years, the need to communicate and negotiate solutions between groups will become one of our most important skills.
We must pick up from here and devise methods that will succeed in the future. For our profession to survive as we know it, we must change with the times—and this is one of the greatest periods of change we have witnessed. It remains to be seen whether our range professionals can see through the smoke of transition and gear up for the next 50 years. But history tells us we are up to the challenge.

Viewpoint: A Management Perspective on Development Assistance

Alex Dickie and Wilson K. a. Yabann

International range development assistance work and knowledge are evolving rapidly. Methods described by Ray Anderson (1982) are unworkable and were outdated long ago. Our purposes here are to: (1) stand as informed opposition to the school of thought exemplified by the Rangelands article, "Grassland Revegetation in the Pastoral Countries—The Technical, Economic, and Social 'How To'" (Anderson 1982), (2) describe technical and social circumstances associated with range livestock production in pastoral systems, and (3) provide guidance to other range management specialists working in developing countries.

Building On What's There

Irrespective of the place, a range or livestock management advisor should first understand what the producers are doing right and then determine if there exist areas where he/she can provide assistance. They should use their technical knowledge to help both the range and the producers without sacrificing one for the other. It is exceptional to find a situation where technology can be directly transferred from one region of the world to another. Values, expectations, needs and management objectives for livestock husbandry differ from place to place. Development projects are most likely to be beneficial where the recipients recognize the need and are willing to change. (Livingston 1977). Unless technology is introduced with the willing cooperation of beneficiaries, "improvements" will be allowed to deteriorate and become unusable in the long run.

Development assistance can be provided in ways that are compatible with the goals and economic capabilities of developing countries, as well as technologically suitable at the village level. The building and strengthening of extension services, formal educational and research institutions are effective means of development assistance. Physical development of rangeland resources is another, though less effective, means of development assistance. More detailed discussion of this approach can be found in the papers by Atherton (1984), Dickie and O'Rourke (1984), Little (1984), and Stryker (1984).

Maasailand, Tanzania Kijungu Ranching Association David Peterson takes notes on current management practices during reconnaissance survey. He is assisted by Godfrey Mumbo (on right). The group on the left are Maasai warriors who were very helpful to the government technicians. Photo is by Alex Dickie, 1977, range management advisor on the USAID Maasai Range Livestock Development Project.

We view the methods recommended by Anderson as "reclamation management." The "how to" of the reclamation management approach offered by Anderson is very inadequate. Fencing, land imprinting machines, and government (military) control of communal grazing lands are poor offerings to people faced not only with the failure of their herds but the collapse of their traditional society.

Anderson has stated that establishing a system and means of management comes after revegetation. We disagree. Agricultural (pastoralist) societies have evolved effective
and often highly efficient traditional ways to utilize their environment and ensure survival (Shultz 1964). Traditional practices do not suddenly all become outdated. Some of what has come before has value in the context of "modern" livestock production. Furthermore, no nation or individual moves from low to high technology without serious repercussions (e.g., oxen to tractors, rainfed agriculture to irrigation). Repercussions of technological change can easily worsen a traditional production system (by definition a system in which the methods of production are very old). There is need for step-by-step progress in technological advance.

Feasibility of a project should be based on the recipients' need and ability to incorporate the innovation on offer. Willingness to produce for profit may be a consideration, but there is usually more than a profit motive involved. It also helps if the pastoralist knows he can serve his nation and countrymen as well as himself by providing meat and dairy products.

![Maasai herder with sheep, Olkitikiti Dam, South Maasailand.](image)

Technological solutions are plentiful but, without exception, improvements by manipulation of land resources are contingent upon extra-ordinary social and political circumstances. Efforts to assist herder groups should be directed towards improving services and traditional grazing practices. Management contributions are often linked to water point development, veterinary services, livestock marketing, monitoring range condition, providing communication services to herder groups, and even revegetation work. All these activities can, under special circumstances, be effectively introduced and managed to the advantage of pastoral economies. However, as a rule, grassland revegetation should be the last resort in improving rangeland. Revegetation is expensive and does not address casual relationships. Revegetation can only provide a temporary remedy if local users cannot successfully incorporate its proper use into their existing management scheme. Management considerations should always come before new technology is introduced into traditional production systems.

**Social Realities**

Assuming one understands the problems at hand and has correctly identified the needs, the first requirement in the planning of any project (technical or otherwise) is to specify a goal. The goal must be compatible with the local technical, economic, social and political theater.

Acceptability of a project should not be politically oriented. Pastoralists must be allowed to advance at their own pace, change in their own way, and select a course of development that represents their interests as they see them. However, sometimes national interests (e.g. the conservation of national parks or of watersheds vital to supplying cities and farmlands) must be imposed on pastoralists, necessitating compromises and changes in their traditional systems. Development workers are challenged to bend the politically motivated projects to something useful.

The means or "how to" options that are proposed must be consistent with and appropriate for the existing structure of incentives available to recipients. It is folly to assume that a few technical experts can make management decisions that will successfully incorporate the needs and wishes of the
population at large. Serious consideration is due the fact that no society, not even the United States of America, is able to change its traditions and way of life readily or quickly. Planners must take care not to diminish the worth of endemic customs.

The circumstance of governmental control by particular power groups is very often founded on haphazard or devious partitionings of people and land resources that were imposed by colonial powers (Chang 1982). It can be extremely difficult for central governments to foster feelings of national unity among their diverse populations.

