly survey some of the more tangible business opportunities based on experiences elsewhere and current trends in Ethiopia it is far from exhaustive. It has not taken into account the medicinal values of many of the natural resources mentioned above as well as the vast knowledge pastoralist hold on other species (see for example Lambert et al 2005; Teshale Sori et al 2004). The development of this knowledge into commercial ventures requires long term investment from major industries, a process which to date has often not benefited the local communities. In addition, the potentials of turning natural resources into handicrafts have not been addressed as it is covered elsewhere in this volume.

6

Implications for Gender, Pastoralism, Livelihoods & Income Development in Ethiopia

Fiona Flintan

The experiences described in this volume have confirmed that pastoralists and women in particular are making rational decisions to diversify their livelihoods to fill gaps in household needs and as a reliance on livestock alone becomes more difficult. Further increasingly pastoralists need access to cash to buy grain and other household goods that they are growing to rely on. Income generation through business activities is the primary source of this cash.

More often than not it is women who take up these activities as the burden to feed the household increases and their entrepreneurial and cooperative spirit encourages their involvement. As pastoralists become more sedentarised there are likely to be more opportunities to trade and access markets, whilst skills and knowledge should also increase. This means that ‘alternative’ income generation as a means of livelihood diversification is set to develop further. In order to ensure that both men and women benefit from this development it is important that gender issues are understood and taken into account when designing and supporting interventions. This volume has sought to increase this understanding and make a contribution to more gender equitable support and activities. The following highlights the key issues raised and recommended ways forward.

6.1 Livestock

Livestock is still the central pillar of pastoral society. Though men can be seen to control larger livestock, their movement and sale, women can have a great amount of control over smaller animals such as sheep and goats. And though larger livestock receive greater economic returns, smaller animals can be more readily converted into cash and are more easily managed (easier to feed and water) (Sead Oumer et al this volume). Further contrary to widespread belief many decisions over livestock movement and sale are made by the household, both husband and wife (wives) and other kin, though ultimately the husband is likely to be able to have the final say. Despite this as this volume (particularly Chapter 3) has shown support for livestock marketing and other livestock dominated activities tend to be directed solely at men, marginalising women. Not only does this result in women missing out from livestock marketing opportunities but it also encourages an even greater male dominance of the sector that some women feel is unjust.

As Lemlem Aregu et al (this volume) describe, “*despite the role of women in livestock management the PLI-ENABLE intervention recognised men as the buyers and sellers of most animals and in particular cattle and camels.*” Further, they suggest that the women resent this focus on men: “*Many women complained about their*

exclusion from these opportunities especially as they believe that livestock marketing is much more profitable than the petty trading that had been targeted towards them. They felt that the customary roles of men should not block their access particularly as this was an intervention coming from outside the community. In general they saw no reason why they could not be successful buying and selling livestock given the right assistance...” (ibid).

Where women have the resources and/or have been supported in developing livestock marketing and related activities (such as in Somali Region described in Chapter 2), they have proved to be excellent traders able to capitalise on kinship and cross-clan linkages (that might be difficult for men to access) in order to facilitate the movement of livestock within and across borders often informally (that is outside formal or legalised organisation). However such informal trading is becoming more difficult as cross-border trade is more formalised and heavily controlled. Therefore unless women are brought in to the formal markets then their future role in the livestock trade is likely to be threatened and/or they will continue to miss out from the opportunities so far targeted at men.

Also, there is a lack of investment and support for livestock products (including hides, milk and butter or ‘ghee’) and their development: often seen to be more within a woman’s domain. There is much room here for increased production of a higher quality if the right capacity building and support is provided. This could be both on a small and large scale working through cooperatives and pastoral groups, requiring different degrees of investment. These should be carefully thought out and planned with communities to help ensure sustainability and overcome the challenges. Indeed, the limitations and challenges to such development in Afar have been suggested in Chapter 3, and are mainly due to limited pasture and resulting lack of excess milk for butter production. However even when excess milk is available pastoralists, in general, dislike selling it. This clearly suggests that livestock product processing interventions need to be included in a wider programme of rangeland improvement and attitudinal change (Lemlem Aregu et al, this volume).

Further, related gender issues should be considered both in production and in impact – as examples in this volume have shown there can often be a struggle between husband and wife to maintain control of livestock products such as milk.

6.2 Small Business Development

Pastoralists, particularly women are turning to small businesses as a means of generating income. Women work well together in groups such as the Somali women described in Chapter 2 who may also be influenced by clan relations and a longer history of cooperation than perhaps in other pastoral communities. The women in Harshin for example have been exposed to trading (cross-border and

otherwise) since they were children and thus have grown up in an environment that encourages them to get involved.

