



RUMINATIONS

NEWSLETTER OF THE GLOBAL LIVESTOCK COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH SUPPORT PROGRAM



Belina Uanga, of Weglyn farm in Tsubgaus, and one of her grandchildren. Namibian farms are populated mainly by women and children. Photo by Yane Laursen.

Asking Namibian Farmers to Discuss Desertification

By Cralan Deutsch

If many pastoralists report that rain is the most important variable in determining range health, then why does much desertification literature claim that it is human-induced change that leads to land and range degradation?

Relying on both the findings of range researchers in Namibia who have made efforts to differentiate between short versus long-term effects of grazing, and survey data, it is possible to posit an explanation for this discrepancy. In brief, the explanation is that the time frame in which permanent changes to vegetation and soil fertility begin to take place may span more than fifty years, greatly complicating efforts to identify and differentiate between climatic and human-induced change.

The Nama people who are the subject of this article live in communal areas of Hardap, southern Namibia, a region

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2002 GL-CRSP Program Conference Held in DC

The 2002 GL-CRSP Program Conference took place in Washington DC on October 9-12. Over 130 participants from all over the world gathered to present findings and meet with program scientists. Jacqueline Schafer, Deputy Assistant Administrator, Economic Growth, Agriculture and Trade at USAID, opened the conference by welcoming the participants and spoke about the significance of livestock to USAID's four pillars.

The conference serves as a vehicle for each project to present their findings and collaborate with other projects. One of the highlights of the conference included a poster session on October 9, at which thirty-four presenters displayed their work and answered questions from conference attendees. (See page 7 for photos and related article). Dr. Jim Ellis was also honored at the conference. Dr.

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Administrative Management Review Recognizes ME Leadership

In preparation for GL-CRSP's grant renewal proposal, an administrative management review (AMR) took place in October 2002. The AMR report, finalized and released in December, gives GL-CRSP a good recommendation for the future: "It is clear from all indications that the GL-CRSP has developed and is implementing a strong scientific program under the leadership of the Management Entity at the University of California, Davis during its current phase of operations (1998 to 2003). The GL-CRSP meets all of the expectations of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) for its management systems."

In addition the AMR team found that the major way in which the GL-CRSP addresses sustainability is through human capital and institutional development. Training has always been an important focus of the GL-CRSP. Many current trainees are students who hope to continue in international activities, or to return to work in their home countries. The report explains, "One of the advantages of the CRSPs is that the students are part of an ongoing research program in the host countries, helping the students to establish contacts and a network to facilitate their job searches in those regions after graduation. In addition

this program provides significant involvement, through workshops and seminars, of people from many different sectors in the host country. The development of human capital is significant."

Students who were interviewed for the AMR said they felt they are an important and recognized part of the CRSP program, helping to prepare annual reports, and – for more advanced students – publications. They made many favorable comments about their educational experiences.

The GL-CRSP has done an excellent job in organizing workshops and conferences to provide an opportunity for its research networks to share information about current research findings, both among project team members, but also to other government and non-governmental audiences engaged in the development process.

The administrative management review was conducted by Dr. Ray Miller and Dr. Deborah Rubin. Dr. Ray Miller, the team leader, is a soil chemist with experience teaching at the graduate and undergraduate levels. Since 1998, he has been Director of International Programs in Agriculture and Natural Resources (IPAN) at the University of Maryland. He

has worked in or with people and programs from many countries including Russia, Costa Rica, China, Tanzania, and Ethiopia. Dr. Deborah Rubin is a cultural anthropologist. She has nearly twenty years of experience working on the topics of economic growth and poverty reduction, agriculture, food security, nutrition, household decision-making, and gender considerations at both project and policy levels.

As part of its review, the AMR team attended the GL-CRSP Program Conference held from October 9 - 12, 2002. The team met with members of the CRSP's management entity, several of its advisory groups, many graduate students, host country scientists, and with each of the core project teams. At the program conference, the team met with the Cognizant Technical Officer (CTO), Joyce Turk, to clarify the goals of the review and discuss the background of the GL-CRSP. They also obtained up-to-date accounts of the CRSP's research efforts from presentations by its scientists and met with graduate students and core project teams. They met with the External Evaluation Panel (EEP), as well as two members of the previous Program Administrative Council (PAC) and three members of the current one,

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Improving Pastoral Livelihood Security Through Education: Experiences of the PARIMA Project in Southern Ethiopia

By Seyoum Tezera, Solomon Desta, and D. Layne Coppock

Lack of education is increasingly a cause and effect of poverty. Education is a key to human development, a tool to fight poverty, and a means to promote peace. Lack of access to education is one of the constraints that handicaps pastoral development in particular. Females—crucial agents of the pastoral economy—are especially marginalized with respect to their lack of access to education.

