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Foragers, Fishers and Herders of Western Kenya
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Periphery From Hunters to Herders

Spencer presents the definitive study of the ways of life of the cattle-herding peoples of East Africa, drawing on many years of research. This region has offered a prime example of a traditional culture resisting the inevitability of change; it provides the best-known and most extensive instance both of cattle-pastoralist society and of social organization based primarily on age. The Pastoral Continuum examines the richness and resilience of the culture of these peoples, illuminates the role of indigenous practices and institutions in adaptation and survival, and offers a unique view of the place of pastoralism in the modern world and its prospects for the future. Beni-Amer cattle owners in the western part of the Horn of Africa are not only masters in cattle breeding, they are also knowledge sovereign, in terms of owning productive genes of cattle and the cognitive knowledge base crucial to sustainable development. The strong bonds between the Beni-Amer, their animals, and their environment constitute the basis of their ways of knowing, and much of their knowledge system is built on experience and embedded in their cultural practices. In this book, the first to study Beni-Amer practices, Zeremariam Fre argues for the importance of their knowledge, challenging the preconceptions that regard it as untrustworthy when compared to scientific knowledge from more developed regions. Empirical evidence suggests that there is much one could learn from the other, since elements of pastoralist technology, such as those related to animal production and husbandry, make a direct contribution to our knowledge of livestock production. It is this potential for hybridisation,

as well as the resilience of the herders, at the core of the indigenous knowledge system. Using evidence from the site of Gogo Falls in the Lake Victoria basin, Karega-Munene is able to reach more general conclusions about the nature of subsistence activities in East Africa as a whole between the Neolithic and Iron Age. This paper investigates the impact of climate shocks on violence between herders and farmers by using geolocalized data on conflict events for all African countries over the 1997-2014 period. We find that a $+1^{\circ}\text{C}$ increase in temperature leads to a $+54\%$ increase in conflict probability in mixed areas populated by both farmers and herders, compared to $+17\%$ increase in non-mixed areas. This result is robust to controlling for the interaction between temperature and ethnic polarization, alternative estimation techniques, disaggregation levels, and coding options of the climatic/conflict/ethnic variables. We then quantify the impact on conflicts of projected climate change in 2040. We find that, in absence of mixed areas, global warming would increase total annual conflicts by about a quarter in whole Africa; when factoring in the magnifying effect of mixed settlements, total annual conflicts are predicted to rise by as much as a third. We also provide two pieces of evidence that resource competition is a major driver of farmer-herder violence. Firstly, conflicts are much more prevalent at the fringe between rangeland and farmland -- a geographic buffer of mixed usage that is suitable for both cattle herding and farming but is particularly vulnerable to climate shocks. Secondly, information on groups' mobility reveals that temperature spikes in the ethnic homeland of a

nomadic group tend to diffuse its fighting operations outside its homeland, with a magnified spatial spread in the case of conflicts over resources. Finally, we show that violence is substantially reduced in the presence of policies that empower local communities, foster participatory democracy, enforce property rights and regulate land dispute resolution. Utilizing almost 40 years' work, Andrew Smith presents a detailed portrait of modern herdsman and their historical antecedents. Following the assumption that Africa has never been isolated from the rest of the world, Smith illuminates key topics ranging from material culture and rituals, to future prospects for pastoralists. Visit our website for sample chapters!

Presents a regional analysis of the spatial and social history of warfare among nomadic peoples of East Africa, over 600 years. Discusses herder warfare from the perspective of warfare ecology, highlighting interrelations between environmental and cultural causalities - droughts, famine, floods, ritual wars, religious wars and migrations - and war "Pastoralism is a culture, an ancient mode of livestock production and a way of life, which makes extensive use of grazing in the lowlands of eastern Africa and the Horn. However, this culture, form of production and way of life has reached a critical point. A process that began under colonialism - the dispossession of land and the promotion of agriculture - has been continued and accelerated by independent African states in the region. Pastoralism on the Margin shows that the material base of pastoralism has been all but eroded in Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, and the situation has been exacerbated by climatic change,

