

ON THE MOVE

A photograph of a person herding cows in a field. The person is seen from behind, wearing a light-colored, long-sleeved garment and carrying a wooden staff over their shoulder and a blue plastic jug. They are standing in tall grass, with several cows, including a large brown one and a white one with brown spots, grazing nearby. The background shows more greenery and a bright sky, suggesting a rural, pastoral setting.

**A Bibliography on Pastoralism Research
Institute of Development Studies, Sussex
1970 - 2020**

Correct citation: IDS (2020) *On the Move: A Bibliography on Pastoralism Research, Institute of Development Studies, Sussex, 1970-2020*. Brighton: IDS
ISBN: 978-1-78118-607-7

This bibliography is part of the PASTRES (Pastoralism, Uncertainty, Resilience: Global Lessons from the Margins) project, www.pastres.org, which has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant agreement No. 740342). It was produced by Ian Scoones with assistance from Linda Pappagallo, and designed by Roopa Gogineni.



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RESEARCH ON PASTORALISM AT IDS 1970-2020

A BIBLIOGRAPHY

Research on pastoralism at IDS now spans 50 years, since Jeremy Swift started his PhD on Tuareg pastoral livelihoods in northern Mali. In 2020, we are mid-way through a major new ERC-funded programme of pastoralism research, including PhD studies being conducted in China, Ethiopia, India, Italy, Kenya, Tunisia (www.pastres.org; Nori and Scoones, 2019). This bibliography pulls together publications – including academic pieces alongside reports and briefings – over this period produced by IDS academic staff and PhD students, published before, during or since their time at the Institute.

Together with many other individual and institutional collaborators, IDS has contributed to the evolving debate on pastoralism around a range of themes over the last 50 years. IDS work has mixed operational engagement through consultancies, project evaluations and field practice with more academic research, as part of a range of projects. A key figure throughout has been Jeremy Swift, whose work in West and East Africa, as well as Mongolia, has inspired many and was recognised by the IUAES Commission on Nomadic Peoples with a lifetime achievement award (Galvin 2013).

This bibliography clusters publications into eight themes, each introduced by a short introduction to the main foci of IDS research over the years. The sections that follow are:

1. Pastoral livelihoods
2. Pastoral production and marketing
3. Natural resources and the environment
4. Common property institutions and pastoral land tenure
5. Drought and disaster responses
6. Pastoral administration and development
7. Service provision in pastoral areas
8. Conflict and governance

The final section includes a listing of PhDs on pastoralism produced at Sussex over the years. Throughout the bibliography, where possible, we offer links to the original document.

This bibliography – which has been compiled by Ian Scoones, with assistance from Linda Pappagallo – is inevitably incomplete, as much relevant work is in the ‘grey’ literature and so difficult to locate, while other work may not identify pastoralism as a core focus. We apologise for the gaps, but hope the bibliography will be useful as a record of the past and an inspiration to continue the long IDS tradition of work on pastoralism into the future.

To mark the 50th anniversary, this bibliography is accompanied by the online publication of an archive IDS Bulletin, which draws together 13 articles published over the years on pastoralism (<https://bulletin.ids.ac.uk/>), as well as an online course on pastoralism prepared under the PASTRES programme, which draws on much of the research listed here (www.pastres.org).

Galvin, K. A. (2013) 'Professor Jeremy J. Swift: Outstanding Contributor to the Study of Nomadic Pastoral Societies, Past and Present, and Recipient of the IUAES Commission on Nomadic Peoples Lifetime Achievement Award', *Nomadic Peoples* 17.2: 1, <https://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/whp/nomp/2013/00000017/00000002/art00001>

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1 PASTORAL LIVELIHOODS



Livelihoods approaches have become a hallmark of IDS research over many years. Very often involving long-term research in particular sites, such studies have emphasised the intersecting influences on how people make a living (see also the listing of PhD thesis in section 9). IDS research on pastoralism and agropastoralism has made significant contributions to understanding how mobile people and herds make productive use of highly variable dryland and montane landscapes in settings across sub-Saharan Africa, in Mongolia and China and in Europe.

Work on livelihoods has raised questions around how vulnerabilities arise and how resilient or sustainable livelihoods are. Such work situates an understanding of day-to-day livelihood activities in wider institutional and political contexts, exploring the underlying conditions that generate well-being. In pastoral areas, where high levels of variability are the norm, IDS research has highlighted the importance of seasonality, with mobility a vital livelihood response.