However as the examples in this volume have shown the markets are highly volatile and supply of materials and goods inconsistent in quality and price, so making a steady income and business difficult. Further it has proved extremely challenging to access markets beyond the local, which proves extremely limiting; many pastoral settlements are very isolated with poor infrastructure and communications so making transport extremely difficult. Finally it has been shown how influences that local people have no control over can greatly effect their activities, whether it be livestock bans by neighbouring countries or new regulations imposed by governments. It is important therefore that businesses are flexible enough to adapt to such influences, and that those investing in them are willing to try different avenues and ventures to make them succeed.

Due to these challenges and constraints the returns remain low and small businesses such as those based on petty trading tend to stay small. Women (and men) lack the skills and entrepreneurship to build up the businesses, as they tend to be started by those who lack skills to start larger ventures. Women in particular may be illiterate, poorly organised and lack experience. They can also lack basic education, accounting and computing skills to support business management including finances, to produce advertisements and leaflets, and to maintain linkages with markets/buyers through such as phone or email (*if communication is available to them*).

As illustrated in the pastoral areas of Ethiopia, often budding entrepreneurs will copy others and what they are selling, rather than try out something new: they would rather go for a sale (competing with their peers) rather than risk no sale at all with a new product. Other constraints include not having a central place where the women (or men) can meet, price and display products, and a lack of money to advertise the products such as a sign outside the centre and/or a simple leaflet describing products and providing information on the producers and their way of life. Further there can be stiff competition from mass-produced and cheaper goods as found here in Ethiopia with the influx of plastic goods from places such as China, or imported foodstuffs such as dried milk.

Having said that however, staying small can be to the advantage of women meaning a business can be easy to manage, flexible and probably based out of the home. Any growth in the enterprise might warrant changes in these, which could make it difficult for women to control and perhaps open the door to husbands taking over. As such the right support must be identified before an intervention is made, highlighting the importance of an in-depth gender sensitive analysis of the current local situation and potential impacts, together with a well discussed needs assessment developed with the communities.

To foster the growth and development of women entrepreneurs, many things are needed. First of all, women have to be more aware of the entrepreneurship option and motivated to explore it; have access to opportunities to gain the knowledge and skills necessary to start and grow a viable enterprise; be exposed to networks of other women entrepreneurs to learn from their experiences and gain moral support and encouragement; have access to information and professional business development services to help develop their management and production capacity; and be recognized for their achievements, both individually and collectively (Stevenson & St. Onge 2005).

6.3 Handicrafts

Throughout much of Ethiopia pastoralists and other rural groups tend to only make handicrafts for their own use. For example when a girl marries she will expect to take a range of baskets, milk carrying containers and other traditional goods to her new home. As such handicraft production for sale is poorly developed. However looking across the border to Kenya and the rest of East and southern Africa, one realises what potential there is for advancement in handicraft production as a source of income generation whilst also preserving, promoting and invigorating cultural heritage and pride: the benefits of which should not be underestimated (Kassaw Asmare et al, this volume). However any development needs to be carefully considered and designed to maximise business and market opportunities. Currently this is not the case and where handicrafts are being supported by NGOs this tends to occur in a half-hearted and badly thought out manner without considering potential markets, quality and saleability of the product, and long term sustainability.

The greatest challenge for the development of handicraft businesses is accessing markets, particularly markets that receive a constant flow of buyers who are willing to pay the 'true' value of the handicraft that reflects the skills, labour and effort that have gone into making it. Outside the cities producers must rely on local markets for their goods.

Further to date there has been a lack of consistency and quality in the handicrafts. Often they are poorly designed and decorated, dirty and not up to a standard one can find in other African countries. This can be blamed in part on poorly administered and designed development interventions that have provided large financial backing to small producers to cover the costs of raw materials so that handicrafts can be made. Often the only market available for the goods is the NGO itself. However providing money to (potential) producers without properly considering the quality of the crafts and the issues of markets and marketing will achieve little in the long term: producers need to understand that handicraft production can be a viable and sustainable business, and need to know how to achieve this. Producing handicrafts and stockpiling them because there is no market outlet is entirely unsustainable and does not allow pastoralists to develop

effective business skills. NGO and government support needs to be carefully thought out and be grounded in business and enterprise thinking: without this the handicraft businesses are not going to survive and make the most of the opportunities that currently exist for them (Kassaw Asmare et al, this volume).

