

Chapter 1

Introduction: Pastoral Economies Between Resilience and Exposure

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This book attempts to interrogate early twenty-first century pastoralism and pastoral economies by putting into tension ideas about markets and livelihoods. As such it is a project in the spirit of recent research and scholarship in economic geography, agri-food and development studies dedicated to producing knowledge on a planetary scale. The book asks three questions that draw on and point to new research imaginaries in a globalising world. The questions are:

- What does it mean to try to make a livelihood from pastoralism in different parts of the world?
- How are markets implicated in the livelihoods of pastoralists, wherever they are to be found?
- How far does or should, livelihood-informed thinking and action that emerges in particular geographic contexts necessarily mean engaging in market-making relations?

Our questions are designed to ground the book's enquiry in the remarkably rich resource of field-centred ethnographic research on pastoralism and pastoral economies that is available, and to unsettle the categories of livelihood and markets that form very different points of entry into any research on socio-economic relations. They spring from a growing awareness and concern that across every sphere of economic activity market fundamentalism and triumphalism are sweeping away questions that challenge its market assertions, claims and promises. They are in fact unashamedly questions that prioritise and foreground human concerns of everyday surviving, living and hoping, questions that prompt reflection on the bodily placement of pastoralists as they strive to handle their exposure to multiple influences and seek to create conditions of some stability and resilience. In asking these questions we are forced to examine how situated knowledges about pastoral economies accumulated in different parts of the world might be framed into new and deeper understandings. In this way our open ended questions embrace wider intellectual concerns such as 'where do markets or livelihood practices come from' and 'how are they performed into existence, by and for whom?'

The questions initially began to surface during our dialogue at the April 2006 conference on 'Pastoralists and the World Market: Problems and Perspectives'

at the University of Leipzig, Germany. The conference formed part of the major German funded research programmes on ‘Difference and Integration – Interdependencies between Nomadic and Sedentary People’ (SFB 586) and ‘Critical Junctures of Globalisation’ (GRK 1261). Being able to bring together researchers whose pastoral economy interests spanned much of the globe afforded an unprecedented opportunity to probe issues relating to globalising processes through the lens of territorially distributed empirical and longitudinal studies. The great social and economic thinker, Karl Polanyi, who has influenced many contributing to the book, might have described the conference as a proto-project in comparative economy, given its focus on empirically informing discussion of pastoral economies and positioning them relative to their others. We should add, however, that while our questions may be ambitious, the book is more modest in its aspiration and what it achieves. Our step, in seeking to elucidate new styles of knowing pastoralism and pastoral economies is, we hope, to have used empirics and theorising creatively and differently.

When we began to outline our individual and collectively diverse research trajectories to each other at the conference we soon realised we were doing a global mapping of pastoralism and particular experiences of differing pastoral economies. The research trajectories were more than case studies put in a row. They rather reflected insights from very different situations all over the world. Indeed, the presenters were speaking from and about many contexts, that when considered through the eyes of the German and French academy, have been the focus of ongoing and heavily funded research programmes over many years. The Collaborative Research Centre ‘Difference and Integration’ at the Universities of Leipzig and Halle (SFB 586, 2001-2012) is focusing, for example, on interdependencies between nomadic and sedentary people, the Max-Planck-Institute for Social Anthropology in Halle is analysing integration and conflict in Asian and African societies, the Maison Méditerranéenne des Sciences de l’Homme in Aix-en-Provence has a long standing research interest in North African mobilities, and the Collaborative Research Centre Akazia in Bonn (SFB 389, 1996-2008) investigated arid climate, adaptation and cultural innovation in Africa. The experiences recounted all added up to a highly variegated landscape of human experience and knowledge relating to pastoralism and pastoral economies.

As editors, we reflected on the most strategic intervention that would allow the research programmes of the mainly European participants to be performative. By this we aimed to place the wealth of research into a new framing that elicited fresh and globally useful knowledge. Driven by the conference design, the provocation of putting markets and livelihoods into tension was very effective. The responsiveness to this framing on the part of participants was challenging. In their experience, the worlds of production and pastoral economies could not be reduced to one or the other of these categories. Moreover, the inseparability of markets and livelihoods struck a clear chord with the researchers present. The connections and relationships between markets and livelihoods dominated the discussion.

The keynote speakers at the conference, Barbara Harriss-White and Hans-Georg Bohle, directly challenged the hidden privileging of markets in the global commodity chain, global supply chain and global value chain and livelihood literatures as well as the market centred discourses of national and international policy communities. As successive presenters articulated the specifics of the pastoral economies they were studying we began to appreciate the remarkable revelatory experience we were sharing. The conference priority of assembling a group of researchers investigating pastoralism in Africa, Asia, Europe, Australia and New Zealand, regardless of academic traditions of declaring strong messages about correct ways to represent pastoralism, led to an equivalence of stature of pastoralism from any place with other places, and an equivalence of contribution amongst the presenters regardless of their background and longevity of field research. This was felt at the time. No recounted experience of pastoralism was any more or less relevant, pertinent or illustrative of pastoral economy experiences. No presentation had more or less merit because its narrative was tied to particular theoretical categories about or to which participants had more or less exposure or commitment. These conditions of engagement led to an openness of exchange around shared and up-to-date accounts with carefully framed critiques of the crucial categories of markets and livelihoods. Started by the conference and furthered by ongoing empirical and conceptual work in the collaborative research centres we established a discursive field around knowledge production on economic spaces of pastoral economies (see for example: www.nomadsed.de).

