

Introduction

Futuremaking with Pastoralists

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. . . the common world is what we enter when we are born and what we leave behind when we die. It transcends our life-span into past and future alike; it was there before we came and will outlast our brief sojourn in it. It is what we have in common not only with those who live with us, but also with those who were here before and with those who will come after us.

—H. Arendt, *The Human Condition*

The future is a hypothesis first. This book is a contribution to futuremaking rooted to the ground, speaking in the here and now, reaching into the depths of history, inspired by the search for visions for the future from a challenging present. Positive futuremaking can be compared to positive peace. Positive peace has a life-enhancing quality that goes beyond freedom from fear of violence and destruction (Davies-Vengoechea 2004; Galtung 2010). It enables people not only to live a good life but also to have the opportunity to lend it greater meaning day by day. Similarly, positive futuremaking aims to create a passage in time that is not defined by an absence, whether of past or present. Rather, it aims to fill past and present with new forms of meaning, moulded in a continuum of time and space. Positive futuremaking acknowledges the importance of how what is decided now influences us and those who come after us. The future comes to be through the alternatives and possibilities offered up by the present (Bell and Mau 1971: 9), captured by the hopes and aspirations expressed in the actions of people with diverse interests but also through their forms of inaction and indifference

(Appadurai 2013). Thus the art of positive futuremaking is shaped by many people – whether as individuals or as spokespersons for civil society, governments or international institutions – with converging understandings of how to live together on a shared planet. While there are various possible futures (Bourne 2006), predictions for coming generations are growing increasingly grim because of the world's exploitation of finite resources, environmental pollution, social and economic inequality, biodiversity loss and climate change. Therefore, future-making poses extraordinary challenges to a peaceful global living together. Voices from and for the future are entering in intensified forms into the silence of political indecision and failure to address these urgent global challenges.

In 2002, in southern Ethiopia, the Arbore spokesman, Grazmach Sura, asked the anthropologist Ivo Strecker to film his message for world peace, to be carried not only to other places but also to times to come, explaining that peace lies in the hands of people but that one also has to beg the land and the spirits for peace (Strecker and Pankhurst 2003).¹ In December 2018, the German astronaut Alexander Gerst sent a message from the International Space Station, apologizing to future generations. Humbled by the sight of the fragile beauty of Planet Earth and the harmful human-made changes he observed during his stay in space, he conceded that his generation will have to confess to not having taken care of the future. That same month and year, the 15-year-old Swede Greta Thunberg, who had gained international attention with her continuing Friday school strikes for climate protection, so neglected by her parents' generation, spoke in front of the United Nations Climate Change Conference; and, in 2019, she called out policymakers at the World Economic Forum in Davos for their own inaction and initiated the largest ever global mobilization of youth against climate change. Her story resembles the tale of the child who exposes the emperor who has no clothes, only this time the emperors invited the child to tell them what they already knew about the future, aware that they were doing nothing about it. The Ethiopian artist Girmachew Getnet asks about human unity in his 'circle series' of cardboard paintings, about the interruption of unity in his 'wall series', and about the future of it all in times of destructive consumerism in his '€ waste series'. The pastoralist elder, the astronaut, the schoolgirl and the artist have in common a perception of broader space-time to express the relevance of forms of being and agency in the universe that extends beyond the present. With heightened self-consciousness of the unity of space-time perception, the future speaks to the present for good reason.

Lands of the Future: Pastoralism, Scholarship, Dissonances and Silences

To study carefully an emergent future 'is more difficult than mere political action, and more constructive' (Bell and Mau 1971: xii). The land rush of the twenty-first century – worldwide and, specifically, in the Global South – strongly resembles

other historical developments, such as the enclosure of commonly held lands during the course of the agrarian transformation and industrialization in Europe; but it also mirrors the global dissonance between capital and climate, now at a turning point where the finiteness of resources urges humanity to rethink both present and future. The continuous repetition of fast-track industrialization has met much resistance on local and global scales (with that very distinction making less and less sense). Such processes are, however, represented in the media, in public discussions, and in official pronouncements in widely varying ways, thus presenting us with challenges, morally, politically and economically. How can scientists (from the Global North) criticize governments in the Global South? How can governments, some of whose leading members benefit from schemes of investment exploiting distant resources, tell their citizens who are worse off after the investments that all is being done in their own best interest? How can consultants from the World Bank mark out investment zones for a global market without having set foot in the places where they propose to invest? Who establishes the measures that determine the line between destitution and well-being? How can people endure the obvious dissonance between how we understand the future of land and the lands of the future? How does the future of pastoralism fit into all of this?

Pastoralists have always been depicted in divergent terms: poor and vulnerable by some, skilled and self-sufficient by others. This dichotomy is hard to overcome. Our volume is an anthropological contribution to understanding the future of pastoralism and agro-pastoralism in its coexistence with many other forms of livelihood.² We show how people and their livestock live not only *off* the land but *with* the land. The volume is a cooperative contribution by people, mainly agro-pastoralists and scientists from the Global South and North, who over the years have come together in many different settings – in pastures, fields, villages and watering places, farms, firms, cities and government offices, universities, conferences and e-correspondence – to augment our joint store of pertinent knowledge about pastoralism in the twenty-first century, by combining practice, knowledge and philosophies rooted in writing and non-writing cultures. Although this volume is focused on Eastern Africa, especially on Ethiopia, the findings are relevant to situations of pastoralists and small-scale farmers around the globe.

This volume is an outcome of the *Lands of the Future* Initiative.³ When in 2012 a group of researchers came together at Oxford to discuss concerns expressed by our agro-pastoralist counterparts about large-scale land investment schemes occurring across Eastern Africa that were being implemented without the people affected being consulted, it was an Ethiopian colleague who encouraged us to establish the *Lands of the Future* Initiative with a focus widened beyond academic deliberations. He reminded us that we might not be able to say much less publish what we see but that one day it will be important to know what has taken place. His advice, drawn from his painful experiences with the previous Ethiopian regime (the Derg), is another example of how things might, for one

reason or another, be quite invisible in the present but attain importance and visibility in the future.⁴

In the wake of the global land rush that followed the financial and food-price crises of 2007 and 2008, *Lands of the Future* was established to bring people from different disciplines together to aim at greater transparency with respect to the dynamics of land deals that were often planned behind closed doors in ministries, international institutions, investment agencies and multinational mining and agro-companies, far from the lands and people most directly affected: nomads, pastoralists, agro-pastoralists and small-scale farmers. Scenarios all over Eastern Africa played out in similar ways. The pragmatic aim of *Lands of the Future* was to distinguish rumour from fact with regard to ‘changing land uses’ or ‘large-scale land acquisitions’, to employ the euphemisms of the day. When working on the ground, we discovered that the facts were often grimmer than the rumours, as many land deals materialized as full-fledged land grabs, with violent incidents following the dispossession of agro-pastoralists from the territories they regarded as their home.⁵

The often violent conditions that arose for pastoralists, who were deprived of land and access to pastures and fields in southern Ethiopia, Tanzania, the Sudan and Kenya in order to make room for agro-investments, were more often than not accompanied by stalled research. Researchers and their pastoralist friends, families and counterparts were intimidated and hindered more or less openly, regardless of whether or not they worked specifically on land issues. In this environment of expropriation and exclusion, *Lands of the Future* provided a space where people encouraged each other to pursue genuine observations, research and analyses of realities on the ground; not more, no less.

Since 2013, *Lands of the Future* has kept lines of discourse open and alive in everyday exchange, in workshops and in conferences, always with counterparts from pastoral communities. The initiative continues as a lively international collaboration of pastoralists and non-pastoralists who have lived and studied together for decades.⁶ Moreover, *Lands of the Future* shows that ‘slow scholarship’ has its place in academia. The results presented in this volume are based on long-term research. In contrast to much of the literature rush on the land rush, the findings here are based on listening, observing, learning and oftentimes waiting cautiously before coming to critical conclusions, keeping the safety of all involved in mind.⁷ It is telling that our authors did not choose the topic ‘land’ because it was a ‘hot topic’ in academia and elsewhere; rather, the land rush had come to the places and people we had already known for decades.

The Trope of the Backward

Peaceful futuremaking needs to be based on understanding of actors and their incentives within their respective settings.⁸ Land-use planning to meet the de-

mands of growing populations is, admittedly, urgent; but it cannot be a short-term engagement. On the contrary, for food security⁹ and well-being to matter, time is needed to integrate knowledge about the specifics of land, soil and water in the planning. People and the land they regard as their dwelling place cannot be separated without harm because it is not only a place of production but also of belonging (Turton 2011; Lentz 2013), and being forcefully separated from their land is among the most devastating experiences that can occur to people in their lives. As Shauna LaTosky describes in detail in her contribution, the possibility of staying and withholding consent needs to be a viable option for people who live on land earmarked for investment. Also, the option to refrain from planned land deals needs to be a realistic possibility – one resulting from serious evaluation of existing land use practices and of the environmental and social consequences of new land use schemes (Gabbert 2014: 23).¹⁰ Therefore, the art of policymaking should involve the attentive integration of divergent views on and interests in land. Among the agro-pastoral Arbore in southern Ethiopia, it is said that ‘land cannot be rushed’. This means that cultivation cycles and livestock movements need to be finely tuned and well attended, and places of ritual importance need to be respected. Especially when it comes to political decisions, elders remind the young to act slowly and with care, *nungu*. ‘Make haste slowly, *festina lente*’ is what Erasmus von Rotterdam told leaders almost half a millennium ago to help them avoid making the wrong political decisions for their people: ‘But one fit of idleness in a prince, one rash decision – just think what storms it sometimes raises and what ruin it can bring with it into the affairs of men!’ (Erasmus 2001[1536]: 134).