conflict, disease, drought and famine. The author, John Markakis, argues that the upsurge in development interest in pastoralism has done little to meet pastoralists' needs, despite the huge amounts of money poured into the region. He discusses the many changes that have been visited on pastoralist men and women in the area and their way of life, and debates whether pastoralism can survive." -- BACK COVER. A Baluch tribesman follows his goats as they search for a bit of vegetation; a Turkana youth guards his father's cattle against theft by raiders.... These pastoral inhabitants of mountain and desert waste are considered to be among the most geographically, economically, and politically peripheral of peoples, yet they are not entirely isolated from broader sociopolitical and economic forces. The lives of modern pastoralists are greatly affected by the policies of nations and the demands of world markets. They may face military control, forced settlement, stock reduction programs, or even efforts at "development" by governments claiming sovereignty over the lands they roam. The authors of this collection of essays examine the impact of capitalism on nineteenth- and early twentieth-century pastoralists and discuss the historical transformations that have occurred in the lives and societies of herding peoples around the world. They argue that pastoralists were not simply passive recipients of change imposed by capitalist polities and that historical and economic factors impinging on their societies were as important as ecological ones. Collectively, these papers demonstrate that twentieth-century pastoralists and their nineteenth-century predecessors should not be seen as immutably

locked in a pastoral "mode of production" but rather as actively negotiating encounters between themselves and the expanding power of capitalist states. In this volume, Andrew Sluyter demonstrates that Africans played significant creative roles in establishing open-range cattle ranching in the Americas. In so doing, he provides a new way of looking at and studying the history of land, labour, property and commerce in the Atlantic world. This book gives an historical account of the development of pastoralism in Africa, and its adaptation to the open grasslands which cover large parts of the continents. How African pastoralists cope with their environment varies in social terms, but ultimately these social constraints still have to deal with the vagaries of localised and seasonal rainfall which lead to inconsistencies in the availability of pasture. Pastoralism has been a successful adaptation for thousands of years, so we must ask why many of Africa's herdsman are under pressure at the end of the twentieth century. A number of serious droughts blighted Africa in the 1970s and '80s, affecting the rural peoples, be they farmers or herders. Other questions lead from this: have these been unusually severe events, resulting in difficult adjustments for African pastoral peoples? And, if these drought conditions are part of the regular long-term climatic cycle, what has been so significant about the '70s and '80s? Pastoralism in Africa attempts to answer these questions by using ecological evidence from prehistory to enlarge understanding of the vicissitudes of herding societies in Africa today. The origins and spread of herding systems throughout the continent are

examined with the underlying idea that understanding the growth of pastoral production in the past allows for a more sympathetic treatment of indigenous social formations based on tradition and experience, thus enabling governments and development agencies to formulate adaptive strategies suited to specific environments and the peoples that inhabit them. The book will interest archaeologists, development workers, anthropologists and students of African history. The origins of Khoekhoen herding society in southern Africa is contentious. Two competing theories: 1) when domestic animals arrived in southern Africa they were absorbed into aboriginal hunting societies by internal exchange mechanisms, who later became pastoralists; 2) immigrating herders arrived from East Africa to the northern Kalahari with their stock, and spread to the southwestern Cape. This book debates the 'Neolithic' model and suggests that animal husbandry would not have easily been taken up by hunters who not only had plenty of game animals at their disposal, but would have had to have been able to nurture and sustain herd sizes of more than 60 animals exotic to southern Africa, and where poisonous plants were a threat. The concept of private ownership was also antithetical to their way of life. Equally, the movement of domestic stock throughout southern Africa was very rapid, so this would further suggest immigration, rather than absorption by hunters. African pastoralists have been devastated by drought, famine and dislocation, yet herding remains the most viable system of support for the inhabitants of the vast arid and semi-arid zones. Using case studies of the Tswana and the San, the

interlacustrine pastoralists, the Masai and Mursi of East Africa, and the multi-ethnic regional systems of Lak Beni-Amer cattle owners in the western part of the Horn of Africa are not only masters in cattle breeding, they are also knowledge sovereign, in terms of owning productive genes of cattle and the cognitive knowledge base crucial to sustainable development. The strong bonds between the Beni-Amer, their animals, and their environment constitute the basis of their ways of knowing, and much of their knowledge system is built on experience and embedded in their cultural practices. In this book, the first to study Beni-Amer practices, Zeremariam Fre argues for the importance of their knowledge, challenging the preconceptions that regard it as untrustworthy when compared to scientific knowledge from more developed regions. Empirical evidence suggests that there is much one could learn from the other, since elements of pastoralist technology, such as those related to animal production and husbandry, make a direct contribution to our knowledge of livestock production. It is this potential for hybridisation, as well as the resilience of the herders, at the core of the indigenous knowledge system. Fre also argues that indigenous knowledge can be viewed as a stand-alone science, and that a community's rights over ownership should be defended by government officials, development planners and policy makers, making the case for a celebration of the knowledge sovereignty of pastoralist communities