Situating Pastoralism and Pastoral Economies

The following five observations seek to establish a number of broad contours of pastoralism and to situate research on pastoral economies within the broader field of geographical knowledge production. First, pastoral activities are the reality of many people's livelihood practices around the globe. Extensive pastoral production takes place on some 25 per cent of the world's land area, it comprises herds of nearly a billion head of camel, cattle and smaller livestock and provides 10 per cent of global meat production. Livestock production is crucial for the livelihoods and well-being of up to 200 million households (Rass 2007). Until recently the largest share of benefits generated by pastoralism was obtained from grazers on marginal lands, where other economic activities provide lower returns or were not viable at all. But land use and market systems are changing at a rapid pace. Globalisation, growing international interdependencies, and integration into foreign exchange systems are fostering new pressures but are also creating new opportunities for pastoralist producers.

Second, there is little recognition of the existence of pastoral activities. The diverse characteristics of pastoralism and pastoral economies are commonly misrepresented, its importance understated and their diversity and enduring nature discounted. Statistical knowledge, especially counting, and more precisely the

translation of social relation systems into numerical relation systems, is a major part of continually constituting the world of modern power that nomadic people inhabit. Pastoral and nomadic societies are probably among the most important groups that escape the counting practises of sedentary powers. Pastoral production provides multiple products, such as meat, hides, milk, hair, blood, and manure, while livestock also perform additional roles such as transport and draught power, food storage, and capital reserve, as cash buffer and a hedge against inflation. Yet, knowledge concerning pastoral production and marketing remains weak, however, they are part of the 'diverse economies' (Gibson-Graham 2008) – characterised, for example, by non-market transactions, unpaid labour, and non-capitalist enterprises. Official statistics barely capture economic values associated with pastoralism (Breuer 2005). Movement and mobility mean pastoralists and their herds (or in more sedentary arrangements, livestock flows amongst farms, en route to meat or other processing plants and from country to country) are hard to contain within national statistical systems. Many goods and services provided by pastoralist systems, particularly in Africa and Asia, are statistically unknown, due to their 'informal' activities (classified as such by sedentarised urban powers), the lack of systematic data collection and the failure to disaggregate national datasets into others. As a consequence, the economic and social contribution of nomadic people and pastoral societies remains structurally underestimated. In the same line of argument the framing of data deficits pops up in neoliberal contexts of 'integration', when international 'development' agencies complain, for example, about the lack of rigorous data on possible transmission of animal disease and viruses, and lament the constraints in guaranteeing reliable and sustained commodity supply for export markets.

Third, until now analyses of pastoral commodity and livestock marketing systems have been restricted to regional perspectives. Zaal (1999) focuses on two African countries (Kenya and Burkina Faso), Schlee's (2004) edition on ethnicity and livestock markets concentrates on West Africa, while McPeak and Little (2006) investigate pastoral livestock marketing in eastern Africa. A complementary regional focus is provided by Kerven's (2003) collection that reveals the effects of large-scale privatisation in Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan (see Bruun 2006 for Mongolia). Recent insights for Latin America are provided by Westreicher et al. (2007), Grandia (2009), van Ausdal (2009), and Walker et al. (2009). So far, only Chang and Koster (1994) offer a wider geographical range of case studies, their approach, however, remains largely historical.

Fourth, beyond this background there are four significant dynamics that are constitutive of the broad contours of world markets and the particular articulations of pastoral economies: (a) Pastoral production for world export markets is regionally concentrated. The global sheep meat market is dominated by Australia and New Zealand, and so is the wool export market. Excluding intra-EU trade, 88 per cent of the world trade in sheep meat is sourced from them (see Fig. 16.2). In contrast, almost 50 per cent of the world beef exports originate from four countries in Latin America (Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay) (Brown 2009). Large national livestock production, however, does not necessarily correspond with high

volumes of export. China, although a major producer of meat and wool, is a net importer. (b) Nomadic pastoral production in Africa and Asia – though increasingly commercialised – seldom meets international standards, particularly for meat; marketing is either protected (by tariffs) or restricted (by frontiers and regulations) to national markets, trans-border and proximate regional trade. However, millions of pastoral households depend on their livestock to make a living in rural areas. Yet, while meat from beef, sheep, goats and yak rarely reach affluent customers around the world, niche products for international export markets, particularly from Asia – such as cashmere from Mongolia, reindeer antlers from Siberia or caterpillar fungus from Tibet – constitute far reaching economic spaces. (c) The processes and patterns of organisations linking producers and consumers constantly anew can be conceptualised as constitutive of economic spaces made up of relations near and far. Sheep meat, for example, is supplied from Western Australia as live sheep to Arab Gulf countries and competes in Saudi Arabia with live sheep from Somalia or Sudan and with frozen meat from New Zealand. Driven by urbanisation, oil wealth, realigning retail structures, and concerns of animal welfare consumption patterns change with crucial economic impacts. The global *halal* market, for example, amounts to US\$ 2.1 trillion and is growing at an annual rate of US\$ 500 million (ACIL Tasman 2009). (d) Pastoral livelihoods, both in industrialised countries (i.e. Australia, New Zealand) and also in least developed countries (i.e. Somalia, Sudan) are often linked. They might even depend on the very same (external) decisions, political regimes and economic regulations that are often beyond their reach. The transport of expensive premium lamb meat cuts from New Zealand to European supermarkets takes advantage of New Zealand's guaranteed sheep-meat quota into the EU of 227,854 tonnes. This in return limits market opportunities for proximate North African pastoralists.