In the wake of the land rush at the beginning of the twenty-first century, policies that were clearly against pastoralists’ interests were implemented at an unprecedented pace and with predetermined rigidity, which repeatedly brought ruin both to the dispossessed and the investors. How was this legitimized? As Günther Schlee describes in his contribution, in the developmental state of Ethiopia, labelling pastoralists as ‘backward’ became a political ‘magic formula’ revived in a neoliberal guise and implemented as a licence to dispossess pastoralists from the land they lived with, on and off. The old modernist trope of backwardness legitimized the exclusion of pastoralists in the planning. They were depicted as people for whom decisions had to be made rather than as respected citizens who could contribute to pursuing the common goals of the country. This attitude, well known in the history of development policies (see Hobart 1993), contributed to the violent dimensions of land deals described in this volume. Once people were depicted as inferior, there was no need to approach them respectfully. We often suggested that decision-makers should engage directly with the people whose land they were making decisions about. Instead, meetings often took place in the presence of guards and officials who would often be intimidatory and manipulative of people, as described in the contributions by Wedekind,

LaTosky and Buffavand. Perhaps the outcome of face-to-face communications would have been eye-opening for the planners. Instead, general plans, independent of cultural context, were thought adequate and were implemented. Rather than through talking with people and creating common goals, as stated in the Ethiopian Constitution, policies were designed and put into practice, with the backing of overt force, to achieve the ambitious goals, formulated at the centre, that were most forcefully applied in the lowland peripheries inhabited by agro-pastoralists.¹¹

While we do not question the validity and importance of goals such as the right to food, to procure income, to secure health and enjoy quality school services, the decision simply to exploit the lowlands for broader economic goals proved fatal in many respects. We will discuss later how this relates to the greater goal generally announced of securing a better future for all. A common strategy was defined to push for development goals by means of the violent suppression of freedom of opinion. For pastoralists, this approach was accompanied by the stigmatization of their very livelihoods. Once pastoralists were labelled as backward, this eradicated their rights to land use, agency or consent. Stigmatization was extended also to people who defended the rights of pastoralists and the value of pastoralism as a livelihood – for example, researchers who were labelled as ‘development spoilers’ and ‘friends of backwardness and poverty’.¹²

To exclude pastoralists from decision-making was framed as a noble task, to ‘relieve’ them of their ‘backward existence’. In 2018, when listening to a radio report on violent conflicts in Gambella in western Ethiopia, a taxi driver in Addis Ababa had an explanation ready: ‘The pastoralists attack the people from the centre because, before the investors came, they did not know how to use the land and now they are jealous because they see agriculture for the first time in their lives’ (personal communication, October 2018). This example shows how fictitious divisions are created between those who consider themselves modern, or open to modernity and progress, and those who are denigrated as backward and uninformed. This supported and enforced a conflictual division between people as well as discrimination against agro-pastoralists, not only from a distance but also by migrant labourers on new farms, providing more causes for violence. What would have happened if policy planners had prioritized unity over antagonism? Instead, the paternalistic attitude that has led to the exploitation of the peripheries at least since the beginning of recorded history has persisted into the present, now in a high-modernist framework.¹³ As a consequence, the pathway towards the ‘integration’ of pastoralists’ territories was paved with negative connotations and paternalistic notions of how to develop fellow citizens, and unity was defined by the goals and ideals of ‘the moderns’, not by embracing the rich diversity of the country’s citizens. The result was a great divide, as illustrated in Figure 0.1.

‘When the word “modern”, “modernization”, or “modernity” appears’, Latour reminds us, ‘we are defining, by contrast, an archaic and stable past. Fur-

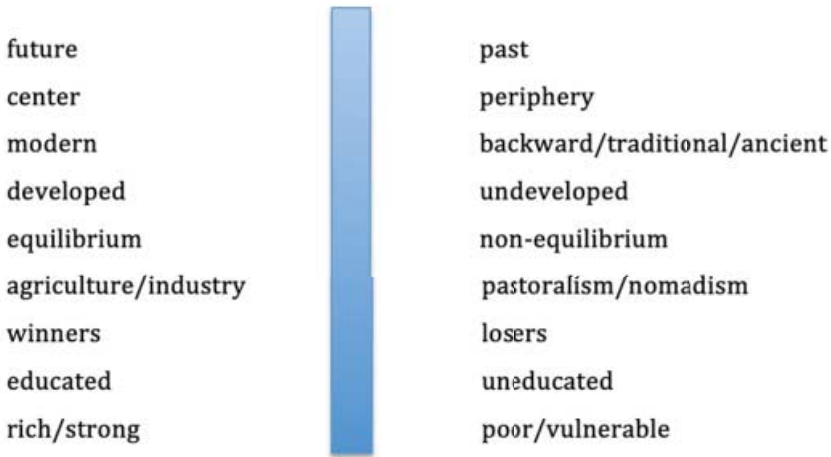


Figure 0.1. The great divide: exclusive futuremaking vs. pastoralists. © Echi Christina Gabbert.

thermore, the word is always being thrown into the middle of a fight, in a quarrel where there are winners and losers, Ancients and Moderns'. This creates a combat zone (Latour 1993: 10). The speech presented by the late Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi at the Pastoralist Day in Jinka in 2011, which marks this divide clearly, has been cited often enough.¹⁴ The irony of that speech is further layered with cynicism when one realizes that the very same pastoralists he addressed, and whom he declared to be poor and backward, had been forced to provide substantial amounts of money to help finance the event.¹⁵ The prime minister promised that the pastoralists would benefit from development, and that developers would cooperate with pastoralists in 'their own interest', but these promises were not kept – which may be one decisive reason for the failure of many of these ambitious projects.

The documents setting out the Growth and Transformation Plans of the Ethiopian government provide an interesting illustration of the rhetorical denigration of pastoralists as agents of a common future. In the earlier documents related to the plan – e.g. PASDEP (MoFED 2006) – one finds substantive sections on pastoral livelihoods and expertise, on the importance of mobility, and on cultural and land rights;¹⁶ but, in the Millennium Development Goals report of 2010, pastoralists only appear sporadically, while being depicted as vulnerable and undereducated (MoFED 2010a: 10, 14). In the Growth and Transformation Plan I, those formerly substantive subsections became little more than a few short paragraphs with vague ideas about 'voluntary' resettlement plans, livestock breeding, marketing systems and (mobile) schools (MoFED 2010b). In the Growth and Transformation Plan II, the transformation of 'backward production methods' in the livestock subsector (National Planning Commission

2016: 122) was supposed to lead to an increase in animal production through the further sedentarization of pastoralists, market integration and the provision of veterinary health services, water and fodder. The respective passages in the reports have little to say about existing pastoralist knowledge; for instance, the call for ‘voluntary sedentary farming’ displays ignorance of time-tested agro-pastoral practices that have flexibly combined animal husbandry with agriculture. Grounded knowledge about agro-pastoralism disappeared in these major government reports that presented the ill-advised land investment phase, in spite of well-founded guidelines from the African Union, such as the ‘Policy Framework for Pastoralism in Africa’ (AU 2010). As John Markakis points out in his contribution, pastoral land rights, as stated in the Ethiopian Constitution, as well as initial plans for serious studies about pastoralists were, after 1991, ‘not mentioned again’.¹⁷ As Schlee has noted, ‘many urban Africans, including the political class, do not seem to be aware that the relatively cheap and abundant, as well as “ecologically” produced meat they enjoy does not stem from the “modern” kinds of agriculture they propagate but from pastoralists’ (Schlee 2010: 160). One cannot help wondering who was politically responsible for the rhetorical ‘evaporation’ of pastoralist matters in these plans, the same matters that have been well described by several Ethiopian scholars. Perhaps their work has been seen as too ‘realistic’ to support the fictitious visions of the future to be discussed in the following sections.¹⁸

The Trope of Uninhabited Territory

From a conventional perspective associated with the industrial way of life, the future is the “not yet”. It is the realm of potential and possibility, an empty vessel to be filled with dreams and desires, plans and projects. As such, it is stretching out in front of us: vast, unlimited and open-ended. (Adam 2008: 111)

Adam’s critical description of the future corresponds to visions of ‘empty lands’ that called upon global investment to awaken ‘sleeping giants’ on unused land through ‘competitive commercial agriculture for Africa’ (World Bank 2009). Indeed, in the 2000s, pastoralists’ territories in the Ethiopian peripheries were offered to investors on the Internet through minimally priced leases for supposedly uninhabited, fertile and unused land that were combined with incentive packages for investors such as ‘tax holidays’ (Lavers 2012). This was a logical consequence of the above-described stigmatization of pastoralists because ‘empty spaces are first and foremost empty of *meaning*. . . (more precisely, unseen)’ (Baumann 2000: 103). In a perfectly designed *terra nullius* pattern, land together with its inhabitants was declared empty by planners who then made it available for industrial uses and commodification.¹⁹ The ‘backward’ existence of pastoralists was

regarded as void of agricultural values and economic benefits while disregarding elaborated agro-pastoral practices. This also displayed a lack of understanding of the inseparability of the human, non-human and divine in land (see Buffavand 2016: 477). Patches of land, offered to investors for sell-off prices²⁰ (Dessalegn 2011, 2014), were in areas that the World Bank had previously identified as ‘untapped growth potentialities’. The language used in an initial 2003 concept paper for the World Bank is oftentimes more inflated than factual, using scaling-up rhetoric that perpetuated the global land rush: ‘Ethiopia seems to be caught in a poverty trap, plummeted [sic] by dreadful initial conditions, unable to sustain high growth rates’ (El Aynaoui 2003: 3). Solutions for this ‘very destitute nation with very poor physical and human capital stocks’ therefore aim at a ‘big push’ to ‘kick start the economy’ (ibid.: 3f). The follow-up report promoted the idea of multipurpose dams and attracting investors (World Bank 2005a). Pastoralism, under the term ‘livestock sector/assets’, is covered erratically in these documents. Together with a confidential note on the ‘Four Ethiopias’ (World Bank 2004), in which different regions are evaluated according to their growth potential, these documents were, and continue to be relied upon as, decisive supports for the narrative of the ‘undeveloped’ (parts of) Ethiopia.