Livelihoods are inevitably differentiated, with contrasts in strategies across wealth, age and gender. Gender analysis of pastoral systems highlights particular roles for women in herd management and milk production, while a focus on class dynamics emphasises the role of hired herders and absentee owners, with many people moving out of pastoralism altogether. Recurrent droughts, combined with conflicts, have resulted in major displacements in some pastoral regions, radically transforming livelihoods.

Over 50 years, pastoral livelihoods in all regions where IDS has worked have changed dramatically, whether through the transition from collectivisation in central Asia or through increasing differentiation and selective commercialisation, driven by a growth in exports, in some parts of Africa. With others, IDS has reflected on the future of pastoralism at various points, with IDS research consistently emphasising adaptability and resilience, countering a frequently-promoted pessimistic, crisis narrative.

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2 PASTORAL PRODUCTION AND MARKETING

The social and ecological dimensions of livestock production systems have been the focus of IDS research over many years. Understanding livelihoods (see above), means appreciating the dynamics of production in variable environments. In mobile pastoralism, livelihoods are derived from the systematic harvesting of nutrients by livestock across highly diverse and variable landscapes. This requires high levels of skill associated with livestock management, herding and breeding. In more agropastoral settings, mobility remains important, but integration with crop farming is centrally part of livestock-keeping practices.

Informed by interactions with herders and their own knowledge and practice, IDS research has challenged often simplistic and inappropriate technical understandings of livestock and range management, whether the imposition of 'carrying capacity' limits or the carving up of rangelands into paddocks. An appreciation of complex pastoral ecologies highlights the importance of 'patches' within landscapes in sustaining herds and flocks, and the relevance of learned animal behaviour in seeking out fodder. Frequently, pastoralists' herding strategies can be described as 'opportunistic', living with and indeed from uncertainty. Making the most of variability is therefore central to pastoralists' production strategies.

Beyond production, IDS research has also focused on livestock marketing, recognising the long histories of pastoralists' integration into national and regional markets. In recent years, a massive growth in demand for livestock products, notably meat and milk, has arisen due to urbanisation, increasing incomes and changing diets globally. This 'livestock revolution' has generated demand for animal products, including from pastoral areas, facilitating processes of commercialisation, and in turn intensifying processes of social differentiation.

The gendered roles in marketing of different products through different channels, governed by an array of both local and external institutions, has been a focus of work in Somalia, Kenya and elsewhere. A focus on 'real' markets has therefore helped in engagements around liberalisation and economic reform in Mongolia and China, for example, as well as in contesting standardised and inappropriate veterinary measures governing export markets in sub-Saharan Africa.

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3 NATURAL RESOURCES AND THE ENVIRONMENT



Many policies in pastoral regions blame pastoralists and their livestock for the degradation of the environment and urge the 'modernisation' of such 'backward' people through settlement programmes. Over the years, with many others, IDS work has challenged these simplistic assessments. Narratives around desertification were, for example, first challenged in a paper for the 1977 UN Conference on Desertification, and later as part of the 1996 landmark book, 'The Lie of the Land'. From colonial times to the present, government officials, aid agencies and many researchers have failed to understand the implications of highly variable environments for the dynamics of environmental change.

From the late 1980s, however, understandings from the 'new range ecology' challenged the assumptions of mainstream thinking. Deserts were not advancing as assumed, but dry areas expanded and retreated with rainfall. Livestock populations were rarely 'overstocked' because droughts or snow-storm events reduced populations. Disease landscapes resulted in uneven impacts of livestock diseases due complex socio-ecological interactions. And rangelands were not uniform, to be managed through standardised approaches, but highly variegated, with 'wetlands in drylands' influencing pastoralists' resource use.

These insights, derived from research in (agro-)pastoral areas by IDS researchers and many others, have had important implications for policy debates. For example, thinking about climate change and adaptation in drylands must be informed by such 'non-equilibrium' perspectives. Meanwhile, interventions to combat 'desertification' and environmental degradation through attempts to stabilise and control dynamic socio-ecologies have to be rethought. And policies surrounding land investment (or 'grabbing') in dryland areas have to take account of how pastoralists use natural resources and rangeland landscapes; these are not 'empty', 'idle' lands, but ones used productively through a range of natural resource management approaches.