Finally, from the point of view on market and livelihood encounters experienced by nomads, pastoralists and farmers, exchange relations are always embedded in societal structures. Markets and livelihoods are inextricably linked, and are continuously reproducing and constituting (new) economic spaces. As Massey (1999: 28) reminds us, space is, first of all, a product of interrelations, constituted through interactions. Space is also a sphere of multiplicity, in which distinct trajectories coexist. As interrelations are necessarily embedded material practices which have to be carried out, space is always in a process of becoming – it is never finished, never closed. 'This relationality of space together with its openness means that space also always contains a degree of the unexpected, the unpredictable' (Massey 1999: 37). Subsequently, our framing of economic spaces conceptualises them as being constituted through interactions, as spheres of multiplicity, as historically superimposed trajectories, as unfinished, and always in the process of being made. Moreover, economic spaces are inextricably constituted by economic knowledge (Mitchell 2008). But there is no simple divide between a virtual world of economic theory and a real world outside it. Every economic project hence involves – as Mitchell puts it – 'multiple arrangements of the simulated and that to which it refers' (Mitchell 2008: 1116). This feature has much bearing on how

understandings of pastoralism and pastoral economies are shaped. Often simplistic assumptions of the state of things are contested by lived realities.

These five aspects are in a manner of speaking tests of lived realities, connections back to the presence of undervalued life. They register pastoralism and pastoral economies into framings that make broadly visible their hidden dynamism. But this increased visibility is hardly a sufficient investigative end. It is stepping off point and a basis for analysis. A preliminary look at exchange relations provides the beginnings of a re-orientation, in which it becomes possible to learn from the subject matter of experience about relations around which politics and ethics of survival may form.

Conceptual Approaches to Markets and Livelihoods

Informed by economic anthropology and its contextual knowledge of exchange relations the book is unreservedly a study of economic geographies, involving social and economic relations of agriculture and food, in developing trajectories. One of the more perplexing features of contemporary development theorising is that despite the consensus that production-consumption relations are imbricated in the social reproduction of groups and societies, two rather divergent theoretical traditions have come to dominate much thinking in recent years. These are the global commodity chain, global supply chain, global value chain (hereafter GCC/GSC/GVC) framework and the livelihood framework, respectively production to consumption relations and relations of reproduction. Realising that the two traditions are relatively unconnected in the literature invites a re-thinking, and a re-linking. This is the emphasis of the book. But first, we outline what is commonly understood as markets and livelihoods in these traditions. Our commentary is very selective and aims to provide some background on the traditions to give a sense of why bringing the categories of markets and livelihoods together is the guiding strategy of the book.

A primary thrust of the GCC/GSC/GVC literature is the examination of the interrelations that are uncritically assumed to exist and for the most part only to be market exchange relations. What results is a silence about the boundaries of theoretical enquiry, which springs from a specialisation of investigation into in-chain developments. This is often accompanied by a narrowness of thinking about how producers from developing countries might integrate in global markets which van Grunsven (2009) attributes to western centrism. The idea of a chain is often imposed on realities, thereby leading to a view that the study of chain relationships forms a study of market relations. The chain is considered to be the market. This said, the tradition recognises the challenges of ensuring value circulation and realisation throughout the chain and how any interruption to such value motion puts in doubt business viability and household welfare.

The identification of three variants of the GCC/GSC/GVC literature reflects different interests and emphases on the part of researchers. Two recent reviews (van

Grunsven 2009, Hassler 2009) provide an excellent introduction to where chain-type thinking came from. The earliest tradition, strictly speaking a commodity chain rather than a more fully developed GCC focus, has been especially concerned with investment: labour relations and of households in these relations. The early work drew heavily on the world-systems framework. GSC studies that have arisen with the appearance of supply chains in many industries are mainly concerned with organisational strategies to bind production-consumption relations inside the chain (Le Heron et al. 2001). The GVC variant, possibly the most recent, focuses on where and how value is generated and appropriated, and is increasingly an interest of business researchers and scholars (Gereffi et al. 2005).

Overlapping these discernible threads are longstanding attempts to place core, semi-peripheral and peripheral economies into understandable relationships, especially by making more explicit the spatiality of commodity chains (Hughes and Reimer 2004, Leslie and Reimer 1999). Inspired by and partly derived from world systems thinking, some agri-food researchers have examined the emergence of food regimes and extended the investigation of the geography of commodity chains (Fold and Pritchard 2005). These relatively stable structural arrangements are not static, developing under historical and geographical influences. Food Regime theorists identify three regimes to date. Initial work by Friedmann and McMichael (1989) has been revisited, in the early 2000s (Friedmann 2005, McMichael 2005) and again at the end of the 2000s (Burch and Lawrence 2009, Campbell and Dixon 2009, McMichael 2009).