However despite the challenges of developing businesses based on handicrafts, their production remains a suitable activity for many women and men. Often labour can be contributed as and when available and work can be stopped and recommenced as required. Further such activities can be combined with childcare or while supervising tasks such as cooking or minding animals. Where more intensive production has begun, women (and men) have been organised (or organised themselves) into cooperatives pooling their resources and time. Further experience from other countries suggests that innovative marketing using new communication networks such as the internet can prove highly useful for rural handicraft producers in the marketing of their goods (see for example Grieco 1999).

To fully understand the challenges, constraints and opportunities at a local level it is important to carry out an in-depth marketing assessment and value chain analysis before interventions, investment or activities take place. “ *The full risks of relying on tourist markets should be recognised and evaluated...If such an assessment proves positive then the right products for the market need to be identified – preferably those products already being made by pastoralists, but maybe there will be a need to adapt and/or produce new items*” (Kassaw Asmare et al, this volume). Appropriate training will then need to be given and a quality control and monitoring scheme set up. Ways for producers to gain ongoing knowledge of the market and possible changes will need to be developed. Women may prefer a salary rather than receiving money only when goods are sold, so an appropriate scheme may have to be set up. Exposure to new ideas and way of doing things could be achieved through learning visits to other producers in Ethiopia or to countries where the handicraft trade is better established.

Further groups and/or cooperatives will have to be established, developed or strengthened so that women (or men) can work together to access materials, markets, and provide checks on quality. Formal recognition can help them access credit for example by giving them a legal entity, whilst also increasing their community standing and making them look more professional. Links can be made with organisations such as the Ethiopian Women’s Handicraft Promotion Centre and/or other marketing outlets. The opportunities of setting up their own handicraft centre should be considered: the benefits of working through a facility such as a centre have been highlighted in Chapter 4. Further a national centre for pastoral handicrafts (including education material) would offer opportunities for a more coordinated approach. Well-labelled exhibits could encourage purchases and a catalogue of handicrafts could be developed. A forum focussing on

handicrafts and their development could be held and the establishment of a Handicraft Export Promotion Council should be considered.

Finally it is important to consider that the majority of handicrafts are made from natural resources. Though some handicrafts use only parts of a plant or tree such as palm leaves, others utilise the whole of the living tree or enough of it to cause damage. Unless this is sustainably managed the resource can be easily overexploited and eventually destroyed. Therefore within any intervention aimed at supporting handicrafts it is important to consider where the raw materials are obtained and how, and whether there is a system in place to ensure their sustainability or whether one should be introduced (common property regime or other).

6.4 Constraints, Challenges & Opportunities

Markets

As highlighted constantly throughout this volume and other volumes in this series the lack of markets in pastoral areas for livestock and pastoral products is highly problematic. As in many pastoral areas, in Ethiopia pastoral communities are isolated, with poor infrastructure and are far from commercial centres. Roads are poor quality and can damage goods in transport. It can be difficult for pastoralists to access adequate materials for proper packing.

Despite this many pastoralists have no option but to rely on 'local' markets, whether selling livestock or handicrafts. This means that constantly pastoralists are at the mercy of buyers or traders who effectively can control the market to their advantage. Livestock in particular, but also products such as fuelwood can rarely be returned home and thus must be sold on the day even if prices are low. Pastoralists lack access to storage or a suitable holding area and therefore if income generation is to be improved, the creation of such facilities should be invested in. This is not just for livestock but also for dairy products (a refrigerated unit for example) and fuelwood (a dry, secure holding area) where sellers can leave their goods overnight or otherwise, rather than selling them off at low prices on the day.

Pastoralists involved in all types of business are faced by poor communication infrastructure and thus lack of information on issues such as suitable markets, acceptable prices and how best to negotiate for them. Women in particular may find it difficult to access information spending less time in public places and meetings. As Lemlem Aregu et al (this volume) suggest: *“Without up-to-date pricing and access to market infrastructure businesses will always be susceptible. While physical infrastructure is expensive and difficult to justify in remote regions a number of other innovative options have been suggested. For instance mobile phone coverage has begun to expand into Ethiopia's pastoral regions, which can offer coordinated market*

information to villages along with the Internet and WorldSpace Radio.” Organised into groups, this technology can be affordable and reliable.