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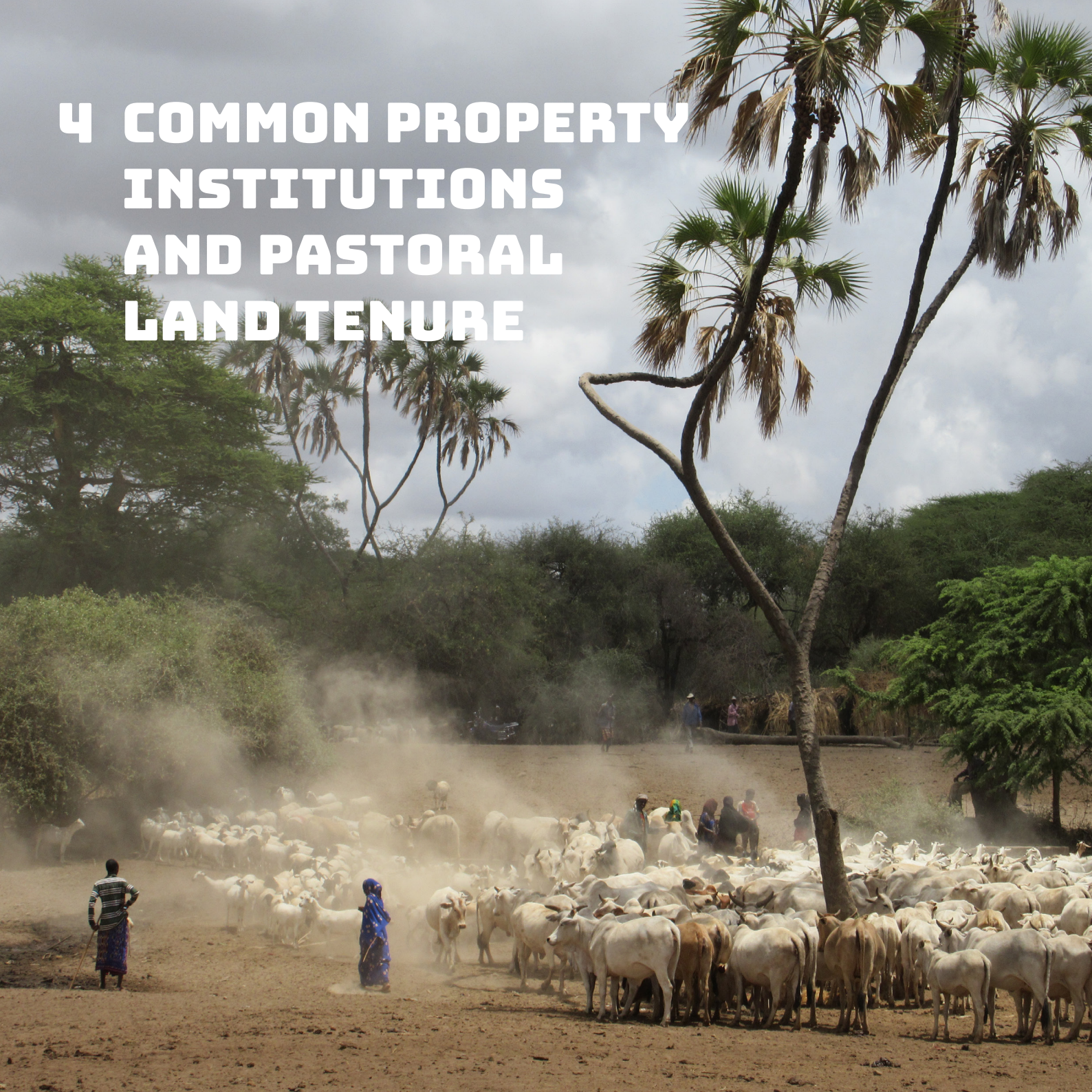
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4 COMMON PROPERTY INSTITUTIONS AND PASTORAL LAND TENURE



The management of pastoral rangelands, and the intersecting role of local and external institutions, has been a central feature of IDS research. This has focused in particular on the importance of common property resource management in pastoral land tenure systems. This work, particularly in the 1990s and through a range of PhD theses (see section 9), challenged the ‘tragedy of the commons’ narrative promoted by Garrett Hardin and others. This argued that, because rangelands are open access, a free-for-all will ensue and the land will become overgrazed. Empirical work in a huge array of settings and resource types, notably collated by Elinor Ostrom and colleagues, showed that this was not inevitably the case. Instead, common property institutions regulated use, fostering sustainability.

In settings as diverse as China, Italy, Kenya, Mali, Mongolia, Somalia, Tanzania and Zimbabwe, IDS research has documented and analysed the forms, functions and implications of pastoral resource management systems. Many cases conformed broadly to the classic common property systems described by Ostrom and colleagues, with common property arrangements encouraging forms of collective action that facilitate mobility as a central management strategy. There are, however, variations, with selective privatisation of rangelands being a common feature, as commoditisation and social differentiation accelerate.