In short: Commodity, supply and value chain approaches intersect in their focus on commodity flows. They are primarily concerned with the system of activities and the networks of businesses involved in the production, distribution and delivery of products or services to customers. The conditions of social reproduction and livelihood security are, however, beyond the scope of these approaches. The notion of a 'chain' rather invites, as an analytical device, a simplistic reading that amalgamates the distinct spheres of social networks (connecting, for example, producers with processors, and so on), the manifold ways of financial transactions and credit schemes (connecting, for example, electronic with human assessments of risks), and the specific – space and time related – social context of commodities into an allegedly unified chain. As economic relations are embedded within society (Granovetter 1985), the understanding of a specific commodity (like meat or wool) can, conceptually speaking, however, not be reduced to its mere physical presence. It is always also part of a (usually western) property and social system and thus interwoven with specific conditions of production, exchange, consumption and reproduction. Hence, alongside economic transactions and the spatial and temporal flow of commodities, local nomadic and pastoral livelihoods and their capabilities, based on rules and resource, are shaped, and vice versa are structuring commodity, supply and value chains.

What is significant for pastoralism and pastoral economies research is that while issues that are actively scrutinised by livelihood researchers also constitute the object of enquiry in the GCC/GSC/GVC literature, they are framed very

differently. The above theoretical emphases tended for many years to write out political and ethical concerns. Over the past decade a number of pioneer and insightful studies of different commodity systems have tried to prioritise the links between chain dynamics and producer livelihoods. Very few of the studies, however, draw upon the livelihood literature familiar to most researchers of pastoralism and pastoral economies.

If the GCC/GSC/GVC literature amounts to a top-down framing of socio-economic and institutional relations, then the livelihood literature, with its overt consideration of subsistence production, reproduction crises and resource-portfolios is best regarded as a bottom-up perspective. This detailed analysis of the social practices of the so-called survival economy, vulnerability, and livelihood security gathered momentum in the 1980s.

The 'economy for survival' approach assumes that the 'section of the insecure' apply different strategies in order to secure survival (Evers et al. 1984) by spreading (economic) risks rather than maximising profits. Several economic activities may generate revenues, and revenues from different family members are often pooled in a joint household. Subsequently, risks of social reproduction are redistributed among generations. The young and the old, who can either not work yet, or not work anymore, as well as women and children, who often perform unpaid tasks, render indispensable assistance, albeit not directly participating in earning of monetary revenue. The elderly may receive transfer incomes, since they may have access to state welfare services or even receive pensions from foreign countries. From here we learned that even individuals can produce with both subsistence and market orientation, that they are integrated into different social networks and are able to act in a spatially mobile fashion.

The concept of vulnerability results from Chambers' critique of the notion of poverty within the development discourse (1989). He emphasises that the concept of poverty has degenerated to a catchall term, concealing social differences, and perpetuating stereotypes about the poor. Chambers rather differentiates between several dimensions of deprivation. Aside from poverty, he enumerates isolation, powerlessness as well as vulnerability. In so doing, Chambers highlights that vulnerability is not the same as poverty. It means not lack or want, but defencelessness, insecurity, and exposure to risk, shocks and stress (1989: 1). He explains: 'Vulnerability here refers to exposure to contingencies and stress, and the difficulty in coping with them. Vulnerability has thus two sides: an external side of risks, shocks, and stress to which an individual or household is subject; and an internal side which is defencelessness, meaning a lack of means to cope without damaging loss (1989: 1).' Hence, the group of the poorest may not correspond with the most vulnerable and vice versa (Bankoff et al. 2004, Watts and Bohle 1993).

The livelihood approach associated with vulnerability research first appeared in the early 1990s and like the vulnerability concept mainly originates from the work of the Chambers-School at the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) (Chambers and Conway 1991). The concept treats livelihood as the 'capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a

means of living' (Carney 1998). Disposable assets from different kinds of capital (natural, financial, social and human capital (DFID 2000)) are a major explanatory dimension in how sustainable a livelihood finally is (Devereux et al. 2011, Ellis 2000, Scoones 1998). Gertel's critique (2007) stresses the theoretical weaknesses of the concept. He notes the absence of any insights into the causes of the risk generation, the reasons for economic inequality, and its limited analytical scope on economic possibilities. This understanding reduces livelihoods conceptually and empirically to the monetary level. Other approaches, such as Giddens' rule-resource-complexes and Bourdieu's concept of capital offer a way out of the utilitarian input emphasis of conventional livelihood writing. A notion of resources as capability of doing things allows linkages to biology (e.g. bodies ultimately die), to labour (e.g. accumulated income from the past can be transferred into present livelihoods, enabling access to education) and to property rights and thus to the discursive construction of rules (e.g. encoded in the discourse about private ownership vis-à-vis the global commons). The concept of resources offers the possibility of linking the notion of uneven development with the status of the physical body of a person, and it also provides insights into the social causes of reproduction problems and thus opens a new perspective to understand the social dimension of economic spaces.