According to UNESCO, about one billion of the world's people—and 75% of rural women in sub Saharan Africa—are illiterate. Illiteracy rates among Ethiopian pastoralists (males and females) hover around 90%. Less than 10% of school-age children in the Borana pastoral area of southern Ethiopia are enrolled in the formal school system.

In 2000 the PARIMA project sponsored some exercises in Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) in southern Ethiopia among several pastoral communities. Although long used in places like Kenya, this was the first time that PRA had been attempted in Ethiopia. The PRA approach is a diagnostic method whereby communities prioritize their problems and create a community action plan (CAP) that outlines the tasks and investments needed for the

community to tackle the problems themselves. The CAP can then be implemented in a partnership between the community and a local development agent. The Outreach arm of the PARIMA project has primarily served as a facilitator in this process. Funds used to invest in pilot projects (CAPs) and support PARIMA Outreach have been provided by the USAID Mission to Ethiopia as part of the Southern Tier Initiative (STI).

The community of Dida Hara was selected for one of the PRAs, and hundreds of community members participated. This community consists of several thousand semi-settled pastoralists who reside 50 km southeast of the town of Yabelo. The community has traditionally supported itself from a combination of livestock production with more recent emphasis on subsistence maize cultivation in valley bottoms. Livelihood security is at risk due to population growth, poverty, and drought. Food aid is pervasive at Dida Hara.

The CAP for Dida Hara revealed several priorities for intervention. The people said their biggest problems were food insecurity and insufficient water supplies. To deal with

such problems themselves on a sustainable basis, the PRA exercise revealed that the people needed to try to diversify their livelihood base and increase their incomes where possible. The priority interventions to start the process were improved access to education and rural finance. The PARIMA project facilitated implementation of the CAP. The local development partner is Action For



Borana adults enrolled in NFE in Dida Hara, Ethiopia. Photo by Seyoum Tezerra.

Development (AFD), an Ethiopian NGO with an office in Yabelo. The AFD is responsible for project implementation in conjunction with the local community. The PARIMA project assists as a partner with monitoring and evaluation, and thus can help record the story of change as a form of applied research.

Two non-formal education (NFE) centers for adults and children were established by AFD in

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Improving Pastoral Livelihood Security Through Education

partnership with the Dida Hara community during late 2001. Non-formal education is an organized teaching activity that occurs outside the formal educational system. An NFE program is demand-driven with respect to course content. The school calendar is also designed to complement local work schedules, both on a daily and seasonal basis.

The NFE centers are mud-walled, thatch-roofed buildings with cement floors. Wooden benches can accommodate about 100 people each. Blackboards comprise the visual aids. The NFE centers are located adjacent to Boran villages. The NFE activity was to be managed by a new Community Education Committee. The AFD would help the Boran recruit the teachers and manage the process. The first enrollment has been for 187 students, and this includes adults and children. About 40% of the students are females. Courses have focused on local culture, information useful for daily life, and rudimentary literacy and numeracy. Courses have been offered in three shifts, with two during daylight hours and one at night. The teachers, who live on site, have struggled to meet this demand.

The NFE pilot activity has already made notable progress in terms of improving basic literacy and numeracy of the people. This is especially important for the dozens of students who are also members of pilot savings and credit groups—these people can now track simple records of cash transactions in their savings and credit booklets. They can also



Boys and girls attending the NFE have made a rapid improvement in learning how to read and write. Photo by Seyoum Tezera.

compute profits from small business endeavors. Mothers attending the NFE program are quickly deciding to send their daughters to formal schools in nearby towns. It appears, as elsewhere, that investment in educating females educates whole families, and in turn, educates communities. Boys and girls attending the NFE have made rapid improvements in learning how to read and write. Even children have developed abilities to influence family decisions on issues including livestock marketing and aspects of household management.

Labor for herding, watering, fuelwood collection, and cultivation is indispensable for pastoral households. The NFE program at Dida Hara had to identify favorable times for learning. The pastoralists were encouraged to participate in the production of teaching aids using local materials.