Anderson's suggestion that the type of governmental control exercised over the use of public rangelands in the U.S. should be acceptable to pastoral societies is erroneous. Tribal (communal) land is not equivalent to U.S. federal government land! Public rangelands in the western U.S. are managed by the federal government primarily to protect the lands, not to produce livestock. Tribal lands in Africa and Asia have long been used for private and communal subsistence and profit. Thus, there are basic differences in managing public lands in the U.S. compared to managing Sahelian common lands or Samburu tribal lands.

We can think of no situation where the use of force as recommended by Anderson (1982) is justified:

If necessary, the army is a good place to begin the enforcement process, especially in preventing invasion by herdsman from other areas. The army speaks with authority. ... The army is fully equipped to undertake remote field operations. Young range managers could also arise from its manpower.

It is barbaric to suggest that military coercive force can be used as a positive agent of change on peaceful populations. In our opinion, no range management specialist should ever recommend such a course of action. Traditional ways cannot be merged with modern knowledge and authority if force is used to meet technical objectives. Stephen Sandford's (1984) discussion of range administration with special reference to Africa provides an excellent foundation for further investigation of the law enforcement issue.

Conclusion

The factual errors and misconceptions presented by Anderson (1982) are numerous. The school of thought inherent in the reclamation management approach is pessimistic to say the least. It promotes confusion and could result in great suffering among pastoralists. The "reclamation management" approach to development assistance must be retired without delay.

The history of failure in range development projects among pastoral societies shows that future efforts must work within the existing systems and with clearly defined goals (AID 1981; Dickey 1982). Many pastoral enterprise systems have been torn to shambles by change. In these cases one can only hope to pick up the pieces and work to build something better. The replacement industry that is spawned under such circumstances may bear little similarity to land utilization in traditional pastoral subsistence economies. Even where livestock grazing remains as the main emphasis, the new local authority and life style of the replacement industry may severely limit freedom as defined by traditional herdsman. Whether this is by design or misfortune depends on the intent and skills of those in control.

We have learned a great deal since the first American "tech reps" went overseas to assist the disadvantaged. A multinational group of range management specialists who have grown with their science and learned from long experience in development assistance are available to guide future efforts.

Literature Cited


Amarillo Wants You!

The program is rapidly shaping up for the SRM Meeting to be held in Amarillo, Texas, on July 15, 16, and 17, 1985. Meeting headquarters is the new Sheraton Inn. Besides the Board and Advisory Council meetings, a special workshop headed up by the Professional Affairs Committee is on tap.

A unique day is planned for July 16 with a Cowboy Breakfast, a tour of the historic Goodnight Ranch, and a finale at the world famous Texas Musical Drama in Palo Duro Canyon. An outstanding ladies program is being planned and special activities will be available for the younger family members.

Come to Texas for your 1985 summer vacation. A full schedule of activities and programs will be featured in the next issue of Rangelands. We challenge you to eat the 72-ounce steak at the Big Texan; if you can, it is free!
FEDERAL LAND USE PLANNING:
STRAIGHTJACKET OR SAFEGUARD?

FRIDAY & SATURDAY
FEBRUARY 15TH & 16TH, 1985
IN PROVO, UTAH

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J. REUBEN CLARK LAW SCHOOL
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Friday, February 15
Morning (9:00—12:00)
Overview of Federal Land Planning Statutes
John Leshy, Professor of Law, Arizona State University.
How the Statutes Work: Bureau of Land Management
George Coggins, Professor of Law, University of Kansas.
How the Statutes Work: Forest Service
Charles Wilkinson, Professor of Law, University of Oregon.
How the Statutes Work: Park Service and Fish & Wildlife
Pat Garver, Attorney, Parsons, Behle & Latimer, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Afternoon (1:30—5:00)
How to Get Information
Charles Callison, Director, Public Lands Institute, Natural Resources Defense Council.
Timing: When During the Process Do You Provide Input
Wally Rasmussen, Attorney, Exxon Corp.
How to Design Input: Governmental Perspective
John Francis, Professor Political Science, University of Utah.

The Friday afternoon session will be a workshop and those in attendance will be encouraged to bring questions concerning particular problems they may have encountered in the planning process. The speakers are encouraged to be problem oriented. Also, published proceedings of the symposium will be made available to all in attendance.

All sessions except for the Friday dinner session will be held at the J. Reuben Clark Law School Moot Court room 303 JRCB, in Provo, Utah. The Friday dinner session will be held at the Provo Excelsior Hotel.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 15 (continued)
How to Design Input: Industry Perspective
John Arledge, Vice President, Resource Planning, Nevada Power Co.
Appeals and Judicial Review
James Holkamp, Attorney, VanCott, Bagley, Salt Lake City, Utah.
Dinner Session (6:30—8:30)
States and Federal Land Use Planning
Hon. Scott Matheson, Former Governor of Utah.

Saturday, February 16
Morning (9:30—12:00)
Consistency: State Land Planning and Federal Land Planning
Temp Reynolds, Executive Director, Dept. of Natural Resources and Energy, State of Utah.
Presentation of a Student Paper on a Land Planning Topic
State Input Federal Land Planning
Sally Fairfax, Professor, University of California at Berkeley.

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Check any of the following that apply: [ ] I would like information concerning motel accommodations [ ] I would like information concerning local ski resorts

Enclose a $50.00 pre-paid registration fee which covers Friday evening dinner and a copy of the symposium proceedings. Please make checks payable to: Natural Resources Law Forum.

Return completed form to: Natural Resources Law Forum, J. Reuben Clark Law School, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT 84602. Registration should be received no later than Friday, February 8, 1985. For more information call (801) 378-2698.