

Interrogating the Pastoral Narrative

Pastoralism Day

Food First Program, The Hague

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- AU-IBAR at a glance
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- Harnessing the current political will and policy juncture
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the importance of pastoralism/ the African livestock sector

- The initial omission of livestock from the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) document is a symptom of the policy marginalization.
- There remains a untapped potential for livestock to contribute to the development of the continent
- The current trend indicates a growing global demand for livestock products as populations continue to grow with the mushrooming and expansion of urban centers and the rapid emergence of more affluent middle class segments as incomes improve
- While over the next two decades the demand for food is going to grow by 50% to meet population growth, the demand for livestock products is predicted to double over the same period – a phenomenon dubbed the livestock revolution
- Many African countries are net importers of animal products signifying a unmet demand on the continent
- Analyses show that there are comparative advantages and opportunities for development of regional markets to meet these unmet demands
- Africa also has the capacity to reach neighboring markets in the Middle East region. This constitutes an unprecedented opportunity for the growth of the livestock sector
- In addition, livestock contribute to the crop sector via draught power, manure to enhance soil fertility and as a means of financing crop activities

the importance of pastoralism/ the African livestock sector

- Up to 300 M people in Africa are directly dependant on Livestock for their income and livelihood
- Of these approx 206 m are pastoralists in the arid and semi arid areas that cover 40% of Africa
- LS represents 30% of Africa's agricultural GDP and as much as 80% of the AGDP in countries like Sudan
- In Ethiopia the livestock-dependant leather industry is the second largest source of foreign currency after coffee. Recent reviews of the livestock sector in Ethiopia conducted by government indicate a substantial under-valuing of the livestock sector
- In Uganda, pastoralist and small livestock producers contribute the fourth largest share of foreign currency earnings
- Kenya and Tanzania have vast arid lands occupied by pastoralists, who supply the substantial domestic meat markets

ACU-IBAR at a glance



trends challenges and opportunities for the African animal resources sector



AU-IBAR's vision, mission, mandate and core functions

- **Vision:** an Africa in which animal resources contribute significantly to the reduction of poverty and hunger
- **Mission:** To provide leadership in the development of animal resources for Africa through supporting and empowering AU Member States and Regional Economic Communities
- **Mandate:** To support and coordinate the utilization of animals (livestock, fisheries and wildlife) as a resource for human wellbeing in the Member States of the African Union and to contribute to economic development

AU-IBAR's vision, mission, mandate and core functions

Core Functions:

- Facilitation of development and harmonization of policies and other decision support tools for animal resources development
- Facilitation of articulation of common African positions on animal resources
- Provision of technical leadership and advisory services to REC's and Member states
- Advocacy on relevant issues and mobilization of public and private investment for development of animal resources
- Provision of strategic support in emergency situations and facilitation of countries with special needs to maintain core animal resources functions

AU-IBAR's strategic focus

Programme 1

Reducing the impact of trans-boundary animal diseases and zoonoses on livelihoods and public health in Africa

Programme 2

Enhancing Africa's capacity to conserve and sustainably use its animal resources and their natural resource base

Programme 3

Improving investment opportunities and competitiveness of animal resources in Africa

Programme 4

Promoting development of, and compliance with, standards and regulations

Programme 5

Facilitating development of policies and institutional capacities for improved utilization of animal resources in Africa

Programme 6

Improving knowledge management in animal resources to facilitate informed and timely decision making

AU-IBAR's strategic focus in relation to pastoralism

- Programme 2: Development or identification and sharing of best practices for, and enhancement of, capacities in early warning and emergency preparedness and response to climate change, especially in pastoral areas
- Programme 3: Improving pastoral areas development/investments agendas through the identification of development opportunities and how innovative input services and approaches can contribute to promotion of pastoral investments and empowerment.
- Programme 4: Development of identification and traceability systems in pastoral areas.

policy and investment failures

‘Amongst the many specific features that characterize pastoral populations, one deserves peculiar attention: ***the highest rate of dramatic failures of development policies and investments.***

The history of development initiatives in pastoral environments is a dramatic sequence of misconceptions, wrongdoings and ineffective investments.