The NFE program for adults has endured more challenges compared to that for children. The process for adults requires more patience and flexibility. The attendance of adults markedly fluctuates depending on seasonal workload. At one point large numbers of adults had to quit the NFE when the long rainy season began in March 2002. This was because they needed to prepare local fields for maize planting. In another instance, adults gave priority to their children's schooling, and this forced the adults to cover more of the herding workload that otherwise would be handled by children. In return, the NFE instructors were asked to convene extra night classes for the adults.

We expect that a generation ago, many Boran at Dida Hara would have disputed the idea that education mattered. Today, however, with chronic pressures imposed by population growth, resource degradation, and

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drought, it is clear that the people of Dida Hara have to broaden their minds with respect to possible coping strategies. Basic education is a major component of their development strategy.

Despite increased awareness and interest in basic education among some Boran, there is still a reluctance to send children away to formal schools in towns. This is probably related to several factors, including: (1) possible loss of valuable family labor; and (2) concern that curricula in the formal educational system does not meet their needs. An NFE system could help pastoralists deal with this conundrum through on-site instruction tailored to the schedules and educational aspirations of the population.

To ensure transparency in this process, the PARIMA project has brought Ethiopian policy makers to Dida Hara to observe the situation. These policy makers include representatives of the Oromia Bureau of Education. They have offered their ideas and support for these activities. A broader NFE initiative in the southern rangelands will only be successful with buy-in from policy makers.

The AFD and the Dida Hara community have recently submitted a proposal to PARIMA Outreach to significantly expand the NFE activity at Dida Hara. This is in response to high local demand and satisfaction with results achieved thus far. 🌱



40% of the students are females. Mothers attending the NFE program are sending their daughters to formal schools and it appears that investment in educating females educates the whole family, which in turn, educates the communities. Photo by Seyoum Tezera.

About the Authors

Mr. Seyoum Tezera is the Outreach Field Assistant for the PARIMA project in southern Ethiopia. He was formerly employed by The Federal Government of Ethiopia, Ministry of Agriculture, as a member of the Pastoral Extension Team, before joining the PARIMA project in 2001.

Dr. Solomon Desta is a post-doctoral associate in the Department of Environment & Society at Utah State University, Logan, Utah, USA. He works in both Ethiopia and Kenya as the Outreach Coordinator for PARIMA. Dr. Desta has a special interest in pastoral development.

Dr. Layne Coppock is an Associate Professor in the Department of Environment & Society at Utah State University, Logan, Utah, USA. He is interested in risk management, pastoral development, technology transfer, and natural resource ecology and management with experience in East Africa, Bolivia, and the western United States.

The GL-CRSP Pastoral Risk Management Project (PARIMA) was established in 1997 and conducts research, training, and outreach in an effort to improve welfare of pastoral and agro-pastoral peoples with a focus on northern Kenya and southern Ethiopia. The project is led by Dr. Layne Coppock. Email contact for Dr. Coppock is Lcoppock@cc.usu.edu. Field activities for the outreach component of PARIMA in Ethiopia is funded by the USAID Mission to Ethiopia. 🌱

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Global Livestock Program Conference for 2002

Ellis, one of GL-CRSP's PIs, died tragically last year. The GL-CRSP Graduate Mentorship Award program has been named in his honor. At the poster session, the 1st Jim Ellis Graduate Mentorship Awardees were recognized, and a special plaque engraved with the awardees' names was presented to Jim's widow, Kathy Galvin.

In addition to presentations by each project, guest speakers addressed topics of interest to the international development community. Dr. Tom Thurow, of the University of Wyoming, gave a thought-provoking talk entitled, "So What and Who Cares: Toward Policy Relevance in Development Research on Natural Resource Management." Dr. Chris Barrett followed Dr. Thurow, speaking on "Poverty Traps and Their Relevance to the Global Livestock CRSP." Dr. Maria Fernandez-Gimenez of the University of Arizona, Tucson spoke about pastoralists, property, and natural resource management. She described pastoral property rights, the paradoxical requirements of pastoralists for flexibility and security, and drew on a case study from Mongolia to illustrate the challenges of pastoral land tenure and compared possible institutional solutions. Dr. Dan Sellen, Emory University, closed out the special presentations with a

talk on "Nutrition needs assessment and programming in pastoralist populations: What are the challenges?"