IDS work has fed into multiple policy discussions on land tenure reform across the world, where frequently there is a focus on land privatisation and so the individualisation of tenure through land titling programmes. With many others, IDS work demonstrates how disastrous these can be in pastoral areas, frequently undermining the ability to make use of marginal rangelands productively. IDS engagement with policy processes in China and Mongolia, for example, has

highlighted the emergence of hybrid tenure systems following collectivisation, and the limitations of policy focused on settlement and individualised tenure systems.

Research has emphasised instead the importance of building on local institutions, recognising the importance of overlapping, 'fuzzy' boundaries and the embedding of tenure arrangements in social and cultural systems. Among others, these elements suggest new directions for land tenure policy that respond to the uncertainty and variability of pastoral settings.

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5 DROUGHT AND DISASTER RESPONSES

Many pastoralists live in areas subject to frequent droughts, snow events or sometimes floods. They must continuously respond to uncertain, precarious conditions. Sometimes these strategies fail, especially when such shocks are repeated over many years. In the 1970s, the Sahelian region suffered extreme famine conditions, and this was repeated in parts of the Horn of Africa in subsequent decades. Beyond these major catastrophes, more localised periods of vulnerability occur, sometimes exacerbated by conflict, where severe food insecurity or famine strikes pastoral populations.

IDS' long-term work on food security and famine has very often involved work in pastoral regions, especially in Africa. This has helped redefine understandings of famine and food insecurity, drawing in particular on the work of Amartya Sen. Failures in access not production are very often the overriding cause of food insecurity, and these are affected primarily by social, institutional and political factors. War and conflict, for example, can have devastating impacts, as traditional systems are undermined, causing what have been termed 'new famines'.

Responding to these recurrent crises, particularly in Africa, over the last decades, governments, aid agencies and NGOs have invested intensively in developing famine early warning systems, drought contingency plans, comprehensive safety net programmes, food and humanitarian relief targeting, social protection policies, as well as drought recovery policies, restocking projects and relief 'graduation' programmes. Many of these have failed in pastoral areas, or at least only provided inadequate stop-gap measures.

As IDS research has shown, such failures in development often arise from poor understanding of pastoral livelihoods, and how vulnerabilities arise. Pastoralists, committed to livestock-keeping, may not wish to pursue 'alternative livelihoods', and attempts to settle people to provide relief can actually undermine existing coping strategies. Equally, the heavy investment in 'early warning' systems has not had the results hoped for, as the use of information is inevitably political, undermining the responsiveness of populations.

IDS work, instead, has emphasised the importance of embedding drought response and early warning in local settings, linking to local institutions and building trust and capacity from the ground. The pioneering work on drought contingency planning at a district level in Turkana, Kenya, for example, has had a wide impact in encouraging a fundamental rethinking of drought response strategies in dryland pastoral areas.

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6 PASTORAL ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT



Over the past 50 years, IDS work has attempted to link research insights on pastoralism to practical responses on the ground, whether through development projects or national or regional policies, aiming to make such interventions more attuned to pastoral contexts. The prevailing conditions of uncertainty in pastoral settings mean that standardised responses are not appropriate, and IDS research has called for a fundamental rethinking of approaches to administration and development in pastoral areas.

However, too often, 'development' efforts – whether around natural resources, animal production or livestock marketing, for instance – have transferred policy solutions from settled, agrarian settings, without taking account of the particular requirements of pastoral areas. This has had disastrous consequences. Much IDS research has been focused on making development in pastoral areas less catastrophic, as the dominant approach has remained powerful amongst governments and donors, despite recurrent failure.

The long tradition of participatory research at IDS has been especially important in shifting perspectives and recasting approaches. Innovation in methods – through rapid and participatory appraisal, as well as the advocacy of community-based approaches to learning and engagement – has been important in helping to redirect development efforts in some places.

Pastoralists are often marginalised by states and political systems, and so have little voice in policy-making. IDS research, involving national assessments of the political economy of policy-making and the dynamics of policy processes in particular sectors, highlights possibilities for more appropriate policies around, for example veterinary care or livestock marketing, whereby narratives, actors and interest are reconfigured towards more appropriate responses.

Improving pastoralists' voice through communication initiatives can help too, making alternatives visible to key players. However ultimately, as IDS work shows, it is only when pastoralists have greater political agency and influence over policy-making and development in pastoral areas becomes accountable to those who make a living there that significant shifts occur. Here, work on pastoral representation in parliamentary processes and the impacts of decentralisation initiatives have generated important insights.