Documents such as these World Bank reports, along with other sets of data produced worldwide for ‘action at a distance’, particularly for assessing land as a resource, have had an enormous impact on policy, speculation and money flows under the guise of development (Li 2014a). Thus, global market mechanisms and schemes of accumulation, supported by fictions of unused/undeveloped/untapped and, therefore, available land, continue to be applied (a) to dispossess people and (b) to eradicate the meaning that land always has, over and above being, merely, a commodity.²¹

The fictitious joint construction of empty lands and backward citizens has made possible the establishment of the market as the ‘sole director of the fate of human beings and their natural environment indeed, even of the amount and use of purchasing power, [that] would result in the demolition of society’ (Polanyi 2001 [1944]: 76). In many land-grab scenarios, pastoralists are not even considered as an ‘accessory of the economic system’ in a Polanyian sense. Rather, together with their livestock, they become extraneous objects within a rigid framework for global social engineering (see Behrends et al. 2014; Bierschenk 2014), conveniently evaporated into insignificance as their displacement and replacement proceeds, as advocated in the development documents mentioned above. As Mbembe (2016: 223) states with reference to black labour power in South Africa: ‘Capitalism in its present form might need the territory they inhabit, their natural resources . . . , their forests, or even their wildlife. But it doesn’t need them as persons’. In fact, the great majority of workers on the sugar cane farm in southern Ethiopia were labourers from other parts of the country (Kamski 2016), while some pastoralists held only a few petty jobs.²²

Futuremaking – not with but against pastoralists – is a continuation of the denial of their existence in the tropes of modernity that had established the basis for the taking over of their territory in the first place. The examples in this volume add to numerous works describing similar patterns of land deals all over the world that squeeze smallholders out of their territories (e.g. Tsing 2005; Baviskar 2008; Abbink 2011; Borrás and Franco 2012; Cotula 2012; White et al. 2012; Kaag and Zoomers 2014; Li 2014a and 2014b; Edelman, Oya and Borrás 2015; Hall et al. 2015). The examples further add to the history of stigmatization, dispossession and forced settlement of pastoralists in state-building schemes – e.g. in Central Asia and Russia (Slezkine 1994; Donahoe 2004; Khazanov and Schlee 2012).²³ Therefore, one aim of this volume is to shed light on the historically repetitive pattern of using land policies for state-building in Eastern Africa in the twenty-first century.

State-Building and Modernity

As we have seen above, to pave the way for the development of land, governments aim to quickly ‘melt the solids’ (Baumann 2000), such as cultural values, the land as dwelling place, cultural self-esteem and socio-economic relations. State-building²⁴ in the peripheries, following an established historical pattern, was again implemented through development-forced displacement, resettlement and villagization schemes for pastoralists (see Turton 2015).²⁵ A World Bank report on Ethiopia describes women and pastoralists as vulnerable citizens and identifies tradition as an obstacle to state-building: ‘The analysis furthermore suggests both that traditional institutions remain more important to citizens than the formal organizations that are attempting to bring governance and resources control closer to citizens, and that these efforts are also currently inhibited by informal practices and norms’ (World Bank 2005b: 40). To throw pre-modern ‘solids’ – such as pastoralists with their knowledge and complex understanding of land, community and animal husbandry – into the melting pot is a ‘permanent feature of modernity’, or rather of those who regard themselves as modern, with the intent to make political and economic challenges and circumstances manageable and the future predictable (Baumann 2000: 3). Through this approach, pastoralists and the land they live on would finally be assimilated into state power and market structures. As Baumann (2000: 8) warns, however, managing a fluid modernity is a greater challenge than those who advocated the melting process anticipated. And as Scott (1998: 318f) warns, relying on generic rules and calculations without regard for local particularities invites failure on the ground.

‘With land it is never over’ (Li 2014a: 591), and like peacemaking and state-making, futuremaking is a never-ending process. Just as in peacemaking, there are no recipes for futuremaking. Futuremaking can aim for the most positive outcome following painful experiences, but it can also repeat textbook exam-

ples of how not to learn from past insights, as David Turton describes in detail in this volume. Accordingly, land policies have often not led to the calculated benefits because the underlying calculations were too unidirectional in space and time.²⁶ A study commissioned by the Ethiopian government in 2012 found deficient land use applied in areas of large agricultural investments, the exclusion of civil society and a lack of land rights (UNDP 2013), which suggested that much land actually became unused *after* it had been taken away from people. Another report confirmed these conclusions only partially but did assert that large-scale farms provide fewer job opportunities (one job per 20 ha) than small-scale farms (Daniel, Deininger and Harris 2015). Many land investments were reportedly unsuccessful. As a result, the Ethiopian Agricultural Investment Land Administration Agency (EAILAA) began to revoke the licences of unsuccessful investors (Yonas 2016). The question then became: Will such land simply be given to the next best investor, or will the devastating results lead to a thorough rethinking of development policies?

The concentration on the industrial production of export goods such as cotton, sugar cane and flowers, which mainly meet consumer needs in the Global North, helped destroy (agro-)pastoralists' and other small-scale food providers' livelihoods without providing them apparent alternatives and with self-evident disadvantages occurring beyond the direct ones inflicted on displaced community members and on the environment. This also resulted, repeatedly, in the economic failure of entire investment schemes. After the 'subsistence' economy had come to be equated with poverty in order to legitimize modernization, many families, which, previously, had been well integrated into local production and trade networks, experienced a hitherto unknown degree of poverty. There are no statistics pertaining to the collateral damage done to (agro-)pastoralists' economies, which so clearly contradicts the 'win-win' and 'trickle-down' promises that have served to make land deals more palatable. Many investment schemes have produced little if any revenue. And, as Edward G.J. Stevenson and Benedikt Kamski illustrate in their contribution, many displayed significant blind spots in their legitimization narratives before and after the land deals. For the Kuraz Sugar Development Project in southern Ethiopia, the case studies presented in the chapters of this book show that several Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)²⁷ were not only not reached but were actually crushed, at least with regard to pastoralists, in the period from 2011 to 2018. Many members of the Mun and Mela communities were, not surprisingly, made more food-insecure by the loss of their land and reduction in biodiversity (SDG 2, 3, 12, 15). They were poorer (SDG 1); they – especially the women – had few job opportunities and were often exploited and underpaid (SDG 5, 8 and 10); they experienced greater social and military conflict; and they were, increasingly, victims of lethal accidents (SDG 16). As of 2019, the overall economic assessment concluded that the project was a failure (SDG 8). 'With at least 3.6 billion US dollars received

in loans between 2011 and mid 2016' (Kamski 2016: 568), sugar production is limited because of the shortage of sugar cane, while promised service packages for health services were neglected, as Fana Gebresenbet illustrates in his contribution to this volume (SDG 3, 4, 6, 7, 10). One could add to the list the sole goal that has been seriously targeted: SDG 9, which pertains to industry, innovation and infrastructure. 'Infrastructure' for the farms was established at a rapid pace, without adequate environmental and social impact studies, as David Turton in his contribution shows, while 'innovation' was simply defined through 'industrialization'.²⁸ The strong resemblance of these scenarios to Marx's (1867) description of the effects of enclosures and dispossession in the eighteenth century has been noted (Makki 2014; White et al. 2012; Fana 2016). The fact that such destructive scenarios are repeated under the helm of the Sustainable Development Goals in the twenty-first century poses profound challenges to world politics (see Makki 2014). It seems that the monumental failure of 'high modernist' and standardized development projects imposed on populations in former colonies or in regions of internal colonialism by both capitalist and socialist regimes extends from the twentieth into the twenty-first century. Yet, there is a difference because 'the expansive modern age has got stuck' (Sachs 2019: xv). The destruction of ecology and livelihoods in the last frontiers across Africa (Abbink 2018), in the tropical forests in Asia (see Tsing 2008; Li 2014b) and Latin America (see Campbell 2015) cannot be extended further, while the spiral of violence against those who are 'squeezed out' of these territories has too often gotten out of control. The time has come to change the causes of these dismal outcomes.