Panel discussions, team meetings, technical committee meetings and administrative review meetings were also part of the conference agenda. Panel discussion topics included: human capacity building and problem model focus and assessment team process. The human capacity building discussion brought together projects from all GL-CRSP regions. Drs. David Thomas and Nurlan Malmakov spoke about training and capacity building with a NARS in Central Asia, contrasted with Drs. Abdillahi Aboud and Layne Coppock, who discussed capacity building in the Faculty of Environmental Studies and Natural Resources at Egerton University in Kenya. Capacity building was an important topic, addressed throughout the conference. GL-CRSP Director Tag Demment highlighted the issue in his welcome remarks: "While agricultural development is central to national development, perhaps one of the most fundamental components of development is human capacity.. We are pleased about our contribution to science and development, and perhaps most proud of the 4000+ scientists we have trained to the M.S. and

PhD levels from developing countries." Other capacity building topics addressed included: The Role of Rural Development NGOs: Fostering Research Skills, Enhancing Capabilities (Carlos Vacaflores, Tim Moermond, Katty Hernandez), and Institution Building Through Graduate Education of Staff and Through Staff Secundment from Collaborating Institutions (Nimrod Bwibo and Charlotte Neumann).

The afternoon of October 11 was reserved for special talks on topics of interest. Dr. Hugo Melgar-Quinonez from UC Davis spoke on Food Insecurity in Latin American Rural Villages. Dr. Solomon Desta highlighted the outreach work the PARIMA project has done in "Gender Perspectives from the PARIMA Project: Outreach Experiences with Pastoral Women's Groups in Northern Kenya and Southern Ethiopia." Guest speaker Don Peden talked about the role of the International Livestock Research Institute's program in Ethiopia.

Many of the new initiatives and small grants projects were also introduced at the conference. Among those introduced were a new GL-CRSP initiative linking Yellowstone and Serengeti national parks. The initiative

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Conference Poster Session a Success

Thirty-four presenters brought posters to the 2002 GL-CRSP Program Conference: students, principal investigators, Jim Ellis Graduate Mentorship Award winners, and members of GL-CRSP research project teams.

Pictured below, Ole Kamuaro Ololtisatti (left) of the Maasai Environment Resource Coalition with William Shivoga (center) and Francis Lelo of Egerton University in Kenya.



To encourage student participation at the conference, the Management Entity awarded 15 travel grants to students submitting poster session requests. The five Jim Ellis Graduate Mentorship Award winners also participated and were recognized during the poster session. Pictured left, Michelle Young, student at UC Davis and Tim Moermond, Project PLAN PI from U Wisconsin-Madison.



Pictured left, LEWS project participants Zola Gibson (left), Clint Heath (center) and Jay Angerer. Below, PARIMA team members learn about student Adam Wolf's carbon sequestration work in North Kazakhstan. From left to right, Abdillahi Aboud (Egerton University), Adam Wolf (UC Davis), Getachew Gebru (ILRI-Ethiopia) and Solomon Desta (Utah State and ILRI-Kenya).

The posters were displayed throughout the conference but were the focus of an evening reception on October 9. Poster displays included maps, booklets, and plant samples.



Photos by Susan Johnson

Discussing Desertification with Namibian Farmers

where annual rainfall varies between 50 and 400 mm. The climate is unsuited for crop production, and agricultural activities are largely restricted to the production of small livestock such as goats and sheep. The farmers who are the subject of this discussion are pastoralists; small-scale livestock herders.

Range research in Namibia examining the physical condition of grasslands has indicated that there are minimal vegetation differences between communal and commercial lands, despite different stocking practices. Short-term studies (i.e. 10 years) do not reveal significant changes to range health despite continuous grazing. It is long-term studies (50+ years) which reveal many significant changes to range health (Ward and Ngairorue 2000).