Indeed, access to markets in general is slowly improving, due to both GO and NGO support. However there is still much to be achieved before reaching an acceptable level of access and until then pastoralists will continue to struggle with their businesses and income generation activities. This should be recognised and the limitations taken into account when supporting any activities to ensure that markets are available for goods and those that exist, are not over supplied. If markets do not exist then the viability of the particular activity should be very carefully considered.

Indeed, intervention in livestock production and other income generation activities should always be accompanied by a prospective evaluation of the existing or potential markets (such as milk, beef, wool, hides). The national and regional market structure, policy, prices, services and marketing possibilities, determines whether or not a specific livestock activity is economically viable. Gender specific division of work in processing and marketing as well as marketing activities of men and women have to be analysed and activities adapted to the specific society (Bravo-Baumann 2000).

Further, there needs to be a more coordinated and collaborative approach to accessing markets. The opportunities for this are also improving as livestock marketing groups and cooperatives are being set up and pastoralists are working together to access markets. However this needs to be better replicated for other goods too: though cooperatives for income generation exist the members tend to work in a more individualistic manner and there is little coordination to access markets further a field for example organising linkages with traders in the cities, and/or sharing transport. Ways to better work together should be established and developed. Evidence suggests that often women are better at this than men, so women's groups and their income generation activities should be targeted in particular.

Traders are important for ensuring that businesses and their marketing moves beyond 'the local'. However relying on 'middlemen (or women)' can add complications and remove some of the power of the producers to gain a fair price. Therefore it is an advantage to be able to shorten the marketing chains and for pastoralists to be able to negotiate directly with and sell to buyers. Chapter 3 provides some examples where NGOs have been assisting pastoralists to do so by educating them about the markets and how to access buyers more directly.

Labour and Resources

Many income generation activities and production processes rely on female labour and therefore these must be fitted in with other responsibilities and activities.

Though this may be difficult, it is possible for many activities to be combined with other responsibilities such as collecting plants for sale whilst collecting fuelwood for household use or making handicrafts whilst minding children or livestock close to the home. Women may have their mobility restricted by work, cultural norms or lack of access to transport or money to pay for it and therefore they cannot take part in many income generation activities that demand a greater degree of movement. Providing mobile collection points that can regularly visit producers would help alleviate this situation (Getachew Mamo & Ridgewell, this volume).

A common constraint for pastoralists, and women more so, is the lack of access to capital for starting businesses. Not only is this financial but also human (lack of time to provide labour and the right skills) and social (mobility can be restricted due to cultural norms) (Sead Oumer et al, this volume; Lemlem Aregu et al, this volume). As a result increasingly NGOs and local governments are offering savings and credit schemes to pastoralists, though the demand still outstrips the supply by a large degree (see the following section), however the other types of capital (or the lack of) also need to be tackled.

Further because women have little access to cash or other assets, it is particularly difficult for them to access resources that would assist the further development of the business for example a donkey to carry goods to market. As a result they have to rely on their own labour, which is already under high demand, whilst risking their physical health by constantly having to carry heavy loads and working long hours.

Savings and Credit

As suggested above (and within this volume) pastoralists often face the problem of accessing financial capital to start up businesses and/or develop them. Until recently little had been done to overcome this constraint. However increasingly both NGOs and government are offering savings and credit schemes to pastoralists to assist them in establishing alternative income generation activities and or developing their livestock trading.

The benefits of such schemes have been suggested, and most importantly supported pastoralists in diversifying their livelihoods beyond a reliance on livestock. Indeed, as Lemlem Aregu et al (this volume) describe in Borana and Afar, *“the savings culture has...begun to shift away from buying livestock, which are becoming increasingly susceptible to risks, to investing in other businesses... This has promoted greater gender equality and opened up other opportunities to women in the community....”*

Indeed, the experiences of savings and credit schemes described in this volume highlight the central role of women as “innovative leaders” with a good track record for repaying loans. Women are seen to be more creditworthy, diligent and

committed. To assist women to play such a role the importance of suitable and targeted training has been emphasised including the development of business plans and continued support for entrepreneurial activities. Informal education is recommended for at least those who sit on the executive committee in an effort to increase their confidence and avoid corruption (Lemlem Aregu et al, this volume).

As a result of the growing success of women's participation in credit and savings schemes, more and more are being introduced including those linked to petty trading, handicraft and other small business development. However in the hurry to fill the increasing demand many interventions are not being properly planned and followed up, often with a complete neglect of markets and their development. Further there is often a lack of harmonisation between partners working in the same area (as described in Chapter 3) – this can cause confusion, resentment and potentially conflict.