What then, if, instead, the livelihoods of people who use the land without destroying it were regarded as innovative, across a broader space-time frame, and suitable to inform the goals for a 'better future for all', as is envisaged in the UN Sustainable Development Goals?²⁹ Our contributions show how visions of high modernity continue to sacrifice livelihoods, family farming and animal husbandry, socio-ecological expertise, customary structures and security. Moreover, management and control over the peripheries remains a prominent feature of capital accumulation and state-building, to the detriment of well-managed uses of common land, turning dwelling places into conflict zones and creating battlegrounds for global speculation. The art of living together within the limits of the planet needs to be learnt anew.

The Way to Go: Healing Broken Bonds

'Social reality include[s] a variety of real alternatives or possibilities for the future' (Bell and Mau 1971: xi). Naturally, these alternatives look different to different actors. States and pastoralists have seldom worked together on futuremaking; on the contrary, pastoralism has time and again been replaced by other state preferences, with dispossession and sedentarization as major features utilized to man-

age and control once mobile populations. This applies to situations of external and internal colonization and predatory expansion, as Asebe Regassa shows in his contribution to this volume. But is it not high time to fully integrate pastoralists into the social body of the state? Mutual futuremaking by states and pastoralists is possible if differences are also regarded as opportunities. To make the best of these opportunities, misconceptions about pastoralists need to be corrected to foster more holistic and realistic discourses about food providers, well-being, sustainability and peaceful futures. This is crucial for a peaceful living together that cannot possibly be built upon or sustained by means of stigmatization and exclusion. What, then, are features of pastoralism that can contribute to peaceful futuremaking?

Economy, Land, Livestock and Crisis Management

As Peter D. Little shows in his contribution, pastoralists' livestock production in the Horn of Africa, even before the advent of modernist growth paradigms, has been anything but peripheral (see also Mahmoud 2013; Catley 2017). The fact that some agro-pastoralists produce agricultural surpluses (see Kurimoto 1996; Gabbert 2018: 300ff) goes largely unnoticed. Moreover, pastoralism is based on flexibility, crisis management, resilience and diversification, developed in response to the challenges posed by difficult geographic and climatic conditions and exclusionary political governance.³⁰ Pastoralists constantly re-adapt to new challenges under non-equilibrium circumstances. In other words, in changing environments, hardship and abundance are balanced over the long term in communities of humans, animals, plants and spirits with an active bond to the land. In Arbore, the spiritual power of land is also a reminder that it must be used respectfully; to steal and exploit the land will lead to a person's ruin, as the land itself will place a curse upon the thief. Also, the significance of livestock is often barely understood by non-pastoralists. Schlee (1989: 403ff) describes cattle as a means to establish social networks with an insurance factor. Bonte and Galaty (1991: 9) describe cattle as signifiers for 'well-being and abundance, providing fertile objects for metaphorical thought and expression, and representing religious symbols, emblems of divinity and vehicles for sacrifice'. Ginno Ballo from Arbore describes the difference in wealth when comparing cattle to money:

When I watch my cow, I can see how she is full of life, full of energy, how she breathes, how her colours and patterns are shining in the sun, how she rejoices when I bring her to the watering place and to good pastures. My cow knows my whistle, my voice, my call. Money, you put in your pocket, or you hide it away in a box or in a bank. Our wealth is alive, out there, visible and beautiful. You can respond to it with your heart and with good energy. . . . Cattle open as many ways between people as they have hair on their hide. Every transaction of a cow has to be discussed

thoroughly. Every matter to do with cattle brings together many people and opinions and has to be considered carefully. (Ginno Ballo, personal communication, August 2011)

Being aware of diverse notions of wealth, well-being, land and human and non-human realities corresponds to global efforts to achieve context-specific agrarian justice, food justice and climate justice that considers a plurality of livelihoods (Borras and Franco 2018).³¹ Maknun Ashami and Jean Lydall's contribution provides a historical perspective as to how Afar pastoralists in northern Ethiopia, despite endless challenges to their livelihoods coming from plantations and anti-pastoral politics, have chosen ways to continue a livelihood option that has proven to be resilient and well adapted to the ecology of the region over the long term.

Alternative Economies and Sustainability

The reality that multimillion-dollar investments have not resulted in the expected revenues for the national economy, and in the end produced losses instead, is only one reason why such expenditures should have been weighed against the value of pastoralism or other customary economies in the first place. Jonah Wedekind's study of the white elephant agro-investment in Hararghe in eastern Ethiopia is a clear example of agricultural 'development' that produces environmental costs and social externalities that render the projects not only ecologically and socially destructive but economically unsustainable as well, stimulating scenarios of resistance.³² The warning in Elinor Ostrom's classic study *Governing the Commons* – e.g. 'Privatization of CPRs [common pool resources such as land, water and pastures] need not have the same positive results as privatizing the ownership of an airline' (Ostrom 1990: 22) – could also have helped to produce more realistic calculations about the use of commons before eradicating agro-pastoralism. The repeated failures of land deals show that there is no way around good knowledge about the common use of soil and about living on the land sustainably – that is, with future generations in mind.³³

The agro-pastoralist Arbore say that 'the land has fathers'. This means that the land hosts its people. It also means that land should be used carefully; not for personal profit but for communal well-being. Common land, therefore, cannot be sold or given away to people who do not use it respectfully over the long term. Lucie Buffavand describes similar patterns for the Mela of southern Ethiopia (Buffavand 2016, 2017). As heterogenous as pastoralist ways are, they have time and again created senses of place that are combined with refined and sustainable agroecological and organic practices, an immense knowledge of biodiversity, of animals, seeds and soils, and a common view of land.

A balanced assessment of the achievements of small-scale farmers and (agro-)pastoralists as food providers shows clearly that their contributions to the

responsible use of land and well-being should not be underestimated.³⁴ As Ostrom notes with respect to villagers, pastoralists often choose common land use for good reasons, and their economic survival depends on the management of limited resources (Ostrom 1990: 61). The wisdom of this corresponds to current searches for alternatives in economic thinking. The critical economist Kate Raworth (2017: 156) states: ‘Today’s economy is divisive and degenerative by default. Tomorrow’s economy must be distributive and regenerative by design.’ In a similar vein, Järvensivu et al. (2018: 2), in their latest background report on economic transformation for the Global Sustainable Development Report, stress that today’s economies, which were developed during an era of material abundance, need alternative ‘economic-theoretical thinking that can assist governments in channelling economies toward activity that causes a radically lighter burden on natural ecosystems and simultaneously ensures more equal opportunities for good human life’. This position does not support the idea that pastoralists should be coerced into market-based arrangements or that their knowledge should be misused for the building of new economies (see Trouillot 2003: 138f; Borrás et al. 2018: 1232; Borrás and Franco 2018). On the contrary, it suggests the fundamental rethinking of economic paradigms and of values that create well-being beyond the global marketplace, taking into account the profound variation in definitions of what constitutes a good life. To become a watchman on an industrial plantation might be an option for some people in one setting, but it might be a nightmare for a herder who cherishes autonomy and food sovereignty in another. What Walsh contends about the application of the concept of *buen vivir*³⁵ in South America is also valid here: it is necessary to stay open to interepistemic transformations that allow for different ‘philosophies, cosmovisions and collective relational modes of life’ (Walsh 2010: 20). In fact, pastoralists’ views of land, their highly adaptive land-use practices and their organization of the commons may contribute substantively to the development of alternatives, within the field of economics, to mainstream models positing the inevitability or desirability of rapid and unsustainable growth. This is especially relevant in the search for climate-friendly solutions for food production. In combination with Latour’s (1993, 2013) claim that ‘the moderns have never been modern’, this creates a basis for the acceptance of parallel modes of existence beyond the modern/not modern divide – an acceptance that makes mutually informed futuremaking possible.

Innovation, Change and Democratic Egalitarian Principles

Pastoralists, as shown throughout this volume, are not confining themselves to remote areas in order to escape the present. They are constantly reacting to ecological, climatic and political changes and fluctuations. This environmental knowledge is ‘contained, created, and realized, or “constructed” in dynamic processes of social interaction’ (Schareika 2014) and of course managed through

mobility. Nor can pastoralists be dismissed as denizens of an archaic era or as reactionaries; rather they are constantly recombining knowledge, realities and possibilities in a way that is expressed clearly in this quotation from an Arbore elder on school education: ‘What we want are good schools that integrate the knowledge and respect that even the smallest Arbore children have, so they can proudly and in good health combine it with things we cannot teach them’ (personal communication, December 2007). This statement also makes another important point. Not all is well in pastoralist communities, and there is much that can be improved; for example, in quality services for health and schooling. Unfortunately, pastoralists are often depicted as traditionalists who are not interested in change. While one should not romanticize pastoralism nor support an idealized stereotype of pastoralists, one should recognize that the choice for autonomy (e.g. rejection of school models that lack respect and understanding for pastoralism) is not to be confused with traditionalism (see also Girke 2018). There is often an emancipatory quality in statements made by pastoralists, which express their views of a good life, grounded in egalitarian principles, and of people’s desire for ‘equal access to the powers needed to make choices over their own lives and to participate in collective choices that affect them’ (Wright 2010: 18). This comes close to the pastoralists’ view of a social order, where community and lineage values still are key, and in which social, ecological, economic and political choices cannot be made by individuals alone.