... by the end of the 1980’s a World Bank survey recorded 300 failed projects in Africa, partly or wholly concerned with livestock developments, ***with the African pastoral sector experiencing the greatest concentration of failed development projects in the world.***’

Nori and Neely 2009 (quoting Sandford 1983; Waters-Bayer and Bayer 1994; Harrison 1987)

policy and investment failures

Most government policies are perceived as being formulated in the public interest, which then makes it difficult to challenge them, as that would be interpreted as working against the public interest

In reality however ... often policy serves more to legitimize what is taking place, ***than to direct what might take place***

This popular notion of policy is in contrast to the view that sees policy processes as political processes that are embedded in power relations and institutional politics

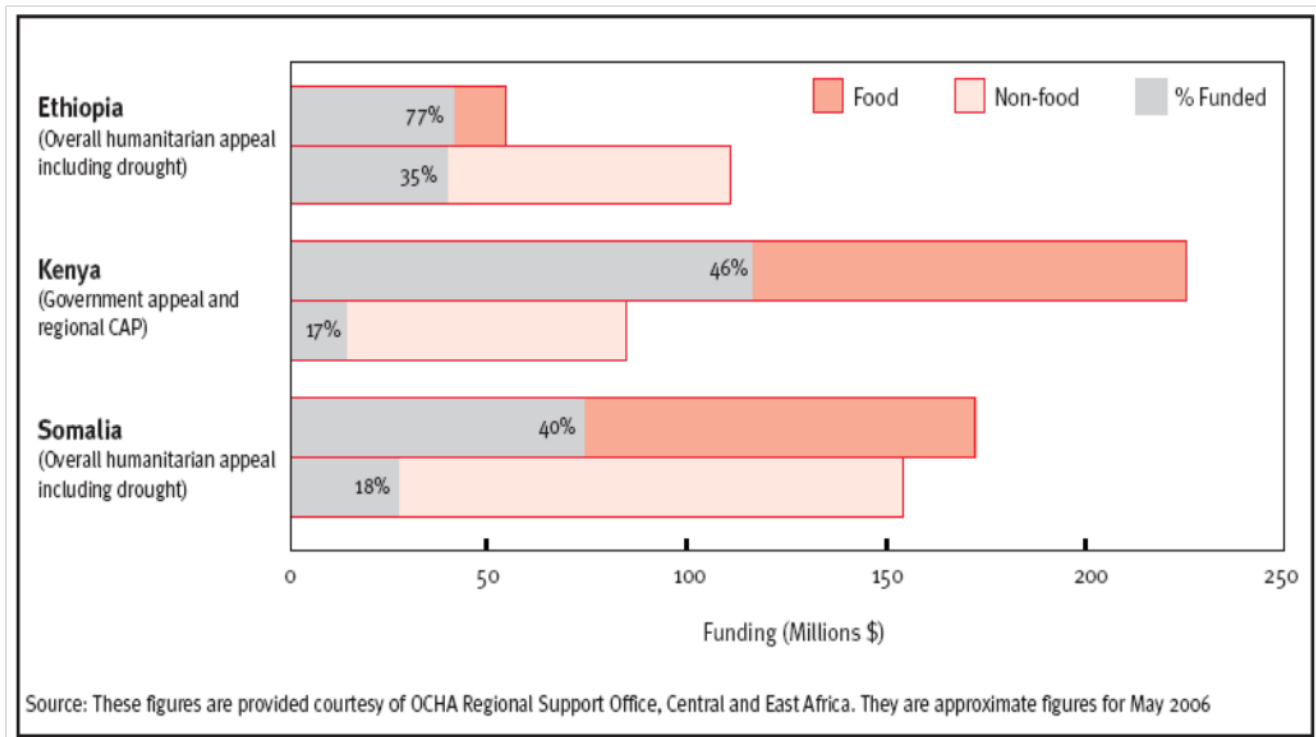
Tenga et al. 2008, emphasis added

impact/outcome

- In Kenya in August 2009 in the midst of the drought, the government announced that it would spend Sh 500 million to buy weak animals from pastoralists at just over \$100 each
- The animals were to be tracked or trekked to the Kenya Meat Commission plant in Athi River, just south of Nairobi. Though the intention was noble, the plan and its implementation were pedestrian: the livestock had already lost body condition to critical levels and most could not withstand the rigor of travel especially since transit supplies were short of non-existent
- The Athi River abattoir was quickly overwhelmed with the numbers of livestock, resulting in huge delays in off loading livestock and consequently fatalities on site
- Many pastoralists who had transported livestock to Nairobi in desperation resorted to selling their livestock themselves receiving paltry returns that could not cover even the costs incurred for transportation
- As the crisis unfolded on TV screens in Kenya and around the world, high ranking officials in government dismissed the ensuing fracas, arguing that the livestock would have died anyway even if they had not been transported to Athi River. Over 2 million livestock were lost
- Meanwhile government issued appeals for food aid