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7 SERVICE PROVISION IN PASTORAL AREAS



Much development effort in pastoral areas is focused on service provision. Again, this is frequently poorly designed and inappropriate for mobile, transhumant populations. Government educational, health, veterinary, extension and financial services, as well as welfare and social protection systems, are often developed with a settled population in mind. It is no surprise that failures abound when such projects are implemented. Sometimes services on offer are simply rejected and ignored; on other occasions pastoralists must adapt their livelihoods, sometimes splitting families and taking up partially sedentary lifestyles, to take advantage of services available in fixed locations. This, in turn, can undermine production capacities and resilience, as families are dislocated and labour is withdrawn.

IDS-linked work has emphasised the importance of mobile provision of services and helped evaluate the feasibility of these in multiple settings. A particular focus on nomadic/mobile education has had important impacts in a number of countries. Similarly, work with others on community animal health workers and decentralised animal health provision has demonstrated how there is a practical and effective alternative to centralised, highly professionalised veterinary service provision in pastoral areas, reducing health risks and opening up opportunities for marketing at low cost. Extensive work on social protection in Ethiopia under the Productive Safety Net Programme has shown how important it is to adapt programme design to pastoral areas if vulnerability is to be reduced and graduation from relief hand-outs is to be achieved.

In all cases, the design and implementation of services in pastoral areas must take account of the context – ecological, social, economic, institutional, cultural and political. Approaches fashioned in other areas invariably do not work in pastoral areas, and alternatives must be developed through a more bottom-up, community-based approach that allows for cross-sectoral integration and a more holistic approach to service provision. For example, in the area of health provision, a ‘One Health’ approach is often advocated. This connects human, animal and ecosystem health, and encourages locally-based professionals, often pastoralists themselves, who can facilitate service provision and wider development processes.

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8 CONFLICT AND GOVERNANCE

Research at IDS has explored the consequences of armed violence and civil war on pastoral societies, and the implications for peacebuilding. This has included work on the spread of small arms in pastoral areas; the changing nature of 'raiding' as a pastoral strategy and the implications of conflict for poverty reduction and the design of social protection programmes. Work in Darfur, Sudan, South Sudan and northern Kenya, in particular, has emphasised the contextual character of conflict, and how people must navigate responses, making use of 'vernacular' solutions.

While not ignoring the macro-geopolitical issues at play, IDS work has drawn on the traditions of grounded, livelihoods-focused and participatory research to understand how conflicts arise and how they are responded to in practice. This, in turn, informs approaches to 'governance'. Research highlights how governance and peacebuilding solutions must emerge in context, and not be imposed from outside, requiring attention to local pastoral institutions and various forms of 'hybrid' governance. These are far from 'ungovernable' spaces, but ones where new forms of authority must emerge from below.

Recent work has focused on the dynamics of conflict around external investments in pastoral areas, sometimes dubbed land or green grabbing. Seen as empty areas in need of external investment, the rush for land for farming, as well as conservation, extractives and alternative energy installations has been a focus of IDS-linked research, especially in Africa. Again, such studies emphasise the importance of understanding conflict, and so governance solutions, in a differentiated way through patient research in the field. Findings highlight the socially-differentiated character of resource conflicts, with both winners and losers from the land rush on pastoral frontiers. Narratives, actors and interest are reconfigured towards more appropriate responses.

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9 DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS



Listed below are doctoral dissertations on pastoralism undertaken through (co-) supervision at IDS, with degrees awarded at the University of Sussex. As with the rest of this bibliography, these are likely only a subset, as others, focused for example on food security, social protection, governance or participatory development, may well have been the result of research in pastoral areas, yet without an explicit focus on pastoralism as a livelihood system. Even this partial listing represents a substantial body of work, with the PhD fieldwork being a springboard for a range of other engagements that have had wide influence across the world, as the bibliographic listings show. And within a couple of years, there will be a further six PhDs emerging from the PASTRES programme, adding to this important body of work.

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Jeremy Swift, Wales, July 2019

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Rangeland grazing, Amdo Tibet, China (Palden Tsering) – p. 17
Livestock at well, Isiolo, Kenya (Ian Scoones) – p. 24
Fodder supply, Amdo Tibet, China (Palden Tsering) – p. 32
Pastoralists' camp, Kutch, Gujarat, India (Natasha Maru) – p. 37
Well operation, Isiolo, Kenya (Tahira Shariff Mohamed) – p. 47
Camels and windmills, Kenya (Jeremy Lind) – p.52
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