Despite this lack of planning, coordination and support, some NGOs are handing out fairly substantial amounts of money to producers as capital and for example to purchase raw materials for handicrafts. Sometimes there is little pressure on the borrowers to pay back the loan. More often than not once the crafts are made the only purchaser available is the NGO who feels obliged to take the crafts in order to encourage the women/men to keep producing. If the NGO does not make the purchases then the business will likely lose momentum and ultimately collapse. However not only is a dependency created and a growing reliance on 'hand-outs' but also such a situation fails to encourage a proper business sense or experience among the producers. As such these businesses or schemes can rarely be sustainable and if they are, they fail to grow beyond a small supplementary activity.

Further though many savings and credit schemes are being set up, they tend to be targeted at those 'pastoralists' who have achieved a certain level of sedentarisation and/or regularly visit towns. This is necessary to fulfil the requirements of the schemes such as opening up a bank account, attending meetings and the like. However many pastoralists remain transhumant and do not make regular visits to towns. As such they continue to miss out from such schemes as too little is done to adapt to their specific needs and constraints.

Additionally, government schemes have not given enough attention to informal savings and lending mechanisms (such as merry-go-rounds, savings collectors, and women money saving societies), which are based on common bonds and knowledge about the borrower. Yet these mechanisms have proven their ability to manage risk, enforce lending contracts, and reduce the transaction costs of delivering credit. Hence, they should be incorporated in strategies to deepen and broaden financial intermediation for dryland micro-enterprise financing (Gamba 2005). Further Stevenson & St-Onge (2005) provide a comprehensive set of

recommendations for other potential improvements in Ethiopia's micro-finance institutions and schemes.

In conclusion, for any intervention to work, the local situation has to be well analysed to understand local constraints, work out suitable solutions and ensure that those who borrow the money are able to control its expenditure and be responsible for and are capable of ensuring its repayment. Further gender relations need to be understood to ensure that such schemes are accepted by both husband and wife, contribute to household needs and the positive impacts are maximised. As Lemlem Aregu et al (this volume) suggest, *“if women are to be involved then interventions need to understand the restrictions on women's roles in Afar and Borana, and understand the impact that such interventions might have on gender relations.”* Further micro-finance institutions need to fully embrace gender issues and not only target women. A more holistic approach should be taken *“differentiating product composition and delivery to meet identified needs of both women and men”* (Mutalima 2006: 17).

Groups and Cooperatives

It is important to find the right forum for any activity or process. This may be an informal group or a more formalised cooperative or other grouping. The advantages and disadvantages of these are described in Chapters 1 and 3. Further it is highlighted that once cooperatives reach a certain level of trading and regular access to markets it can be useful to create larger marketing cooperatives or unions (Lemlem Aregu et al this volume). The experiences described here suggest advantages of starting small and informal, and once a certain level of understanding, skills and experience has been achieved then a group can be assisted in the process of formalisation to a cooperative or union. Lemlem Aregu et al (ibid) suggest that sometimes not enough support is given to groups and *“greater assistance is...needed in the lengthy legalisation process that establishes the group as a recognised cooperative.”*

6.5 Interventions

NGOs and government have provided needed inputs to set up and ongoing support to business development. Increasingly NGOs often working closely with government offices have been able to gain support for longer term projects and ongoing relationships with certain pastoral communities and in certain geographical areas. In Chapter 2 we have summarised some of the work of Oxfam GB's 15 year Pastoral Community Development Programme and in Chapter 3 and 4 discussed some of the activities of the PLI-ENABLE programme which built on the activities and work of partners already working in pastoral areas.

These longer term relationships and support are vital to ensure activities and processes introduced and/or established by the development actors are well linked to and rooted in the communities if any sustainability is to be achieved. Amongst the Somali women NGOs have found the support of basic services to be a good entry point into the communities before working with them on more challenging issues. Lemlem Aregu et al (this volume) suggest *“interventions need to be long term to offer technical advice and help identify future income generation activities that are difficult to for pastoralists in a local setting to see.”* As described throughout this volume the challenges of establishing viable and sustainable businesses, particularly those that will flourish and grow, are great. Time and resources are needed to explore markets, experiment with different products and establish the right forums and institutions for their development. Indeed such interventions should be seen more as a process and a means to an end, rather than the end itself. As Lemlem Aregu et al (this volume) suggest: *“Interventions targeting income generation for women should be seen as a process whereby they can attain gradual control over resources through the managing, financing and marketing of goods and services.”*

It is important to understand that it is more often than not women’s labour that is used in alternative and new income generation activities. Care should be taken that this does not overburden them nor create a situation where the husband decides that he no longer needs to work! Women should have the right to choose how much contribution they want to make and be happy that they have enough control over the returns. The value of interventions and support need to be fully understood and realised: too often today women and men are attending workshops (training or otherwise) only (mainly) to collect the per diem without realising and valuing the contribution that the information, skills and experience gained could make to their livelihoods.