Many pastoralists who pursue other professions continue to invest in their family herds. Mobile technology is used to tend to the herds, to find lost animals or to manage conflicts and peace negotiations. A balance is sought among various life choices: choosing the best pastures, fields, waterplaces and dwelling places; making decisions about dual education (in pastoralists practice and in schools, colleges and universities); and diversifying subsistence practices and engagement in trade (see also Schareika 2018). In many pastoralist communities, living with and on the land requires consideration of the human and the non-human, of new and old practices and techniques, of the living, the deceased and the ones who are not yet born. Choices, changes, cooperation and conflicts are weighed and intensely discussed as matters concerning families, lineages, clans, and larger groups and alliances of groups who live in the wider cultural neighbourhood (Gabbert and Thubauville 2010). Often, age- and generation-sets provide platforms for orderly communication within and between generations, including in matters concerning land. In the eyes of state administrators, the self-governing and egalitarian features of pastoralist social order have been seen as a hindrance to modernization; but, instead, exactly these features might be taken to indicate that pastoralists with their own ideas, organizations, and opinions are part of ‘the multitude of those who have felt, well ahead of the others, the extent to which it was necessary to flee posthaste from the injunction to modernize’ (Latour 2018: 42). This does not mean that the pastoralists are pre-modern or anti-modern but

that they may help us to learn how to avoid those distorted forms of modernization that are destructive and unsustainable. When our present dilemmas indicate to us that we should not buy into dichotomies of modernization and backwardness, then the cooperation of people with divergent views of life can begin. This requires the abandonment of bulldozer policies in favour of greater political and agrarian justice and of democratic principles enabling us to create 'a community of life' (Mbembe 2011: 1). Pastoralists, agro-pastoralists and farmers, whose socio-ecological principles are both grounded and diverse, can contribute to peaceful futuremaking and, beyond that, may have other, unanticipated roles to play.

States, Land Rights, Human Rights and Peace Formation with Pastoralists

At the World Economic Forum in Davos in 2019, Ethiopia's Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed recited this Ethiopian saying: 'If you want to go fast, go alone; if you want to go far, go together,' which prompts the question: Who is included in this 'togetherness'? Who belongs together with whom and why (Schlee 2009)? One would like to imagine that togetherness and unity are not achieved solely by moving in the direction prescribed by 'master plans' of governments and investors, but instead by addressing all and listening to many so as to make peaceful synergies thinkable. Too often, states and investors form alliances to the detriment of pastoralists and smallholders. If the answer to the question 'who belongs together with whom and why?' is that pastoralists and states (also) belong together, then the question of 'how they belong together' needs to be explored seriously. Many pastoralists are waiting for constructive approaches from their governments that allow them to come to terms with a painful past and present and enter into a future that provides space for peaceful living together without forced homogenization.³⁶ Continued discrimination against marginalized groups, such as pastoralists, agro-pastoralists and hunter-gatherers, cannot possibly lead to a peaceful living together. The case studies in this volume show that policies regarding pastoralist territories foster conflict if they are solely based on external imposition rather than on consultation and cooperation. Richmond (2013a, 2013b) describes this as the very pattern that has resulted in the failure of state-building and peace-building. Yet he also asserts that peace formation, if built on local capacities, can result in a state that is 'more fully representative of all identity groups in society' (Richmond 2013a: 282).

It should not be necessary to advocate pastoralism, but it is necessary to remind ourselves of the significance of drylands and lowlands, which are not empty but full of life. Within a broader temporal and spatial perspective, one broader in scope than this book, pastoralists do not need to be rehabilitated when it comes to land use. Their expertise simply should be recognized. Just as books that are seminal contributions to the understanding of particular topics should be consulted, if one wants to be well-informed, so knowledge of (agro-)pastoralists should be part of the syllabus for developing an understanding of land use. In

weighing pastoralists' ways of living with and off the land against forms of capital investment and 'development', it is not too late to learn important lessons that can help multiple actors achieve a future based on the reconciliation of interests that are now in conflict.

In their contribution to this volume, Elifuraha I. Laltaika and Kelly M. Askew remind us of the significance of the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which has, however, been received with obvious scepticism on the African continent. Such scepticism might be overcome if the concept of indigeneity were broadened to include people 'whose social and economic sustenance depends upon the management of a territory, according to their collective customs' (Milanez and Wedekind 2016: 6). Understood in this way, an emphasis on indigenous rights could be combined with the ratification of the ILO (International Labour Organization) Convention 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Rights, which acknowledges people's national right to self-determination. Another approach that corresponds well to respecting (agro-)pastoralist ways of life is 'food sovereignty', which is the 'right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems' (Declaration of Nyéléni 2007). Last but not least among the ways of contributing to positive future-making in southern Ethiopia and neighbouring regions is the proper translation of pastoralist land use practices into policies and the *de facto* use of commons as entailing communal land rights, as has been specified by the Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure (FAO 2012) and other sources (e.g. Mohammud 2007; Imeru 2010; Amanor 2012: 45; Abebe and Solomon 2013; Strecker 2014; Yonas 2016). So far, these approaches have been largely neglected when analyzing the dispossession of (agro-)pastoralists in the interest of capital accumulation by outside investors and local elites. In and of themselves, they cannot provide blueprint solutions, but their contextual integration in policymaking could provide cornerstones for a revision of harmful land deals.

Conclusion

If the future is developed peacefully and respectfully, everyone can learn and listen and change and open their minds. But if we are treated as inferiors, where is understanding, where is respect, where is the peace of mind that opens minds and hearts? (Pastoralist, Arbore, Southern Ethiopia, name withheld, 2016)

The future is a hypothesis first. The statement above is drawn from one of many conversations with my friends about their possible future as pastoralists in Ethiopia. The longing for peaceful and respectful living together is paramount in these conversations. It shows that people would like to identify with their state but can-

not. The call for insight, genuine communication and respect by the government with and for its people mirrors the bitterness and discontent about suppressive policies, silencing and violence that cannot possibly lead to a positive identification with the state. Excluding pastoralists from futuremaking in the name of development and modernity has created what in chemistry is known as toxic synergy.³⁷ Development patterns that seemed to make sense in one institutional framework (Sustainable Development Goals) have been matched with market mechanisms that seemed to make sense in another institutional framework (economic growth and investment). By ignoring possible synergies and convergence with pastoral livelihoods, this match has created toxic environments of global social engineering and state-building that are marked by expropriation, conflict and cultural, environmental and economic losses, which, in their harmful effects, are much greater than the sum of their parts.

In his contribution to the volume, John G. Galaty describes how concepts of modernity have become a weapon of class struggle all over the Horn of Africa. Such concepts, and the exercise of power that they serve to legitimize, affect the conditions of rural land holding in much of the world while hindering the mutual exchange of opinions, existing knowledge and visions for the future. The paternalistic assumption that everyone wants what the planners think they want is based on a fundamental underestimation of people's agency and cultural self-esteem. Such assumptions construct a local, national and global divide between enforced modernity and artificially constructed backwardness, propagating images of pastoralists as poor and vulnerable, without asking whether such images correspond to pastoralists' self-understanding or calculating the costs of removing pastoralists from the matrix of futuremaking.

Positive futuremaking is an expressive and creative way of dealing with the past, especially if current understandings of the past, present and future call for improvement. As previously stated, to respect and support visions of development as a means to improve people's lives is a basis for constructive discussion. Likewise, to respect and understand people's views of land, especially the views of people who are most familiar with their land, is not an optional act of benevolence but an essential part of the opportunity to create the best possible solutions to pressing challenges to food provisioning worldwide. The responsibility for food security has increasingly been concentrated in the hands of people who have very little knowledge about land beyond its value as a commodity. Their understanding of 'food security' may, however, be illusory: 'If you take away land from others, it might appear sweet to you first; later you will awake and realize it has ruined you. Even with millions in your bank account, one day you will live to see: money from stolen land has a curse on it' (Arbore man, 25 February 2019, name withheld).

'The future needs heritage,' says the philosopher Marquard (2003). He calls for sustaining the tension between rapid innovation and a moderate or slow approach

to seeking necessary improvements; but these formulations still associate speed with modernity and slowness with tradition, thus reinforcing a divide that has contributed to the disintegration of the ties that link people, land and politics. It is a divide that has made economics the science of the future and, thus, the launching pad for policymaking while diminishing the cultural actor as ‘a person of and from the past’ (Appadurai 2013: 180). Instead of reinforcing oppositions between the future and heritage or modernity and tradition, anthropologists have time and again called for syntheses of economic, sociocultural and practical perspectives beyond the ‘alluring spectacle of modernity’ and development (Fratkin 2014: 109).³⁸ For these repeated calls to resonate more clearly, it might be helpful to take a step away from the time-bound illusion of the modernity paradigm – that is, the fads and fashions of immediate situations – and to enter the timeless domain of value (Bell and Mau 1971: xi), in the hope of discovering what the pastoralist elder, the astronaut, the schoolgirl and the artist have envisioned: what is and will be relevant in a broader, more inclusive space-time concept for life on earth.