The Book

The preceding discussion raises questions about the constitution of economic spaces of pastoral production and commodity systems, and about the vulnerability and resilience of the economic practices of pastoralists and their communities. As already indicated the contributors largely draw on two bodies of knowledge: the agri-food perspective of global commodity and value chains, focusing on the movement of pastoral products; and the livelihood perspective with its insights into vulnerability and risks for households. While markets are comprehended as social and political institutions that are crosscutting borders and boundaries, the empirical studies – from post-colonial Africa, post-socialist Asia, and a range of capitalist economies – represent various exchange systems and different frames of state-market relations. This framing reveals three principal dynamics, namely transformations from subsistence to market production, transitions from state to market production, and integrative relations in and of markets. However, the spatial situatedness of these dynamics and their implied evolutionary causalities is sometimes challenged and sometimes affirmed by the empirical findings. The mobility of livestock related commodities and market information is expanding. Commodity and value chains are stretching over wide distances, bridging national borders and not only foster the transformation of market dynamics interpenetrating the chain but also are linking producer and consumer constantly anew. These are loaded distinctions. In the 2010s we are trying not to read the dynamics as suggestive of progressive directionality, always away from subsistence relations

and always towards market relations. Instead, we critically privilege the descriptions and analytics of the researchers and the voices of the pastoralists, whose experiences in the field and in life, suggest much indeterminacy, and much evidence of connection and disconnection, to market and livelihood relations. We finally invite the reader to situate herself or himself in this debate and, more particularly to reflect, if our arguments should be restricted to pastoral economies or rather extended to the wider society. Assuming that this kind of framing requires context the book starts with provocations about markets and livelihoods.

Pastoral Production and Commodity Systems: Provocations About Markets and Livelihoods

Barbara Harriss-White (Chapter 2) criticises conventional economic approaches to the conceptualisation of markets. She explores different perspectives – from economic sociology, political economy, social structures of accumulation to the focus on commoditisation – and stresses the crucial importance of a theoretical plurality to study markets. She argues that markets have to be studied specifically rather than generally as is conventional. The chapter challenges the simplistic concepts of supply and demand that continue to shape and fuel market discourses. In contrast, it rather retains a focus on processes, relationships and interactions. Harris-White explores how economic markets are vehicles for the exercise of forms of social authority and arenas for struggles between political interests. She considers markets as bundles of institutions and as fields of accumulation. Her critical overview provides framings of engagement with economic processes.

Taking up a position very much dedicated to the specificities of markets and livelihood systems and viewing how increasing market integration entails many new risks to pastoral systems and households, Hans-Georg Bohle (Chapter 3) develops a framework for the assessment of market risks and vulnerabilities. He identifies key elements of vulnerability – stress, exposure, sensitivity, response and outcome – and analyses their operationalisation in the sustainable livelihood approach. Combining these insights with the concept of real markets, seeing vulnerability of households in the contexts of socio-political structures and power-relations, Bohle's integrative framework maps not only market risks, but also the economic, social, and institutional spaces of pastoral production and commodity systems. His chapter hence provides an analytical tool for the discussion of the problems and perspectives that pastoralists face in the process of market integration, both in terms of their social vulnerability and human security.

Post-Colonial Africa: From Subsistence to Market Production

Nomadic people in Africa have been trading and marketing animals for a very long time. Economic spaces for pastoral products were shaped by various phases and missions of European colonialism, by colonial boundaries constructions, by inventing, naming, and delineating tribes and their territories in respect to

tax collection and for means of physical control, and also by land use policies, infrastructural developments and various direct interventions and regulations including diseases and price controls. In some cases colonial powers actively hampered pastoral trade, while in others they were effectively promoting pastoral efforts to market their stock. For cases in Kenya, Nigeria and Niger, Kerven (1992) argues in her historical reassessment of pastoral livestock markets that pastoralists are price-responsive, attuned to market fluctuations and not inclined to withhold saleable animals from the market. She concludes that government interventions such as price controls, licensing of traders, and implementation of taxes can seriously hamper the efforts of pastoralists to market their livestock (Kerven 1992). While European colonialism incorporated and imprinted Africa largely in the image of the British and French empires, political independence of the newly emerging nation states in the twentieth century did not include an independent economic restart. Export markets and commodity chains originating in Africa stayed oriented towards France and Great Britain, while local and regional livestock markets prevailed.

Until recently there have been limited opportunities for smallholder livestock producers in Africa to access international markets. Major market opportunities for livestock products in most countries of the continent unfold at the domestic and regional levels. Five different market chains can be distinguished: First, subsistence production and self consumption of animal products within households and local communities, where almost no price building takes place. Second, regional, and national trade where the products are sold in nearby villages and cities, increasingly for cash; they often work as collection centres, both to provision local (urban) demand and to build up a surplus to be marketed beyond the region (see Wiese, and Komey chapters). Third, cross-border trade; it is predominately oriented towards larger urban centres like Nairobi, Abidjan or Casablanca (see Mahmoud, Zaal, Breuer and Kreuer, in this volume). Here, various intermediate traders are involved and price building starts to be complex, and detached from a single market place. Fourth, live exports of animals to the Arab Gulf countries, a trade that Somalia and Sudan (El Dirani et al. 2009) are particularly involved in. Fifth, industrial market systems of vertically integrated chains; they are linking production, processing and the movement of pastoral products from the producer to the consumer (Behnke 2008). This often implies crossing national and continental borders to provide consistent year round supply, and to meet international quality and safety standards (Perry and Dijkman 2010).

Regional differences are inscribed into the distribution of these market chains between the pastoral economies in North and East Africa, and in southern Africa (Behnke 2008, Dutilly-Diane 2007, Kocho et al. 2011, McPeak and Little 2006). The northern countries are often poor, at least until recently, before large scale oil exploitation started in Sudan and Chad. They are composed of weak states and are run by governments that aim to control nomadic people (Casciarri 2009). This situation is different in southern Africa, where governments support or even may subsidise livestock producers. Comparing traditional pastoral production

systems and ranching in Africa Scoones (1995) reveals, however, that the value of communal area cattle production by far exceeds returns from ranching, in Zimbabwe ten times and in Botswana three times. For countries like Mozambique, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Ethiopia and Mali traditional production systems are comparable with commercial herds but do also offer multi product outputs and hence provide higher overall returns (Davies and Hatfield 2007).