6.6 New Markets

The potential of income generation from so far unexploited or under exploited natural resources has been suggested in Chapter 5 of this volume. Though not explored in detail the chapter has provided a brief summary of some of the opportunities and challenges to such developments.

Indeed there are many natural products growing in pastoral areas that could be collected and processed for national and international markets including aloe vera, gums and incense, and honey. Further the extraction of essential oils from a variety of plants offers huge potential. However there are many challenges to overcome to develop these products including finding the right markets, establishing suitable and affordable processing plants, and ensuring a regular supply of international quality.

Further care must be taken not to overexploit the resource, and monitoring and a sustainable management system would have to be put in place. Because these enterprises tend to be developed by those with an interest in being both environmentally and ethically sensitive, ways to ensure the conservation of the resource and provide benefits for pastoralist communities are also being sought. One way of overcoming the challenges is to grow the plant/trees domestically.

Further issues of Fair Trade and/or Good Harvesting Practice can be considered and the products (assuming they comply) can be marketed under these banners, often then being able to access lucrative niche markets. Examples from other countries of fairly traded products such as shea butter highlight the difficulties of establishing a sustainable business based on natural resources within local and international contexts (see for example Greig 2006).

One avenue that needs to be explored carefully is value-added products. In this regard investment in essential oil processing should be viewed favourably but would require a large capital investment. Where processing is necessary it is vital to understand local gender relations and the potential constraints on both women and men to participate and benefit. Often it may be more difficult to get women involved and care needs to be taken if a facilitating and supportive environment is set up for them.

If natural resources in Ethiopia's pastoral regions are to be targeted for future commercialisation a thorough assessment of specific value chains should be first undertaken. Secondly, gendered constraints need to be understood as they are inherent in customary natural resource production and will not simply disappear if a given resource is promoted for business development. Recognising women's roles and responsibilities in customary natural resource value chains is an essential first step. All too often in the past men have been recognised as the owners and managers of pastoral resources leaving the position of women undermined despite their central involvement (ibid).

Further with any use of natural resources it is important to consider the issue of indigenous knowledge and IPRs and ensure that these are not overexploited and that pastoralists are aware of and able to control any use of their knowledge. The development of this knowledge into commercial ventures requires long term investment from major industries, a process which to date has rarely benefited the local communities.

Another new market that is increasing is tourism, opening up a range of opportunities. Pastoralists can benefit from tourism both directly and indirectly. Directly pastoralists can act as guides, cooks, security guards (usually the men) or cleaners (women). Further tourists want to purchase handicrafts and other pastoral artefacts, as well as watch 'traditional' dances or visit a 'traditional' village.

The taking of photographs can also prove highly lucrative particularly within groups that wear highly decorated dress, jewellery and the like.

Indirectly it is more difficult to benefit from tourism. However there are a number of schemes where a tourist venture or a protected area that is controlled by either commercial or government interests, share their revenues with pastoralists who are affected by the venture or area and/or the pastoralists manage the venture themselves. However to date such schemes are poorly developed in Ethiopia and as experience in other countries show, they are challenging to establish (see for example Rutten 2005).

6.7 Impacts on Gender Relations

The increase in income generation activities and the resulting commercialisation is having an impact on men and women in different ways and on gender relations between them. Women's role as breadwinner is new and challenges long held views on the 'appropriate' role for women. Women are increasingly moving out beyond the domain of the home, whether by choice or necessity, and trying to establish themselves as business owners. These changes have generated much debate in society particularly between elders and younger people. One elderly man in Somali Region spoke for many of his generation at a workshop when he asserted that women should maintain traditional roles, and cited a Somali proverb: "*Hooyadu mar waa dabaakh, mar waa doobi, mar waa daabad, marna waa furaash*" (A mother's function is to cook, launder, nurture and be a wife to her husband). This view is based in part on tradition but also the frustration that many men feel when not being able to support their families as custom prescribes (Sead Oumer et al, this volume).