‘Modernity starts when space and time are separated from living practice’ (Baumann 2000: 8). In thinking about land, water and living together in the twenty-first century, the divisions between theory and practice, modern and backward, states and pastoralists, have stood in the way for too long. Modernity also started when it was defined in opposition to all that is not regarded as modern. In the twenty-first century, such understandings of modernity increasingly resemble features of a past that used to be regarded as modern but is no longer seen as such. Positive futuremaking starts when space, time and land with its inhabitants are brought together to be thought together, when diverse forms of life on, with and off the land can be accepted as valid elements of futuremaking; when unnecessary distinctions among livelihoods and forms of existence are overcome; and when all members of society are trusted to cooperate to ‘build peace and states’ (Richmond 2013a: 282). Furthermore, when the social, ecological and economic factors are not construed as antagonistic but as integral parts of futuremaking, then knowledge about the land as soil and ground fosters knowledge about the world (see Latour 2018: 92). As an outcome, tradition would be relieved of the stigma of backwardness and instead be recognized as a synergetic element of a common future in which ‘dualistic categories’ are seen as ‘relational, dynamic and essential for each other’s existence’ (Sullivan and Homewood 2018: 120). Sometimes, this is expressed in playful ways, as is the case with an Ethiopian coffee producer whose slogan is ‘Where the tradition is progress’; is made accessible in inspiring academic collaborations such as in the volume *The River: Peoples and Histories of the Omo-Turkana Area* (Clack and Brittain 2018); or becomes visible in artistic ways, as in the paintings of Girmachew Getnet, which leave spaces for differences without breaking the circles that hold everything together.

This volume, although based on long-term anthropological engagement and research, is not an anthropology of the future of pastoralism. ‘At the time of the

Anthropocene, anthropology is not a specialized discipline' (Latour 2017: 48); rather, it is one possibility to rethink the current local and global state of affairs. The future is a common destiny of people with many different views on life. And no single view can claim ownership over knowledge of what the future is or will be. In futuremaking, humans have only one part to play, without being able to control the future or the role non-human components will play in it. From a global perspective, modern contributions to the well-being of the world in the Global North are as remarkable as they are limited but up to now have not been characterized by equity but by selective enrichment through exploitation. As the greatest contributors to global warming, many 'developed' countries considered themselves modern for the longest time until discovering that their approaches were outmoded and even untimely when they were faced by a pressing need to finally develop sustainable ways of living within planetary limits. To ask countries from the Global South to slow down efforts to feed their populations and create income possibilities would be cynical, and this is not our intention. Access to healthcare, integrated education and the right to food should not be negotiable. They form a crucial basis for a peaceful living together. But have the scenarios described truly been designed with the intention to provide such access? The case studies in the volume answer this question rather forcefully: most land deals provided platforms for harmful and exploitative developments in global food production, creating toxic global synergies characterized by structural violence rather than new forms of peaceful synergy. A deep rethinking of agricultural knowledge, supported, for example, by agroecology and food sovereignty, is a far cry from the present reality. The global state of affairs, the climate crisis and the uncertainty about the future voices demands for desirable, viable, achievable and sustainable ways that 'are well thought out and understood' (Wright 2010: 23), drawing from all sources available.

Peaceful futuremaking needs many opinions, much expertise, and the ability to turn present dissonances into transformative moments. This is hard work. No discipline alone will identify answers that in themselves are sufficient. No peace-building mechanism can itself serve as a sole recipe. No land use practice alone will feed the world. To create enabling environments for a blend of organic farming, (agro-)pastoralism and other innovative farming systems is the challenge for policymakers dedicated to supporting liveable and peaceful futures in a global neighbourhood (see Reganold and Wachter 2016; Gabbert 2018). (Agro-)pastoralists have much to contribute to this endeavour.

To respect and fully integrate pastoralists' knowledge would first require the immediate correction of unjust land deals. Reparations for losses in land, food and well-being that still go unacknowledged are necessary to re-establish trust and stability in the affected regions. Pastoralist territories should not be declared empty, unused and available. Failed land deals cannot be corrected by simply bringing in new investors. Rather, pastoralists' rights to land, if clearly

recognized by law, could prevent a replacement of common resources by monopolization and privatization and foster fluid tenure solutions (see Galaty 2016). The narrative of the backward pastoralist can be corrected in informed ways, not to be confused with romantic pictures that perpetuate the image of the exotic other in equally questionable ways. To address this, pastoralists, scholars, the media, government authorities and donors together can play constructive roles. An important step towards this was made in the speech of the Deputy Prime Minister of Ethiopia, Demeke Mekonnen, on the Ethiopian Pastoralist Day in Jinka in January 2019, acknowledging the immense contribution of pastoralists as a ‘national treasure’, revoking the backward label and criticizing ill-advised development projects.

Although we criticize ‘development’ that is harmful to pastoralists, our aim in this book is not to advocate pastoralism or rehabilitate pastoralist knowledge. Rather, by conveying a realistic view of pastoralism and agro-pastoralism as equally valid modes of existence, representing one of the many ways in which certain kinds of land may be used effectively, we want to show that the alienation of pastoralists from productive lands is unwarranted, unproductive and inadvisable. Again, this is not based on romantic notions of traditional land use practices but on time-tested evidence that pastoralism, like nomadism, is ‘a rather sophisticated, economically successful and sustainable way of life’ in certain areas of the world (Scholz and Schlee 2015: 838). Nomads and pastoralists who know how to use drylands in highly adaptive, flexible and organized ways are the major experts to be consulted together with other small-scale food providers at ‘the helm of shaping food policies’ (Gabbert 2018; Schiavoni et al. 2018: 1360).

The winds of change in Ethiopia and elsewhere give hope, as terms such as ‘backward’ and ‘primitive’ are becoming less frequent in official speeches. Yet, a change of tone alone is not sufficient, because, as Dessalegn Rahmato (2014: 239) states, we ‘must focus not merely on issues of inadequate governance and lack of management capacity, but rather on fundamental issues of policy choice and principle’. In other words, an economically successful land grab is still a land grab; and, as such, it is a source of conflict to be avoided in favour of peaceful solutions. Instead of perpetuating injustice in the name of ‘development’, an important sentence in the Ethiopian Constitution – that the right to land ownership ‘is vested in the State *and in the peoples of Ethiopia*’ – could be realized fully, not in top-down state-building but in mutual state-making.

In this sense, this volume does not provide comfortable truths. On the contrary, while genuinely acknowledging the urgency of the obligation of governments to provide good living conditions for their citizens, it exposes, in anthropological detail, the painful, harmful and deeply dissonant developments that first brought people together in the *Lands of the Future* Initiative. The composer Arnold Schönberg explained that dissonance, as unsettling as it can be, is not merely ugly but also a driver of movement (Bohemia 1912). This is a volume

full of dissonances. It will not curry favour with self-proclaimed modernizers. It takes a stand against power inequalities, harmful development, short-sighted growth paradigms and forms of repression on a global scale.

To diagnose and criticize processes that cause harm is a fundamental goal of emancipatory social science (Wright 2010: 11). Still, our criticism is only a distant echo of the deep discord and chaos that lies at the heart of our descriptions: the experiences of friends and counterparts who have lost their land and the grounds on which to choose the lives they want to live – a way of life dissonant from the plans made for them in national and global institutions and business centres. It is time to learn to listen to this dissonance in order to create a respectful space for transformation. Moments that call for transformation can neither be pushed aside in haste nor resolved through slight changes of tone or through whitewashing injustices. To create more pacific spaces in the future will require much energy, synergy, cooperation and the recognition of grievances. Only in these ways will it be possible to develop workable solutions that are based on ‘encounters across difference’ (Tsing 2005), in order to develop shared goals, including those that have been ignored or intentionally displaced for no good reason.

When seeking resolution in moments of pessimism, when places are dissolving and the present seems vulnerable, the philosopher Mbembe (2015) says: ‘A proper critique requires us to first dwell in the chaos of the night in order precisely to better break through into the dazzling light of the day.’ If our volume, through sound critique, can broadcast the dissonance produced by the misrepresentation of (agro-)pastoralists in the past and present – and if decision-makers and their advisors can endure the discomfort with which they react to this dissonance – then, together, we might succeed in taking the first steps towards making a new start, one based on deep rethinking, peaceful synergy, deep reform and informed practice, towards transformation, cooperation and respect. Hopefully, this volume can be one contribution among many to positive futuremaking, to entry into the light of day, whether by amplifying invisible silences, by accepting emancipated dissonances, or by resonating with one another in our common world.

The Case Studies

John G. Galaty, in ‘Modern Mobility in East Africa: Pastoral Responses to Rangeland Fragmentation, Enclosure and Settlement’, highlights the relationship of pastoralists and states with modernity after neoliberal trends have devalued local land uses in favour of its commercialized exploitation. As pastoral land is traversed and not ‘held’, the demand that pastoralists settle is linked to the call to modernize. Galaty focuses on new forms of mobility that have arisen as responses to, and reformulations of, the challenges created by social change, sedentarization and displacement: first, the growth of small towns in arid lands, and second, novel techniques of claiming and moving into lands hitherto unavailable because

of enclosure, land fragmentation and settlement. Various examples from Ethiopia and Kenya show that modernity, rather than being seen simply as a counterpoint to traditionalism, is conceived as a strategic stance towards innovation, where current conditions are refashioned as opportunities and continuing mobility represents modern responses to fragmented and bounded landscapes in an increasingly complex and globalized world.