Long-term changes are difficult to perceive. Pastoralists reported that range health is periodically restored after heavy rains, reported to have fallen twice in the 20th century, as rains of the mid-1990s were compared to those of the 1930s. Farmer perceptions of permanently decreased productivity may be influenced by external inputs

such as financial subsidies in the form of remittances, government maintained waterpoints, and pensions, which buffer farmers from ecological change and



Author Cralan Deutsch (left) with research assistant Arnoldt Gaseb and his son Brinold. Photo by Yane Laursen.

diminishing productivity. The recent shift in thinking from equilibrial to non-equibrial dynamics documented by Ellis and Swift (1988) has important implications for development research. It is necessary to consider a novel approach to applied development work in arid regions of high climatic variability (coefficient of inter-annual rainfall variation (CV) of $> .30$). If farmers persist in the notion that rainfall failure and not herding strategies are responsible for degrading range

conditions, then, as Roe puts it; "it is up to the expert [researcher] to show how this view of theirs [the farmers] could be true and what they [the farmers] could do about it"

(Roe 1995: 1067), "it" being the view that herders are not in control of their surroundings, in effect having little or no control of range condition through their management strategies. The project under study, Namibia's Programme to Combat Desertification (Napcod), initiated in 1994, is focused on capacity-building of rural inhabitants through community-based organizations (CBOs), farmer's leagues, waterpoint committees, etc., as a means of

addressing desertification and rural livelihood vulnerability. Napcod is working to organize farmers into groups able to identify problems and solicit services, a capacity which was under-developed in pre-independence Namibia. Ideally, this form of development is sustainable, as once the project has finished, the community will continue to benefit from the presence of a discussion forum, emerging leadership, and the ability to partner with service organizations.



Family portrait: pictured in front of their home, the remains of a German farmhouse, near Gibeon, southern Namibia. Photo by Yane Laursen.

During fieldwork, an effort was made to apply non-equilibrium tenets through an understanding of how dryland farmers perceive their control over natural resources. In response to surveys, many farmers discounted the idea that their grazing practices were the predominant factor in shaping range condition, citing rain as the only important factor, a position which resonates with research into non-equilibrium systems. Farmers were asked if their management practices were responsible for deteriorating changes to the landscape, in form of the question: 'Are you in control of range condition, or is rain the only factor?'

As presented in Table 1, 35% (N=7) responded that rain was the only important factor, while

45% (N=9) felt that they had some control, after rain. As farmers elaborated on what they felt to be the subsidiary causes of overgrazing or deteriorated conditions, after rain, a list of

Table 1: Farmer perceptions of range control: Are you in control of range condition, or is rain the only important factor?

Control of Range Condition	# Responses	% Total
Some control, after rain	9	45
Rain	7	35
Rotational grazing	3	15
Wind	1	5

barriers to production emerged, which is presented in Table 2; 'Farmer definitions: indicators of desertification'.

The indicators, causes, remedies, and barriers associated with desertification and range control listed in Table 2 were drawn from direct questions and interviews in which farmers discussed desertification and elaborated on the challenges

facing herders in Hardap. These definitions and challenges were extracted from interview transcripts and compiled into Table 2, which presents that 9 farmers interviewed perceive their greatest manageable challenge to be grazing encroachment, a 'tragedy of open access'. This perception is consistent with the trend in

literature of describing desertification in socio-economic terms, as human and climatic-induced losses of economic revenue, through reductions in biophysical productivity.

Instead of placing blame directly on pastoralist management strategies, Napcod's approach attempts to ascertain, through

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Discussing Desertification with Namibian Farmers

utilizing 'indigenous knowledge', what specific aspects of their strategies pastoralists feel to be detrimental, and assist them to design solutions.

If pastoralists are understood to exert only partial control over range conditions, and shoulder less blame for desertification (Swift 2002), then development agencies concerned with natural resource management can concentrate on working to manage the livelihood strategies pastoralists are pursuing through promoting awareness of land degradation. Additionally, in order to increase livelihood flexibility, organizations such as Napcod

are striving to create alternative income sources that do not rely directly on livestock.

Interviews with herders indicate that farmers are slowly adapting their herding practices and management strategies to a situation of reduced mobility, in many cases confined to their own allotted land. Perception and practices of land management are changing, as managers are forced to intensify production, altering the extensive practice of moving in search of resources during times of scarcity. Several farmers articulated their desire to move away from the 'hand to mouth' strategies of their parents, an indicator of project success. An example is the orientation of farmers away from subsistence modes of production towards a market economy typified by regular destocking.