Indeed, as women's status as 'household provider' increases, men may feel that their own status is diminishing. This can cause resentment, conflict between husband and wife and perhaps rejection by the husband of any further responsibilities to contribute to the household, preferring instead to hang out on the streets and/or chew *khat*. In some instances we have seen men appear to be unwilling to support their wives, mothers, daughters where they need it, in providing assistance with the businesses and for example, labour. Attitudes have not changed enough to encourage men to help the women and rather, doing so would still be seen as demeaning and highlight their failure in providing for the household (Sead Oumer et al, this volume). However, in other instances men appear more willing to assist their wives – see for example husbands helping collect palm leaves for handicraft production (Chapter 4) and fuelwood for sale (Chapter 3). Lemlem Aregu et al (this volume) suggest that this can be partly attributed to the interventions of development organisations and their promotion of gender equity. However I would like to suggest that it can also be linked to the degree of poverty and commercialisation: where households can be considered to be 'very poor' they tend to work in a reciprocal manner battling to fulfil basic

needs and ensure household survival. However once a certain level of wealth is reached and commercialisation of the household economy is of a greater degree (particularly where based on the income of the wife) then attitudes change to those such as resentment or complacency on the part of the husband.

A number of complexly interrelated factors influence whether commercialisation will benefit or harm women's (and indeed men's) socio-economic status and access to assets. These vary spatially, over time and socio-economic development, and at different stages of a woman's life. But once women have invested money or energy into an initiative they are loath to abandon it, hoping they will receive some return in the future (Watson 2005). Sead Oumer et al (this volume) suggest that in Somali Region many women are benefiting greatly from their involvement in businesses and trading: women are more independent, have greater access to assets and are making decisions for themselves and their families; household security has improved; and they have gained more confidence, status and self-esteem.

However negative impacts are also being seen. In Somali Region (and to a growing degree in other regions) pastoral households are relying on women's income to provide a regular source of cash for grain and other necessities. This can place an increasing burden on women who are already overworked and under pressure. As a result they may reduce the time spent on childcare and/or put their own health or security at risk in order to raise income (Sead Oumer et al, this volume).

There may also be changes in relation to the resource being used. Unless sustainably managed a resource may decline with use, as a result an alternative may have to be found or a different source. This has implications for access and property rights. Natural resources in the rangeland are normally held as common property and women have relatively good access to them unlike in some other aspects of the pastoral economy. However, access rights change due to alterations in the availability of resources brought about by environmental degradation and overuse, which makes it more difficult to find previously plentiful resources. Access and use rights also change when a resource gains an increased and more widely recognised value through commercialisation. This can lead to the marginalisation of those who previously freely accessed resources including women (Getachew Mamo & Ridgewell, this volume).

Once raw materials have been collected, women turn them into crafts. Expanding this process can be severely hampered by women's workloads elsewhere in the pastoral economy. Although there are some observable changing trends in the gendered division of labour, women still share a greater workload than men throughout the year. Further as discussed in Volumes I and III of this series when pastoralists become more sedentarised women often find their workload increases. In this sense it is not sufficient to target women with income generation

schemes without also addressing the concerns of men. It is often the case that men's roles in livestock production have diminished leaving them under worked, and therefore perhaps more business enterprises should be directed at them, or they should be encouraged to assist their wives more.

Development interventions that promote handicraft production in particular need to be aware of the roles of women and men and the impacts that commercialisation will have on gender relations. In particular a greater understanding of women and men's access and use rights to natural resources, which are the primary source of handicrafts, needs to be gained and rights to resources secured for those who need them. Further an adequate and functioning monitoring of resources needs to take place and their proper and sustainable management put in place. This may need the revitalisation of common property regimes or other controls.

Commercialisation, by its very nature, amounts to a focus on a single product to the detriment of the diverse livelihoods that are usually a feature of pastoral societies. If pastoral women become marginalised through the commercialisation process, which should be seen as a distinct possibility, livelihood vulnerability for many poor families (in particular female headed households) will increase. In turn these households will deepen their dependence on the remaining resource base leading to further degradation (Getachew Mamo & Ridgewell, this volume).

Further, commercialisation within pastoral societies can have particularly concerning impacts as for many it is a relatively new concept and many still rely on informal methods of exchange such as bartering, trading and providing gifts as in Mongolia (see Robinson 1999). Encouraging continued commercialisation, the expansion of markets and subsequent commodification is likely to have an impact on this and probably result in the marginalisation of such methods. Services that were once given for free are now being charged for, and the traditional benefit sharing methods that have been important in helping communities get through crises such as drought, are losing their importance (see Volume I of this series).