impact/outcome

A focus on food aid (Omondi and Odhiambo (2009))



impact/outcome

- But this was not the first, nor last time government was unable to respond to drought in the ASAL's
- In August 2010, again ICPAC (The IGAD Climate Prediction and Application Centre) issued a warning of impending drought in parts of the Horn and East African region
- The Kenyan Parliament debated over the issue but no substantive action was taken to avert the now familiar cycle of crisis within the pastoral area - until it was again too late
- Some estimates put the loss of livestock as equivalent to the annual collection by Kenya Revenue Authority
- No other sector in Kenya would be able to rebound from such levels of shock in one year, let alone in two consecutive years
- The tea, coffee and tourism industries which are all touted as the core of the economy are all highly vulnerable, quickly succumbing to any global market shocks
- These industries which are not organic to Kenya only recover because they are propped by heavy government subsidies, policies, infrastructure and institutions

impact/outcome

- *In Uganda* the last decade has seen an unprecedented level of funding pour into the Karamoja region from government, donors and NGO's.
- But rather than improve the outcomes for this ancient pastoral people, the result has been unprecedented levels of impoverishment and destitution
- Poverty levels have increased to 82% compared to a national level that first dipped to 31% before rising to 36%
- Large numbers of Karamojong women and children have exited the area and now live as beggars in Kampala, Jinja, Tororo and other towns.

impact/outcome

- *In Tanzania*, the privatisation process was largely state sponsored, with pastoralist land being turned over to large-scale investments such as wheat and sheep production, and to conservation projects
- Barabaig pastoralists were evicted from their traditional grazing lands in Hanang district to make way for the farms
- The Barabaig community reverted to court to try and regain their land, but lost it because the village council failed to show legal allocation of the land from prior authorities, and to prove that Barabaigs were natives of Tanzania! (Tenga et al. 2008)
- Migration therefore has become one of the key strategies for coping with distress, with households taking their livestock and whole homesteads to other parts of the country
- The result is that not only have the 'Maasai steppes' been invaded and taken over by farmers and conservationists, but the demographic composition of Tanzania is rapidly being changed to the detriment of pastoralists. Hanang which was over 80% inhabited by pastoralists only 15 years ago is now 84% occupied by farmers. (Tenga et al. 2008)
- National statistical data indicate that most of these Maasai pastoralists have migrated to other parts Tanzania and across the borders to Malawi and Zambia



impact/outcome

How did pastoralists feel/ what did they experience

- There is documentation of severe depression and trauma due to loss of livestock and even human life – mental illness and suicide occur
- Trauma and depression from enduring prolonged periods of acute hunger
- Families and wider social networks decimated
- Destitution
- Hopelessness and fear of the future

impact/outcome

- National databases show shrinking pastoral populations with changing demographic characteristics as young adult men and youth out migrate: impacting on knowledge base, conflict and insecurity (Shabaab means youth –pointing to a need to youth inclusion policies), the health of the natural resource base, productivity of pastoral systems and the general burden on women – feminization of Pastoralism/ poverty stress
- Similar in TZ in Mwanga and Same districts and in Karamoja, in Uganda