Günther Schlee, in 'Unequal Citizenship and One-Sided Communication: Anthropological Perspectives on Collective Identification in the Context of Large-Scale Land Transfers in Ethiopia', scrutinizes notions of equality and realities of inequality in Ethiopian politics. Looking at Ethiopian ethnic federalism, Schlee describes the conundrum of shifting discourses about the equality of individuals and groups in relation to concepts of citizenship. While rights to territories move along ethnic, administrative, linguistic and historical lines and can be negotiated, there is one magic formula: if a group is classified as backward, then ethnicity is not associated with any entitlement to resources and does not have a voice in politics. This can be seen as a new class division that runs throughout the country. The lack of communication with 'backward' people has been bolstered by criminalization and silencing. Like a radio that can be switched off, this ignorance of citizens affects the core of ethnic federalism: cultural pluralism. To abolish the label 'backward' and to respect the land rights, knowledge and potential of pastoralists is an absolute requirement for the establishment of citizenship, in which everybody has a say in determining their own fate and that of the nation. This is essential for the cohesion of the country.

Peter D. Little, in 'Global Trade, Local Realities: Why African States Undervalue Pastoralism', rectifies state-skewed representations of economic realities by pointing to the immense contributions that pastoralists have been making to national economies in the Horn of Africa. He scrutinizes the hypocrisy in policymaking that fails 'to recognize that growth in exports of livestock and livestock products are dependent on existing forms of pastoralism'. Little shows how high-modernity utopias that regard their antagonists as 'unmodern' also create critical blind spots in their economic visions. These blind spots lead them to attempt to replace pastoralism with unsuccessful development schemes, such as implementing massive water development and farming schemes in Borana, prioritizing commercial ranching schemes over common land use, and criminalizing cross-border trade, thus constraining mobility and increasing inequality.

Elifuraha I. Laltaika and Kelly M. Askew, in 'Modes of Dispossession of Indigenous Lands and Territories in Africa', discuss indigenous rights on the African continent. Although all African states are united in their insistence that the concept of indigeneity does not apply to them, based on the claim all Africans are equally indigenous, the authors describe how identification as indigenous became increasingly significant in environments of violent discrimination against marginalized groups such as pastoralists, agro-pastoralists and hunter-gatherers.

With violence increasing alongside the appropriation of land, water and other resources in the course of the global land rush, they describe and analyse six modes of land loss and dispossession, with cases drawn from across the continent – agribusiness, conservation, extractive industries, infrastructure projects, competition with cultivators and internally displaced persons – to emphasize the global responsibility to create a respectful path of development.

John Markakis, in ‘Land and the State in Ethiopia’, embeds recent policies for pastoralists in the history of the Ethiopian arid lowland peripheries. He scrutinizes the continuing lack of synergy between the local economy and the plantation economy within different political frameworks. After offering vast amounts of available land in the peripheries in the twenty-first century, Ethiopia became a major participant in the ‘second scramble for Africa’, with the ‘feeding frenzy’ involving state, private and foreign capital in outsized amounts. Resettlement and villagization processes were often supported by the local intelligentsia that had been groomed into an auxiliary elite, which was recruited into the EPRDF-affiliated local political party and local administration. The technocratic interpretation of future economic gains that clash with often disastrous outcomes for people in the periphery and the environment is accompanied by accounts of failed investments squeezed between the political power of the state and the increasing discontent of lowlanders.

Maknun Ashami and Jean Lydall, in ‘Persistent Expropriation of Pastoral Lands: The Afar Case’, draw from rich historical material to review the commercial agro-industry projects and development policies for Afar of different governments as well as reactions from Afar elites and pastoralists. Including hitherto unknown material from the late Glynn Flood, they describe the similarities between the set of assumptions that puts regions and peoples under feudal obligation, the revolutionary ideology that establishes all land may be held by, and at the disposal of, the state, and finally a neoliberal philosophy that grants the state the right to allocate land for capitalist development to the detriment of a pastoral livelihood. They conclude by noting that in spite of losing crucial flood-fed grazing areas, the great majority of Afar still survive, for better or worse, as pastoralists and agro-pastoralists.

Jonah Wedekind, in ‘Anatomy of a White Elephant: Investment Failure and Land Conflicts on Ethiopia’s Oromia–Somali Frontier’, provides an example of state formation at high cost embedded in global market schemes for agro investment. Here the transformation of agro-pastoralist livelihoods not only failed economically in the short term but also backfired politically over the long term. The case can be regarded as a forerunner of the social, economic and ecological harm created by similar projects in Ethiopia. Attracted by cheap land lease, water and labour and promises of the global boom in biofuels, land was appropriated by officials and investors through extreme measures when co-opting customary figures and establishing tightly controlled agricultural schemes to produce castor oil.

Complex entanglements led to a lack of cooperation and to resistance by farmers and agro-pastoralists and finally to the repeated bankruptcy of the project for Israeli and German investors, leaving behind deteriorated relationships between local communities and the federal and regional state long after the investors left the country.

Asebe Regassa, in ‘From Cattle Herding to Charcoal Burning: Land Expropriation, State Consolidation and Livelihood Changes in Abaya Valley, Southern Ethiopia’, argues that the current land regimes represent a continuation of past Ethiopian strategies of state expansion and resource exploitation as paths to the consolidation of state power. Large-scale agribusiness projects are mechanisms of exclusion, separating local people from their customary resource bases in processes of exclusion and expropriation to reconfigure property regimes pertaining to the ownership, utilization and control of natural resources. Using the example of a combined sugar cane cultivation and dam-building scheme, Asebe presents the voices of the Guji Oromo pastoralists. After having been dispossessed of their habitat and large portions of their herds, the Guji reacted by establishing private enclosures for charcoal burning, given the dwindling space for a pastoralist way of life.

Fana Gebresenbet, in ‘Villagization in Ethiopia’s Lowlands: Development vs. Facilitating Control and Dispossession’, unveils the political objectives of villagization programmes for pastoralists in Ethiopia’s lowlands within an historical context by asking, ‘What was villagization really about?’ Focusing on the clash of values between the ‘developers and the developing’, he shows that the realities of so-called development projects in the lowlands can be understood as a process of state-making by de-skilling pastoralists through central development paradigms. Villagization contributed to making society legible, governable and controllable. Whereas the need to address food security, health and improved schooling is accepted, the broken promises of integrated social services show that development rhetoric served to veil political and economical goals, with local communities losing out. Although Fana contends that ‘equitable development is not on the horizon’, he also argues that differences in worldview are surmountable when the capacity to aspire to a common future is reclaimed.

David Turton, in “‘Breaking Every Rule in the Book’: The Story of River Basin Development in Ethiopia’s Omo Valley’, guides us into the policies behind the Gibe III dam, part of the largest planned irrigation complex in Ethiopia constructed along the River Omo in southern Ethiopia, and the establishment of the plantation for the Ethiopian Sugar Corporation. After a description of the integrated and viable agro-pastoral economy that he has studied for decades, Turton describes the inadequate social and environmental impact assessments of the combined megaprojects that basically ignored the populations who lived along the river. The flaws in planning were followed by the disastrous effects of development-forced displacement and resettlement based on fictitious descrip-

tions of people's livelihoods. By asking 'how did it come to this?', Turton embeds the current developments in historical state-building processes 'fundamentally authoritarian, repressive and racist' and observes that genuine consultation, warning and advice were not given the space to avoid disaster.

Lucie Buffavand, in 'State-Building in the Ethiopian South-Western Lowlands: Experiencing the Brunt of State Power in Mela', complements Turton's chapter with a description of the effects on the Mela (Bodi) of the Gibe III dam and the irrigation schemes of the sugar cane plantation along the Omo River. Buffavand examines state-building mechanisms 'by which the Ethiopian state has attempted to secure the compliance of people whose land it takes'. With a focus on the actions of military personnel together with farm management and government workers, she provides ethnographic detail about land appropriation marked by violence, force and threats within the framework of historically established centre-periphery relations, with the deployment of heavily armed troops that targeted young Mela men in an exaggerated display of military might. So-called consultancy meetings were held in an atmosphere of fear and suspicion to implement villagization schemes under immense pressure. Deprived of land and time-tested coping mechanisms, the Mela pay the price for the new development – hunger. Whether the shifts towards less coercive modes of governance will reach the lowlands remains an open question.

Shauna LaTosky, in 'Customary Land Use and Local Consent Practices in Mun (Mursi): A New Call for Meaningful FPIC Standards in Southern Ethiopia', adds another dimension to the industrialization efforts around the sugar cane projects in southern Ethiopia. She shows how development and villagization schemes still struggle to honour and uphold culturally appropriate free, prior and informed consent (FPIC) guidelines with agro-pastoralists. By unveiling how the Mun gave their 'full consent' under an extreme, hostile climate of intimidation and discrimination after investments had already begun, it is clear people's fundamental right to FPIC, including the right to withhold consent, has not yet been realized. She shows, in a rich cultural translation, not only what 'consent' means but how understandings about territory need to be reached before any meaningful agreement about land use can take place. To restore dignity, decrease conflict and include pastoralists' ideas of development, LaTosky calls for all actors to come together to seriously work on future land use plans.