6.8 Conclusion

Diversification of livelihoods and promotion of income generation activities in pastoral communities faces many constraints and challenges. These have been discussed in this volume and highlighted above. Despite this, many pastoralists and particularly women are keen to take up such activities and establish businesses and enterprises. However if these are to be really sustainable and maximise benefits then great care needs to go into their establishment and development. An in depth assessment of needs, markets (constraints, challenges and opportunities with changes in consumer demands) and resources available would be a first step towards this. It should be accompanied by a comprehensive gender analysis of the local context, with an assessment of potential impacts of any

interventions on men and women maximising positive impacts and mitigating or minimising negative ones.

Further much needs to be invested to ensure a facilitating environment for business development. Capital needs to be accessible, through a savings and credit scheme or other source. The challenges of establishing such schemes have been discussed and though to date they are proving reasonably successful there is room for improvement, not least in being more adaptable to the needs of the more transhumant pastoralists. Further the right forums (such as groups, cooperatives or unions) for mobilising pastoralists and fulfilling their different needs should be identified and supported.

Despite these challenges and constraints there are many opportunities for pastoralist men and women to participate in income generation activities and to benefit from them. However as Little (2001) highlights diversification is not the panacea that many policy makers assume it to be. Diversification strategies have multiple causes and most generate low incomes and actually can increase risk during periods of stress. Strategies should not impede herd mobility and herd diversification, which still remains the major means of managing risk for the majority of pastoralists. Additionally Mayoux (1995: 67) cautions that micro-enterprise development is unlikely to prove to be the “rosy ‘all-win’ solution” it is assumed to be, particularly for women constrained by a lack of welfare provision that limits their labour input and participation, as well as limited resources and power. Further the dangers of increased commodification and commercialisation have been highlighted including the fact that such changes might negatively impact the very core of pastoral society, based more on reciprocity, sharing and mutual support than individual financial gain.

Finally, supporting sustainable diversification and income generation is not just about providing or facilitating the right capital, services or environment. It is also about cultural and attitudinal change. As this volume has described where women for example are getting more involved in income generation, it has been viewed negatively by some groups in a community who feel that such involvement is not appropriate for women. As such when supporting interventions it is vital to understand gender relations and dynamics within households and communities, and to identify ways to support attitudinal change together with the socio-economic changes occurring.

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Gender & Pastoralism Vol 2: Livelihoods & Income Development in Ethiopia is a book about how increasingly pastoral women and men are diversifying their livelihoods away from a reliance on livestock towards other income generation activities that raise much needed cash and help to spread risks. It describes the challenges that women and men face in establishing and developing their businesses, including both internal and external influences often beyond their control. The book takes a gender sensitive approach focussing on pastoral gender relations, the different ways women and men develop and manage businesses, access inputs including credit, and what impact activities are having on these. Case studies, commentaries and first-hand testimonies pave the way for a series of suggestions aimed at development planners that frame pastoral livelihood development and diversification in its gendered context.

The book contains six independent but interrelated chapters. *Chapter 1, A Sharing of Past Experience*, (Fiona Flintan) provides a synthesis of literature from Ethiopia and other countries and presents an overview of gender, income generation, savings and credit. *Chapter 2, Small Business Development in Somali Region*, (Sead Oumer, Getachew Mamo & Nimo Haji Ismail) outlines development interventions including a bread making enterprise among Ethiopia's Somali pastoralists. *Chapter 3, Savings & Credit Interventions in Afar & Borana*, (Lemlem Aregu, Yemane Belete & Samuel Tefera Alemu) reviews women's participation in recent interventions among two pastoral groups. *Chapter 4, Handicraft Production in Somali, Afar & South Omo*, (Kassaw Asmare, Sead Oumer & Zahra Ali) explores revenues derived from handicrafts in three Ethiopian pastoral communities. *Chapter 5, Emerging Markets for Dryland Resources*, (Getachew Mamo & Andrew Ridgewell) offers an overview of the potential commercialisation of pastoral natural resources in Ethiopia. And *Chapter 6, Implications for Gender, Pastoralism, Livelihoods & Income Development*, (Fiona Flintan) concludes by summarising issues raised and forwarding recommendations for future developments based around the gender considerations emphasised in the text.

Far from being exhaustive, this book is written with the aim that it will further promote the importance of gender mainstreaming in development interventions in Ethiopia's pastoral and agro-pastoral areas. While it addresses specific issues the themes covered have much broader implications that will be valuable for government departments, non-governmental organisations and local community groups who are engaged in pastoral development in Ethiopia and beyond.



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