The following chapters focus on the situation in north and east Africa. In contrast to Asia, where the marketing of wool and fibre products are of crucial importance, African pastoral economies are largely linked via meat markets to the wider economy. In response to the emergence of globalising markets and the rapid transformation of commodity chains, the African livestock sector is undergoing profound changes. The social and environmental consequences are important since small-scale livestock producers especially in Sub-Saharan Africa are increasingly marginalised. However, pastoral livelihood systems offer the drylands, as Martin Wiese (Chapter 4) argues, a considerable and potentially sustainable form of production. In Chad, pastoral livestock production remains an important pillar of the national economy even after the start of oil exportation in 2003. This is remarkable since the facilities for livestock export from Chad are rudimentary. Pastoral societies, like the Dazadaga and Juhayna, have shown a remarkable resilience during the latest pan-Sahelian droughts and the civil war in Chad. Nevertheless, they face an increasing encroachment of day-to-day livelihood security. Not market failures but – as Wiese argues – political crises are threatening these pastoral livelihoods.

The destructive power of the state vis-à-vis pastoral livelihood systems is also discernible in Guma Komey's (Chapter 5) analysis of the driving forces, the function and the spatial pattern of the war-born markets in the context of the pastoral-sedentary relations in the Nuba Mountains, Sudan. Komey examines the survival strategies and coping mechanisms deployed by the involved parties in a situation characterised by extensive insecurity and mounting risk. The arrangement of new forms of local markets (informal and smuggler markets) by the pastoral Baqqāra and the sedentary Nuba is discussed as part of the limited choices of survival strategies in response to the war situation. In the externally induced and state driven civil war, he argues, market relations operate as a starting point in a wider set of trade chains that systematically subjugate local economies to national and global markets. This implies that the multifaceted dynamics taking place in local markets across the different social fields are not merely local dynamics. Rather, they are, in most cases, local manifestations of national and globalisation processes with all their social, political and economic dimensions.

Inclusion of traditional pastoral livestock systems in globalising meat markets has progressed to the point that functional specialisation has developed in various pastoral livelihood systems within pastoral society. Though traditional pastoral production still exists successfully, commercial capital-based and labour intensive systems have developed, including an intricate division of labour, linked to a flexible and hierarchical, both culture-based and commercial, international meat value

chain. Fred Zaal (Chapter 6) investigates traditional pastoral livestock systems and the history of trans-border livestock trade in North Tanzania and southern Kenya. In the analysis of the impact of developing meat value chains directed towards markets in urban areas like Nairobi, five major household strategies are identified and the solidification of social and economic inequality is observed; more successful households directly participate in the new commercialised value chain, and less successful households are indirectly involved through the commoditisation of their labour and other resources.

Targeting a central market in Nairobi as in the study above, Hussein Mahmoud (Chapter 7) examines strategies of risk management among North Kenyan cattle traders. Facing extremely high risks from political conflicts, violence, credit insecurity and degenerated infrastructure, this chapter examines innovations in livestock marketing. Livestock trading in northern Kenya is one of the toughest and most risk-prone jobs in the region, yet successful livestock traders have not only been able to transform the ways in which trading is conducted, but have also become resilient to risks. Disconnecting the market chain of trading live animals from the circuits of capital is revealed as the core mechanism, but it is trust embedded in social networks that allows for the adoption of risk minimising strategies.

The first section of the book ends by assessing the impact of neoliberal policies and the shifting market spaces within a peripheral pastoral region in eastern Morocco. Ingo Breuer and David Kreuer (Chapter 8) investigate how the integration of the local population into international markets and commodity chains affect their livelihoods that, until recently, depended almost entirely on pastoral livestock production. They argue that both meat and fodder markets are undergoing profound changes, with severe consequences for eastern Moroccan pastoralists. Free trade schemes and the implementation of the plan for a 'Green Morocco', designed by international consultancy McKinsey for the Moroccan government, are transforming agricultural production systems, threatening local market chains and will largely undermine local livelihoods. Hence, new market spaces will expand the social spaces of insecurity.

Post-Socialist Asia: From State to Market Production

Although pastoral systems in Central Asia present a rather heterogeneous picture with their geographical environments, varying social contexts, and differing political development trajectories in the last two decades, they still share a number of characteristics. Most of these pastoral production systems had been integrated into the centralised apparatus of socialist economic production in the Soviet Union or in communist China. Especially in the Soviet Union, livestock production was collectivised and converted to a state-organised high-input and heavy-capital industry. Traditional nomadic pastoralists were often forced into a settled existence in large-scale production units with only limited seasonal movement, while the provision of highly subsidised inputs, the processing of produce and the

controlling of marketing channels encompassing an entire continent were state responsibilities (Kerven 2006).