Praise for Knowledge Sovereignty Among African Cattle Herders
'This book greatly contributes to the limited literature on theoretical discourses and practices on indigenous knowledge of livestock herding

communities in the Horn of Africa. It discusses knowledge heritage and sovereignty through the presentation of valid empirical evidence, and its subsequent relevance in nurturing sustainability of knowledge systems to enhance lives of pastoralists in Africa and beyond.' Samuel Tefera PhD, Assistant Professor and Asian Desk Coordinator at the Centre for African and Oriental Studies, Associate Dean for Research and Technology Transfer, College of Social Sciences, Addis Ababa University 'The author has worked with our Beni-Amer pastoral communities in Eastern Sudan and Western Eritrea for over 30 years and this book is the first of its kind in documenting our practices, knowledge systems, heritage and way of life.' Mustafa Faid and Mohamed Ali, Leaders of the of the Pastoral and Environmental Association Kassala State (PEAKS) 'A riveting and rare book! Zeremarian Fre guides you along the sandy [dusty] tracks and grassy pastures that the Beni-Amer and their herds have been softly tracing over time all through the Horn of Africa. One of the virtues of the book is that it illustrates vividly and in clear language how their continuous self-built endogenous knowledge on agro-pastoral life is not only at the core of their survival and the survival of their herds, but more importantly a powerful weapon in facing and resisting multiple aggressions . . . Ground-breaking and a huge achievement.' Yves Cabannes, Emeritus Professor of Development Planning,, The Bartlett Development Planning Unit, UCL 'The book underlines the importance of enriching and utilizing the unrecognized, yet valuable scientific knowledge and practices that are deeply rooted in pastoral

traditional expertise about their own environment and breeding practices. It is an important publication that reflects Dr Fre's expertise and long term research in the region and thus, it is a significant addition to the African library.' Hala Alkarib, Director of the Strategic Initiative for Women in the Horn of Africa (SIHA) 'This fascinating book not only gives a unique insight into the knowledge and practice of pastoralists in the Horn of Africa from the author's first-hand experience, it also provides an incisive critique of the multiple dimensions of knowledge, paying tribute to the sovereignty of indigenous knowledge. It has a timely relevance for global sustainability that will appeal to a wider readership.' Nicole Kenton, International Development Consultant, former long serving senior staff member of the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) 'The book covers several intertwined issues relevant to contemporary development policy and practice. It goes beyond the rural-urban and peasant-nomadic livelihoods dichotomy by shedding more light on the inter-linkages within the multiple livelihood systems within the Horn of Africa and globally. A rich evidence-based resource for academics, development partners and social movements for promoting and designing state policies that embrace pastoralist aspirations.' Bereket Tsegay MA, PhD candidate, Pastoral and Environmental Network in the Horn of Africa (PENHA) 'Dr Zeremariam Fre has done a wonderful job of placing at the centre of this book the Beni-Amer pastoralists, the world they inhabit and the knowledge they use to navigate and thrive in it. The lessons contained in this book go beyond

pastoralism; it is a must read for anyone serious about understanding the importance of located knowledge in the innovation and development process.' Yusuf Dirie, PENHA Research Fellow and PhD researcher at the University of Sussex This book examines the social and political dimensions of Africa's food and environmental crises. This article addresses processes of livelihood diversification among pastoralists in the rangelands of northern Kenya and southern Ethiopia. The objectives of the article are threefold: (1) to suggest a theoretical framework for addressing income diversification among pastoralists with reference to current literature and databases; (2) to present a case study on pastoral income diversification based on preliminary field research in northern Kenya and southern Ethiopia; and (3) to summarize current understandings of pastoral diversification while pointing to additional empirical research needs. By showing how comparative analyses in the region have been constrained by theoretical and data deficiencies, the article explores ways in which income diversification differs by what are termed conditional, opportunity, and local response variables. Climate, distance to market towns, gender, wealth, and education are attributes covered by these variables and discussed in the article. The conceptualization and case study provide useful bases for conducting comparative research on pastoral diversification in East Africa specifically, and in sub-Saharan Africa generally. First Published in 2018. Routledge is an imprint of Taylor & Francis, an Informa company. Pastoralism has shaped livelihoods and landscapes on the African

