Pastoralism and Climate Change: Clarifying Research and Policy Agendas (with particular reference to the Horn of Africa)

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Definitions

 Pastoralists are people who depend on livestock or the sale of livestock products for most of their income and consumption, where livestock is mainly grazed on communallymanaged or open-access pastures, and where there is at least some propensity for households or individuals to move seasonally with livestock

Populations

- Intrinsic difficulties of collecting data on remote and mobile people
- Estimates extremely sensitive to boundaries between pastoralism and extensive livestock production by farmers

 International agencies use estimates of 100-200 million people worldwide

Pastoralists in the Horn of Africa

Ethiopia Sudan Kenya Somalia Tanzania Uganda

8 million
8 million
6 million
6 million
2 million
1 million

A Growing Understanding of Pastoralism

- A new understanding of pastoralism since the late 1980s:
 - Rational and sustainable in regions of low and variable rainfall
 - Its problems not intrinsic, but stemming from poor policy and poor governance
- This understanding accepted by researchers, NGOs, donors, less so by national governments
- But now challenged once more, for reasons including new perceptions of the impacts of climate change

Pastoralism and climate change: impacts and adaptation

- Growing discussion of CC impacts on pastoralists, and pastoralist adaptation to CC, by NGOs, researchers and the media.
- But characterised by:
 - Dichotomy between apocalypse and focus on intrinsic adaptive capacity
 - Oversimplified view of relation between climate change and drought
 - Narrow view of climate change = precipitation change

Apocalypse

- Media discussion, and some public documents by NGOs, portray pastoralists as "climate canaries"
- "the people most likely to be wiped out by devastating global warming" (Observer 12.11.2006)
- "They have long lived on the margins, a way of life that was manageable as long as the rains were regular. But with relentless drought the margins are coming close to being impossible" (Fergal Keane, BBC, 17.11.06)

Adapters par excellence

- "In this more dynamic climatic environment, the flexibility and mobility afforded by pastoralism may increasingly provide a means of providing security where other more sedentary models fail" (Nick Brooks, 2007)
 "There is general agreement that climate change
- "There is general agreement that climate change is a process that most pastoralists should be able to cope with, [given] an enabling framework that reverses current trends [in access to resources] (Nori and Davies 2007, summarising econference with 70 participants)
- Policy implications are to pursue agendas on policy and rights- "get off their backs" – and on markets and services, that are already mapped out

Problems with both approaches

- Apocalyptic statements can be used to justify withdrawal of support for pastoralism
- Focus on intrinsic adaptive capacity if enabled by good policy – can produce recommendations on governance, land tenure and markets that are crucial...
- ...but are not new, are not specific to discussions of climate change, and do not identify important knowledge gaps

Climate Change and Drought

- Tendency of studies and public documents to:
 - uncritically assume increase in drought frequency and severity,
 - ascribe this to global climate change processes,
 - and to underplay longer-term projections of increased (but more variable) rainfall
- Does this matter?
- It depends on what question is asked

A narrow view of climate change impacts

- Reports concerned with changes in rainfall amounts, sometimes rainfall distribution or temperatures
- But potential CC impacts on pastoralism are broader spectrum, through livestock, range and nonpastoral employment, direct and indirect

Towards a Broader View of Impacts (1)

Impacts on livestock:

- Heat stress
- Increased water demand ⇒ changed herding patterns
- Changed disease patterns e.g. Rift Valley Fever (Baylis and Githeko 2006)
- Impacts on rangeland:
 - Changes in primary production
 - Changes in composition and quality increase in woody species?

Towards a Broader View of Impacts (2)

- Impacts on water supply
- Impacts on non-pastoral employment, e.g. tourism
- Impacts on human health
- Indirect impacts:
 - changes in grain availability from non-pastoral areas
 - policies to encourage biofuel production sugarcane or jatropha
 - Potential future programmes of carbon sequestration on rangelands

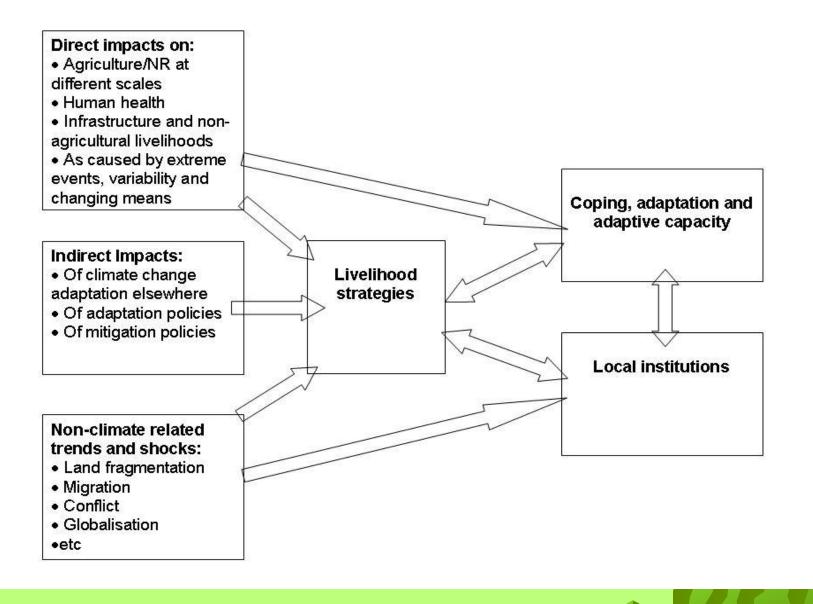
Towards a Broader View of Impacts (3)

Direct impacts on:

- "normal" livelihood strategies, and

coping and adaptive capacity

- "Non-climate stressors" impact livelihoods directly and through institutions
- Multiple feedbacks



Limits to Adaptation

- Assumption of pastoral capacity to adapt to environmental change may be overoptimistic
- A non-climate example:
 - Invasion of riverine grazing areas by *Prosopis julliflora* has become a major livelihood problem throughout the Horn of Africa (Aboud et al. 2005, Bokrezion 2008)
 - Solutions for mobilising intensive labour and circumventing prohibitions on tree-cutting have not yet been found

Conclusions – Climate Change Research

- Move beyond victims vs. adapters dichotomy
- Promote more nuanced discussion of relation of present drought cycles to climate change
- Take broader view of impacts, including underresearched biophysical impacts on rangelands,
- Understand the complexity of real-world pastoral production systems, and the consequent limits of modelling approaches.
- Research and pilot the dissemination of climate information and information on climate impacts – with all their uncertainties – to pastoralists themselves and to a range of stakeholders, over various timescales

Conclusions – Development Policy

- Assisting adaptation to climate change has strong overlap with existing good practice in pastoral development, but new needs will emerge as we understand climate impacts better
- Address climate change and build pastoral livelihoods
- Clarity, understanding and empowerment

Thank you