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the loss of state subsidies, the breakaway of established distribution channels, agricultural reform and privatisation measures profoundly changed the conditions of pastoralist production. The degree and speed of restructuring and privatisation has been different in the newly emerging countries, with high-speed reformers like Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan experiencing a dramatic decline of livestock and devastating ramifications especially for pastoralists in peripheral areas. Turkmenistan, proceeding on a slower pace of privatisation and restructuring, has been able to preserve some degree of stability (Kerven 2003). Even for the Soviet satellite state Mongolia, which was not fully incorporated into centralist Soviet economy, and not as dependent on external inputs, the breakdown of the Soviet Union and the loss of Soviet meat markets still had severe consequences (Janzen and Enkhtuvshin 2008, Marin 2008). China and some other countries, in contrast, were able to avoid such devastating effects, having started gradual agricultural reform at an earlier point and having greater flexibility in their agricultural production forms and scales (for Afghanistan see Callahan 2007, Kreutzmann 2007, de Weijer 2007; for Siberia see Habeck 2005, Intigrinova 2010, Stammmler 2005; for Tibet see Gruschke 2009).

In most cases, national processing facilities were not maintained under privatisation, and while exports were increasingly shifting to raw products, institutional barriers as well as quality impingements continually hindered the exploration of new meat markets. In particular, remote mountainous regions are often practically cut off from market access, even though a certain amount of informal or even illegal cross-border trade can be assumed. Exports of livestock produce from post-socialist countries are now dominated by wool, leather and other non-meat products (these have always played a much greater role in Asia than in Africa). Even the wool market, however, has been depressed since the 1990s, especially for non-processed, low quality wool. In recent years the production of cashmere has proven quite lucrative and increased in several Central Asian countries. Other groups have been exceptionally successful with certain niche products, as is the case with ingredients for traditional Chinese medicine such as reindeer velvet antler or caterpillar fungus discussed in case studies in this volume.

Hermann Kreutzmann (Chapter 9) contributes an historical perspective on pastoral life in peripheral mountain regions of Central Asia. Geo-political interferences, boundary-making, socio-economic reforms and revolutionary movements had strong and for the most part detrimental effects on the livelihoods of nomadic people. Kreutzmann demonstrates how territories in contemporary countries like Afghanistan, Pakistan, Tajikistan, and the People's Republic of China have been divided since the late nineteenth century by international boundaries as the result of an imperial 'Great Game', resulting in a varied spectrum of legislation, infrastructure development and regional planning. These dividing lines disrupted traditional migratory paths of seasonal nomads and created an arena of continuous contestation in the Pamirs, the Hindukush and the Himalayas, while the economic

value of these mountain areas as a transit region for herders and traders was lost. As Kreutzmann reveals, Soviet modernisation projects further dislodged pastoral life through forced settlement of migratory nomads. After the end of the Cold War, however, market-oriented reforms are aiming to replace collective strategies and privatising collective production, while some cross-border trade is revitalised by pastoralists.

Jörg Janzen (Chapter 10) explores the upheaval of the export-oriented livestock production system in Mongolia after the end of the Soviet Union. After the privatisation of cooperative production, the loss of state subsidies, and the collapse of all marketing facilities, the economy for livestock export production has been reduced to a subsistence-oriented system, fostering large scale social differentiation within the pastoral population. With the destruction of most processing factories, Mongolia's export industry has been reduced to exporting primarily raw materials such as wool and hide. Combined with overstocking, accelerating desertification, and the impact of severe climatic conditions this resulted in a massive loss of animals and the deterioration of production and living conditions for mobile livestock keepers. Impoverished pastoralists are increasingly forced to give up herding and populate new yurt quarters on the outskirts of Ulaanbaatar. These pressures are forcing pastoralists to reshape their strategies and negotiate a new presence in the Asian markets. Today the sale of cashmere hair from goats is the major source of income for Mongolian herders.

Andreas Gruschke's study (Chapter 11) of pastoral livestock keeping in the Yushu Region on the Tibetan highlands is an example of successful integration into the world market for traditional Chinese medicine. Even though pastoral livestock keeping is under increasing pressure from deteriorating markets for livestock and decreasing pasture areas, the larger part of Yushu is nevertheless a region where pastoral livestock keeping persists. Livestock, however, is not necessarily the income source for these households. A niche economy built on a single resource allows integration into the world market, capitalising on a unique product: the caterpillar fungus. The marketing of this fungus makes up 50-80 per cent of households' cash income. Gruschke argues that this relationship allows many Tibetan pastoralists to subsist with their livestock rather than give up animal husbandry, especially after local pastoralists were recently able to assert greater participation in the marketing chain of this commodity.

Another product targeting the world market for traditional Chinese medicine is presented in Florian Stammner's contribution (Chapter 12). Using the velvet antler trade between nomads and Far Eastern businesspeople as an example, he analyses how tundra people welcome international trade. Their involvement in a rather recent economic activity shows how they cleverly manoeuvre to make the most of opportunities for diversified income. Nenets nomads make explicit distinctions between different spheres of production, as a result of which the nature of money becomes personalised: the source of income determines the sphere of spending. The argument is, in this and other cases, that involvement in

the global economy does not have to replace but rather supplements a solid basis of traditional subsistence or domestic market production.