The identification of 'grazing encroachment' by interviewees as a main barrier to productivity highlights lack of exclusive grazing as a perceived disincentive to range conservation, and hence a proximate cause of desertification. Of the farmers who identified 'grazing encroachment' as a main cause of desertification, a majority, 67% (N=6) were located at a site with an active farmer's league which works with NGOs to combat desertification (surveys were conducted at 3 sites). This led to the observation that farmers who work with NGOs are more likely to perceive range degradation as an outcome of human management and hence be willing to pursue long-term planning. The role NGOs play in this process is to make contemporary understandings of degradation and conservation practices available to communal farmers. ♡

Cralan Deutsch recently completed an MSc at UC Davis. He was a Peace Corps volunteer in Lesotho (1995-1997), and studied anthropology (MA) at St. Andrews. He can be contacted at cralanddeutsch@yahoo.com. Financial support for this research, carried out in Namibia from 7/02 – 11/02, was received from the IAD Graduate Group and the Global Livestock CRSP, and is gratefully acknowledged.

Table 2: Farmer definitions: indicators of desertification

Indicators	# Responses
Poor grass condition	8
Animal mortality	5
Widening goat tracks	2
Brackish well water	2
Fewer veld foods	2
Too dry for grass seeds to germinate	1
Causes	# Responses
Lack of rainfall	9
Animals not rotated	2
Too many boreholes	1
Overgrazing + drought	1
Unsustainable veld harvesting	1
Potential Remedies	# Responses
Exclusive control/ fencing	9
Rotational grazing	5
(Regular) destocking	4
Increased mobility	3
Barriers to Remedies	# Responses
Grazing encroachment/ lack of tenure/open access	9
Absentee farmers	3
Inability to intensify production	2
Outmigration of labor	1
Traditional authority allotments (exclusivity not assured)	1



Left, inhabitants of the Oskop Conservancy gathered together for a photo after a community meeting. Below right, a woman takes notes at a community meeting. Napcod is working to organize farmers into groups able to identify problems and solicit services, a capacity which was under-developed in pre-independence Namibia. Below left, farmer Hendrik and his prize-winning Boerbok goats.



Photos by Yane Laursen

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Administrative Management Review Recognizes ME Leadership

and attended a meeting of the Technical Coordination Committee (TCC).

Later in the month, the team traveled to three of the twelve participating U.S. institutions (University of California, Davis, University of California, Los Angeles, and Colorado State University) where they met with administrators, researchers, and staff. During the site visit to UC Davis, the review team met with PIs, graduate students, department chairs, deans, associate deans, vice presidents, as well as fiscal and grants officers involved in the operation and functioning of

the GL-CRSP. The AMR team felt that all parties were well informed about the CRSP and its operation and very supportive of its operation and management. All of the administrative officials expressed the view that the GL-CRSP provided their scientists and students not only an opportunity to be involved in an international activity, but

that the CRSP also fostered collaboration between US and host country scientists and institutions that many other international activities did not.

The Management Entity found the exchange of ideas during the review to be both helpful and stimulating. Many of the suggestions by the AMR have already been implemented. ☺☺

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GL-CRSP 2002 Program Conference in DC

would create a "Sister Park" arrangement between these two jewels of the world. Dr. Scott Miller presented the new Egerton University-led project on sustainable management of rural watersheds. This project brings Egerton University together with Moi University, Kenya Wildlife Services, and Kenya Dept. of Fisheries with University of Wyoming serving as the lead US institution.

The final day of the conference was devoted to individual project, regional, cross-project, team, and administrative management review meetings. All participants were invited to attend open meetings and were encouraged to participate in discussions. Open meetings included a Technical Coordination Committee meeting, in which the GL-CRSP principal investigators and their regional representatives came

together to provide intellectual exchange and input on programmatic planning for GL-CRSP. Topics discussed included: collaboration between projects, responsibilities of the TCC, and impact assessment.

The administrative management review (AMR) team, Dr. Raymond Miller and Dr. Deborah Rubin, attended all meetings and met privately with each project team. In addition, meetings were scheduled between the AMR and the Program Administrative Council, External Evaluation Panel, students and Management Entity.

"The Program Conference is a prime opportunity to stimulate cross-cutting themes. This is particularly true for the students as the intellectual energy from these interactions is impressive," summarized Tag Demment. ☺☺

Ruminations

Director: Montague W. Demment
Newsletter Editor: Susan L. Johnson
and Jenni Strand.

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Telephone: (530) 752-1721, Fax: (530) 752-7523.
E-Mail: glcrsp@ucdavis.edu
WWW: <http://glcrsp.ucdavis.edu>

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