Figure1: Age Pyramid of Ethiopia Population

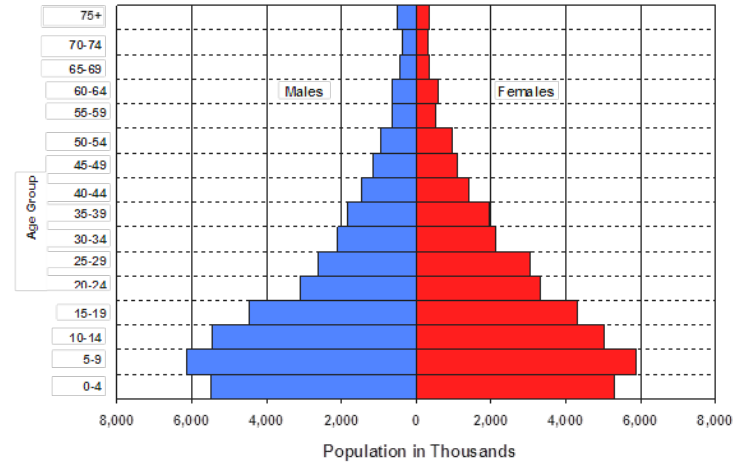


Figure 2 : Age Pyramid of Afar Region Population

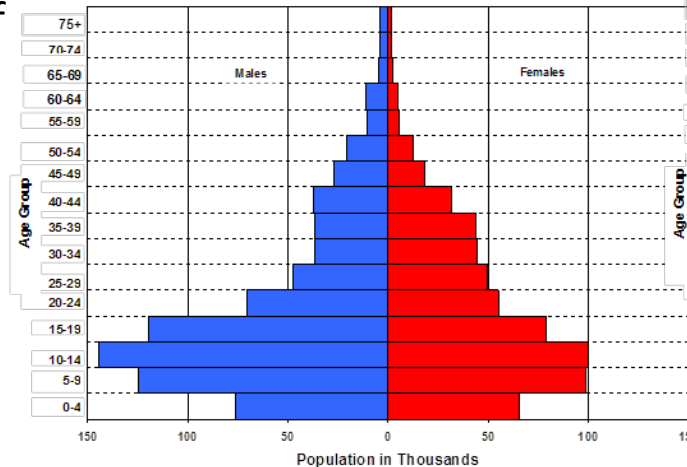
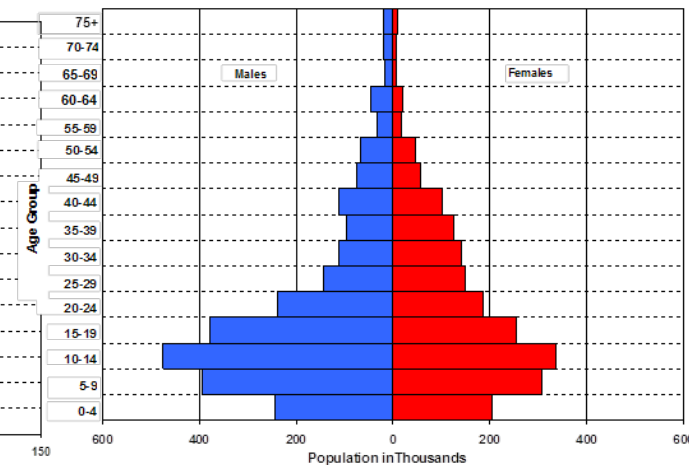


Figure 3 : Age Pyramid of Somali Region Population



impact/outcome

The delink between data and interventions – ignoring the evidence base

- A study was conducted in three districts in Uganda: Nakasongola, Sembabule and Kotido, all of which host significant pastoralist populations
- Findings indicate that pastoralist production and activities contributed between 50 and 65% of the local revenue base
- Conversely, in all three districts, less than 5% of the district development budgets (outside of the specially earmarked Poverty Alleviation Funds disbursed at central government level, for restocking and other national priorities) were allocated to pastoralist development (Oxfam GB Study)

what is/might take place

Informal Cross Border Trade


- It is estimated that more than 95 per cent of the regional trade in eastern Africa is carried out via unofficial channels and that it is one of the fastest-growing areas of commercial activity in the region
- In Ethiopia alone, the annual trade of live cattle, camels, sheep and goats sold to Somalia, Kenya and Djibouti generates an estimated total value of between US\$250 and US\$300 million
- This unofficial trade has long co-existed with, thrived and even surpassed the value and magnitude of official livestock exports. It is estimated to be 100 times greater than the average annual official livestock export trade between 1993 and 2000
- This vibrant, yet unofficial, commerce has also significant implications for incomes and food security. Cross-border trade is a key source of earnings for the thousands of livestock producers, intermediaries, traders, trekkers, and others involved and some areas feeds into the formal chain down streamd
- The trucks that transport livestock from the border to the final destination almost always return with grain and other foodstuff. Through what is known as back-loading, this supplies grain-deficient pastoral areas
- It harnesses modern technology such as mobile phones to access market information, conduct business and to transfer money
- This trade follows the logic of the region's natural economy, which the geopolitical pattern imposed by colonialism on the region violates