Edward G.J. Stevenson and Benedikt Kamski, in 'Ethiopia's "Blue Oil"? Hydropower, Irrigation and Development in the Omo-Turkana Basin', look at water, 'the hydrological equivalent' to land, as an asset in the global market, complementing the contributions of Turton, Buffavand and LaTosky in the Omo region. By scrutinizing the divided perceptions with respect to megaprojects – high potential or human disaster – they show that the (rhetorical) 'framing' of the issue often decides the outcome of its evaluation and implementation. While, for example, the Italian contractor frames its activities as positive development,

counter-narratives tell of human rights abuses, impoverishment, failure of investment schemes, conflict potential across national boundaries and the silencing of critical voices. The authors do not seek to pick a 'winning horse' in the race but instead to expose the hypocrisy of partial truths, especially on the side of the planners; to emphasize the necessity to cast light on shadowy reasoning and foreground the impacts on people and ecosystems on both sides of the international border; and in conclusion to stress that water cannot be likened to oil.

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Notes

1. The Arbore (also Hor) are agro-pastoralists in southern Ethiopia. The late Grazmach Sura was a spokesman for peace during interethnic conflicts in southern Ethiopia. The peace-making efforts of the Arbore are described in 'Deciding Peace' (Gabbert 2012).
2. As many pastoralist communities also practise agriculture; in this volume we use the terms pastoralism and agro-pastoralism/(agro-)pastoralism.
3. The name *Lands of the Future* was borrowed from an article by John G. Galaty (2013: 153) in which he argues that states should 'demonstrate more confidence in their people's ingenuity . . . rather than looking elsewhere for eager hands of investors in which to place the lands of the future and the future of the land'.
4. The *Lands of the Future* Initiative has been supported and financed by the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Department 'Integration and Conflict', in Halle (Saale), Germany.
5. At the beginning of our research, we used the neutral term 'changing land use' until there was sufficient evidence to specify the use of terms such as 'land grab' (on the terminology of land deals in research, see Hall 2013).
6. The *Lands of the Future* position paper, co-authored by thirteen anthropologists (Abbinck et al. 2014), gained wide attention, including from the development agencies of donor countries. For a list of workshops and panels at international conferences of the initiative, see <https://www.eth.mpg.de/lof>.
7. Edelman (2013) warns about the lack of understanding of land tenure, size and scale in the global land rush literature (see also Kaag and Zoomers 2014; Edelman, Oya and Borras 2015).
8. In the 'global neighbourhood approach', diverse views on land use are described with a focus on understanding all actors in given investment schemes (Gabbert 2014, 2018).

9. The term 'food security' here is used in the context of a global food policy framework, whereas in the context of small-scale food providers the term 'right to food' is preferred (see also Schiavoni et al. 2018).
10. Sustainable procurement processes are intended to help in serious-minded calculations regarding future social, economic and ecological factors and external costs ('externalities' in economic jargon) before operations are underway.
11. For descriptions of frontier dynamics in pastoralist territories, see Schlee and Watson (2009), Markakis (2011), Schlee (2011), Behnke and Kerven (2013), Dereje (2013), Girke (2013), Meckelburg (2014), Turton (2015), Wagstaff (2015), Fana (2016), Hennings (2016), Mosley and Watson (2016), Nalepa, Short Gianotti and Bauer (2017), Asebe, Yetebarek and Korf (2018).
12. As voiced in the speech of the late Prime Minister of Ethiopia Meles Zenawi on the Pastoralist Day in Jinka in 2011 (Meles 2011). Civil servants in southern Ethiopia were reportedly warned in official meetings about anthropologists who were 'enemies of development'.
13. Sources on the history of state expansion and forced displacement in Ethiopia, and on the South as a zone for enslavement, hunting and feudal control, are, among others, Pankhurst (1997), Donham and James (2002), Strecker (2006), Pankhurst and Piguat (2009), Lydall (2010), Gabbert (2012: 44ff).
14. 'I promise you that, even though this area is known as backward in terms of civilization, it will become an example of rapid development' (Meles 2011).
15. Several individuals who did not agree to the payment for the visit were consequently imprisoned for a few days.
16. For example: 'Institutionally, the major policy steps implemented so far by the Federal Government include securing the constitutional right of pastoralists not to be displaced from their own land' (MoFED 2006: 192).
17. Article 40.5 of the Ethiopian Constitution: 'Ethiopian pastoralists have the right to free land for grazing and cultivation as well as the right not to be displaced from their own lands. The implementation shall be specified by law'.
18. See Galaty's note on rational choices and self-interested judgements in policies for pastoralists (Galaty 2011).
19. In the recent land rush in Eastern Africa, *terra nullius* was not applied in its legal sense, as known, for example, from British colonial rule, when 'uninhabited' land could be appropriated by law. Nevertheless, *terra nullius* rhetoric that justified appropriation when land was not used according to the expectations of colonial rulers was clearly applied to pursue and legitimize land deals (see also Geisler 2012; Makki 2014).
20. Dessalegn (2011: 18) reports lease rates per hectare per year in 2009 of between 1.20 and 12 US dollars.
21. It remains to be seen how more differentiated approaches – e.g. in the latest report of the World Bank Group and the UK's Department for International Development (2019) – will be merged with the Pastoral Development Policies Strategy of the Ethiopian Government.
22. From the envisaged 700,000 new jobs created by the sugar industry in the Omo Valley, only 30,000 materialized (Kamski 2016). The numbers from various sources differ dramatically. LaTosky reports that from the pastoral community only thirty-four Mun have been employed. Buffavand reports significant differences in the payment of locals versus migrant workers, with cases of local workers receiving lower wages and of women who were actually deprived of their payment (personal communication October 2018).

23. 'The "virgin lands campaign" in the Kazakhstan steppes in the 1950s and the introduction of a cotton monoculture in Uzbekistan are just two examples of culturally and ecologically devastating Soviet initiatives . . .' (Donahoe 2004: 2017f).
24. While acknowledging that the 'state is always in the making' (Lund 2016: 1200), the term 'state-building' here is used according to the following understanding: 'It is normally aimed at producing the basic framework of a neoliberal state in a procedural and technocratic sense, and is less interested in human rights norms or civil society' (Richmond 2013b: 383).
25. For a historical perspective on development policies for pastoralists, see Schareika (2018) and Sandford (1983).
26. Benefits are difficult to evaluate because (a) quantitative reports on the performance of agricultural investment often contradict each other, and (b) evaluation of costs alone does not include the meaning of land and well-being beyond economic calculations. On the unreliability of data regarding land deals, see Cotula et al. (2014).
27. Sustainable Development Goals set by the United Nations Assembly in 2015 to 'achieve a better and sustainable future for all': 1: No Poverty, 2: Zero Hunger, 3: Good Health and Well-being, 4: Quality Education, 5: Gender Equality, 6: Clean Water and Sanitation, 7: Affordable and Clean Energy, 8: Decent Work and Economic Growth, 9: Industry, Innovation and Infrastructure, 10: Reduced Inequality, 11: Sustainable Cities and Communities, 12: Responsible Consumption and Production; 13: Climate Action, 14: Life below Water, 15: Life on Land, 16: Peace and Justice Strong Institutions, 17: Partnerships to Achieve the Goal (<https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/>).
28. Similar findings have been made for Beni Shangul Gumuz and Gambella, concluding that large-scale agricultural projects 'fail in all aspects' (Atkeysh 2019:127ff).
29. The *Guardians of Productive Landscapes* Project, which evolved from the *Lands of the Future* Initiative, is looking at well-functioning, sustainable, organic and highly productive land use practices that make up the backbone of food production (Schlee et al. 2017: 17ff).
30. See Scoones (1994, 2004), Lane (1998), Little et al. (2001), Galaty (2005), Schlee and Shongolo (2012), Catley et al. (2013), Schlee (2013), Abbink et al. (2014), Krätli (2015), Zinsstag et al. (2016), Gabbert (2018).
31. The international PASTRES (Pastoralism, Uncertainty and Resilience: Global Lessons from the Margins) project is building on pastoralists' expertise to apply it to global challenges, such as financial systems, critical infrastructure management, disease outbreak response, migration policy, climate change, and conflict and security governance.
32. Studies show the hidden costs for seemingly 'successful' food production (see Fitzpatrick et al. 2017 for the UK).
33. A groundbreaking contribution to the meanings of sustainability in the twenty-first century is *The Anthropology of Sustainability* (Brightman and Lewis 2017).
34. In 2013, a comprehensive UN report emphasized the need for a long-term paradigm shift from industrial monoculture to polyculture and small-scale agriculture in order to secure world food security (UN 2013). The technological and political dimensions of agroecology and food sovereignty provide viable insights into alternatives to unsustainable industrial agricultural practices and policies (Rosset and Altieri 2017; Pimbert 2018).
35. The concept of *buen vivir*, roughly translatable as 'the good life', has been incorporated into the constitutions of Ecuador and Bolivia, where it articulates alternatives from below to 'development' based on Western models. In this understanding, *buen vivir* is only possible within a community (Gudynas 2011).

36. In the volume *To Live with Others*, such principles of diversity have been described for the cultural neighbourhood of southern Ethiopia (Gabbert and Thubauville 2010).
37. Chemical substances – e.g. pesticides – that might not lead to harm in separate exposures can lead to toxic chemical reactions when mixed (see Lydy et al. 2004).
38. See also Elwert and Bierschenk (1988), Olivier de Sardan (2001), Schlee (2008: 21), Rottenburg (2009).

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