Industrialised Commodity Systems: From Commercialised Production to Integrated Markets

Based on the commitments of the Millennium Development Goals to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) launched the Pro-Poor Livestock Policy Initiative in 2001. In this wider frame of western development policy Nikola Rass (Chapter 13) analyses the impact of drought on markets and the associated response of pastoralists to the risk of drought. As this chapter largely draws on cases from Africa it could also have been placed in part one of the book, but on the other hand it tackles western instruments of interventions. Rass outlines different income generating strategies and increasingly commercialised production objectives of pastoralists in order to understand the pastoralists' response to markets. There are several reasons pastoralists often do not follow market incentives to sell livestock, but rather follow a long-term strategy of herd expansion. Droughts often have extremely disruptive effects on markets, while at the same time commercialisation uproots traditional household strategies. The adaptation of traditional strategies to new contexts is discussed as a desirable goal. In this light, Rass debates opportunities of the modern techniques of Early Warning Systems and evaluates examples of market-focused interventions.

Chris Lloyd (Chapter 14) examines the UK sheep industry that is mainly focused on meat production and, with 16 million breeding ewes, is the largest producer in Europe. A great variety of climatic and natural conditions in the UK has contributed to the historical development of a large stratified breeding structure, linking farms from the mountains to the more productive lowlands and exploiting the beneficial production characteristics of the local breeds and hybrid vigour. The UK is also one of the largest markets for pastoral products and, because of seasonality, a main importer for lamb, mainly from counter-seasonal New Zealand. Cheap market prices as well as changing consumer demands in recent years have been challenging the UK sheep industry. Changes in consumer preferences and eating habits, societal changes and new health concerns have led sheep producers to devise new brands and new marketing strategies, boasting health benefits of leaner meat and ecological soundness.

Under neo-liberalising reforms in New Zealand the country's pastoral sectors have undergone major transformations. New Zealand's pastoral commodity systems are now re-connected into the globalising world food and fibre economy on distinctively different bases to the arrangements that prevailed some two decades ago. Richard Le Heron (Chapter 15) articulates a trajectory of economic and institutional investment approach to situate New Zealand-based pastoral activities – dairy and sheep (meat and wool) production – in the wider (and changing) international political economy of GATT, WTO and other market-forming and market-shaping institutions and to outline the re-alignment of New

Zealand's pastoral commodity systems into world markets. The chapter explores changing enterprise and organisational relations to reveal connections between market-making relations and livelihood implications in the New Zealand context.

Around 3.5 million Australian sheep are exported to the Middle East annually, representing the largest transfer of live animals between continents. It has also been a relationship fraught with multiple and markedly different perceptions about and interpretations of sheep, in their life and death. Jörg Gertel, Erena Le Heron and Richard Le Heron (Chapter 16) juxtapose the dynamics of the trade industry and its relation to the regional economy in Western Australia (with an economic value of about AUD\$ 323 million in export earnings in 2009) with the arguments from animal welfare organisations (and their valued-concerns about the cruelty of this trade), and finally with the cultural practices in the Gulf countries (about the religious notions of fresh sheep meat consumption). They argue that there are not only economic values but cultural and social values attached to sheep, that enter into the making and unmaking of market relations, and in the linking of livelihoods across continents.

The last chapter reviews the book's achievements. This chapter considers how different and new styles of situated narratives about engaging in exchange relations might be developed and put into circulation in policy, aid, community, and business circles. Richard Le Heron and Jörg Gertel (Chapter 17) suggest such narratives are likely to be more compelling if they are embodied accounts of real risks encountered and lived in fields of exchange relations, and explicitly recognise socio-economic spaces, in which they are constituted and experienced.

Conclusion

This book thus brings together experiences and information ranging from integrated industries to those of subsistence producers. We reveal that integration into international commodity chains and distant markets entails risks, often generated far away from the sphere of production, while the consequences are always reflected in local livelihoods. This holds especially true for marginalised pastoralists, who enter market and commodity chains in relatively powerless positions. State regulations and war or recent boundary-making can have devastating effects on pastoral trade routes, markets, and livelihoods. Jumps in energy prices also expose farmers and pastoralists, who depend on selling their products in distant markets. These problems are exacerbated in areas where insecurity (be it in the form of cattle theft, contested land rights or civil war) and increasing environmental degradation and droughts pose constant threats.

Of great interest are the innovative solutions pastoralists apply in order to cope with risks, to adapt to changing conditions and, in some cases, even to turn them to their advantage. The book's evidence documents heartening strategies. In civil war Sudan, warring tribes sustained their interdependent livelihoods through the establishment of secret illegal 'peace or smuggler markets'. In northern Kenya, cell phones facilitate informal cash transfer systems. And in Siberia, helicopters

transporting supplies are turned into an economically viable means for smuggling large quantities of velvet antlers, a substance important in Chinese medicine, to bigger cities to be sold to Far Eastern traders. The ingenuity of Tibetan pastoralists, making use of a caterpillar fungus, another valuable ingredient for Chinese medicine, that grows exclusively on their lands and is experiencing high demand in the last years, also refutes the generalising assumption that integration into global markets necessarily has detrimental effects on traditional pastoralist livelihoods. Similarly Siberian reindeer herders only participate in the global trade with velvet antlers in order to generate cash for the purchase of luxury articles, while continuing to maintain traditional – and sustainable – pastoralist lives.

Finally, we contend the book's exploration of pastoralism and pastoral economies allows some preliminary re-imaginings of research questions and research methodologies. In particular the book's positioning work, that is, its empirical exposure of the world's pastoralism and pastoral economy experiences, facilitates a different level of engagement with the formative relationships and interactions of market-making and livelihood-making.

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