(Pavenello 2010; Markakis 2004)

what is/might take place

The *Nyama Choma* business (roast meat)

- Letara *et al.* (2006) studied the *nyama chama* business in Arusha region and found that there are many benefits from livestock and the *nyama chama* sector.
- The supply chain begins with the pastoralists who keep the animals and moves to the middlemen who buy livestock from the pastoralist traders, slaughter the animals themselves or sell the animals to the abattoir or other places of slaughter
- For the middlemen involved in meat production activities, this trade is their major source of employment and commercial investment. When an animal is slaughtered, nothing is wasted, with different parts being sold to different customers
- If these data can be generalised for Tanzania as a whole, the population of 33.6 million is serviced by 15,585 *nyama chama* businesses with a supply chainwide turnover of 1,353 billion Tshs (USD 1.3 billion) and value-added to the national economy of 23 billion Tshs (USD 22 million)
- Furthermore, outside pastoralism, each pastoral cow slaughtered supports (through the *nyama chama* supply chain) at least one-quarter of a full-time job in the Tanzanian economy, accounting for 1.07 dependants, and providing an estimated USD 172 worth of economic value-added in the economy
- In pastoral society, each pastoral cow slaughtered supports (through the *nyama chama* supply chain) at least three-fifths of a full-time job in the Tanzanian economy, accounting for 2.91 dependants.



the significant problems we
face today cannot be solved
by the same level of
thinking that created them

Albert Einstein

*interrogating the pastoral
narrative*

- The basic assumptions
- The conceptual frameworks including the development paradigms and objectives
- The policies

interrogating the pastoral narrative

- Assumptions about the pastoral system: flawed versus logical and with a functional design as the starting point – not coming to dismantle, working to support better functionality and responsiveness. Do no harm as the base policy
- Conceptual frameworks: system versus people; mobility versus sedentarization; Pastoral system versus the broader ASAL environment; the pastoral system within the ASAL's versus the broader relationships that feed into the pastoral system; services to support versus services they should access
- Development objectives: interrogate the blanket relevance and or interpretation of the global development objectives e.g.,
 - what does education in the ASAL's mean – mainstream traditional curriculum or a competitive but more relevant curriculum
 - mainstream medical facilities or integration of the more accessible traditional healers and birth attendants into the health system (Uganda has made strides in this direction).
 - Why the delink between GDP growth and pastoral development. Is primary pastoral production captured in the GDP or does this appear at the downstream level?

interrogating the pastoral narrative

- Policies: pegged to Western model state structures or reflective and supportive of the reality of how pastoralists function? A number of development partners dialoging on how to support the informal sector now
- Pastoral systems have a functionality – even in crisis that can be seen as a starting place for intervention – (development scenarios) – this will ensure keen addressing of specific issues like gender (women and youth issues), social and wealth differentiation
- The growth stimulus will likely come from private sector and should be pegged to pastoral functionality – so that innovations can support the functionality and stimulate other innovations
- More strategic partnerships are needed – with some re-think on the roles and comparative advantage of the different development players with pastoralists at the core and not as recipients

harnessing the current political and policy juncture

- Evidence that broad positive policy statements are not necessarily taken forward – Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia and Tanzania all included pastoralists in their PRSP's and have government ministries or agencies for pastoralists/pastoral groups, and even some policies, but there are still poor outcomes on the ground due to skewed interpretation and implementation
- Need impetus to push for translation of policy into legislative and regulatory frameworks that provide anchor for implementation of pro-pastoralist policies
- Need to take advantage of the different entry points: AU Pastoral Policy Framework, CAADP, AU-IBAR, the REC's i.e., EAC, COMESA and IGAD with substantial work on pastoralism
- Regional approaches are particularly important as they reflect the functionality of pastoralists

concluding remarks

- The paradoxical picture of pastoral crisis and pastoral potential indicate a policy failure
- These failures have very severe impacts on pastoral livelihoods, resources and lives
- The current and past narrative is predicated on western state models that lock out the realities of how pastoralists function
- The narrative, and therefore policies and other interventions, have to change/ be dismantled if the pastoral/ African livestock sector is contribute to food security and desirable and sustainable economic growth and development
- The current political will and policy juncture provide a particularly opportune window