continent for millennia. Mobile livestock husbandry has generally been portrayed as an economic strategy that successfully met the challenges of low biomass productivity and environmental variability in arid and semi-arid environments. This volume focuses on the emergence, diversity, and inherent dynamics of pastoralism in Africa based on research during a twelve-year period on the southwest and northeast regions. Unraveling the complex prehistory, history, and contemporary political ecology of African pastoralism, results in insight into the ingenuity and flexibility of historical and contemporary herders. Millions of people are already affected by weather-related shocks every year in West Africa and climate change is highly likely to increase these threats. In the wake of climate change, rising temperatures, increasingly irregular rainfall and more frequent natural hazards will endanger the ways of life of vulnerable population groups in this region and destabilize their human security. A surge in violence and conflicts could take place. One of the conflict constellations could be between farmers and herders. These groups are highly vulnerable to climate change due to their dependence on natural resources Millions of people are already affected by weather-related shocks every year in West Africa and climate change is highly likely to increase these threats. In the wake of climate change, rising temperatures, increasingly irregular rainfall and more frequent natural hazards will endanger the ways of life of vulnerable population groups in this region and destabilize their human security. A surge in violence and conflicts could take place. One of the conflict constellations could be between farmers

and herders. These groups are highly vulnerable to climate change due to their dependence on natural resources for their subsistence. Furthermore, they are historically prone to enter into conflict over issues of access to natural resources. However, social, economic and political circumstances fundamentally influence environmental conflicts. There might thus be opportunities to face the societal challenges of climate change in a peaceful way and the political and institutional framework could play an important role in reducing conflict and violence. In order to explore such a path, this study analyses the potential of political factors (policies and institutions) for the reduction of climate-change-induced or aggravated conflicts between farmers and herders. After a theoretical demonstration, a case study of agro-pastoral conflicts in Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, and Ghana is conducted.

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is conducted. This monograph makes a significant contribution to answering some long standing questions in the Later Stone Age prehistory of southern Africa and to archaeological methods in general. The Vredenburg Peninsula Survey project originally set out to confirm that the first herders at the south-western Cape were immigrant Khoekhoe-speakers who had migrated from farther north about two thousand years ago. It failed to find evidence to support this hypothesis and instead ended up making a solid contribution to documenting the regional transition from formal, microlithic technology to the informal stone tool repertoire that marks the immediately Pre-Colonial period. It also throws light on another regional question concerning the rise and fall of stone adze technology. Its contribution to survey methodology is of worldwide importance and this is the first time an archaeologist has gambled on dating surface shell on a large scale and it has paid off handsomely. Coastal archaeologists on all continents should take note of this, and be rightly encouraged. A study of the influence of environment on culture and social organization among the Khoisan, a cluster of southern African peoples, comprised of the Bushmen or San "hunters," the Khoekhoe "herders", and the Damara, (also herders). Beni-Amer cattle owners in the western part of the Horn of Africa are not only masters in cattle breeding, they are also knowledge sovereign, in terms of owning productive genes of cattle and the cognitive knowledge base crucial to sustainable development. The strong bonds between the Beni-Amer, their animals, and their environment constitute the basis of their ways of

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Praise for Knowledge Sovereignty Among African Cattle Herders

'This book greatly contributes to the limited literature on theoretical discourses and practices on indigenous knowledge of livestock herding communities in the Horn of Africa. It discusses knowledge heritage and sovereignty through the presentation of valid empirical evidence, and its subsequent relevance in nurturing sustainability of knowledge systems to enhance lives of pastoralists in Africa and beyond.' Samuel Tefera PhD, Assistant Professor and Asian Desk Coordinator at the Centre for African and Oriental Studies, Associate Dean for Research and Technology Transfer, College of Social

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explodes a variety of South African myths - not least those surrounding the negative stereotype of the 'Hottentot', and those which contribute to the idea that the Khoikhoi are by now 'a vanished people'.

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