

Policies and priorities in East African rangelands

Katherine Homewood UCL

Workshop on Biodiversity, Ecosystem services, Social sustainability and Tipping points in East African rangelands (BEST), ILRI, 14 February 2012



Arid and semi arid lands

ASAL

- Low agro-ecological potential
- Marginal, peripheral areas and populations
 - Poorly represented in national statistics
 - Economic contribution not well understood
 - Persistent poverty

But global demand/markets for

- Land (and water, and minerals,...)
- Food, biofuels, carbon storage, biodiversity
- New potential for ASALs?
 - Implications for current uses and users?

African Union 2010

- **Affirms**
 - Scale of African local livestock production
 - Economic benefits / dynamism / resilience
 - Ecological benefits: environmental sustainability
- **Calls for action**
 - Protecting pastoralist tenure and access,
 - supporting and enhancing
 - » mobility,
 - » security,
 - » appropriate services

BUT

- **Across individual ASAL countries**
 - Negative narratives around pastoralism
 - » ?Unproductive?
 - » ?Environmentally damaging?
 - » ?Backward / in need of modernization?
 - In depth studies give strong evidence to contrary BUT
 - » Data capture technically demanding
 - » Poorly represented in official statistics
 - » Ecological/economic contributions undervalued
- **Histories of land tenure and access**
 - Alternative uses favoured
 - Key resources captured/ converted

Current policy and practice across African rangelands

- Alternative land uses promoted
 - » Commercial crops (biofuels?...grain?...carbon sequestration?...)
 - » Mining
 - » East Africa: Wildlife tourism
- Benefits of alternative uses
 - » Attract global investors
 - » Stimulate growth?
 - » Trickle down?
 - » Wildlife : environmental/biodiversity conservation
- Costs of alternative uses
 - » Constrain livestock production and associated market chains
 - » Displace people/ Impact on livelihoods
 - » Displace resource use/ Knock on environmental effects
- Tradeoffs or win/wins? And for whom?
 - » Benefits vs costs?
 - » Distribution?

Focus on East Africa:

- Kenya

- » Colonial period: settler vs Trust land
- » Privatization of communal lands
 - » Trust land -> Group ranches -> individual private plots
 - » New Constitution 2010: changes to remaining Trust land
- » Scramble for key resources

- Tanzania

- » Colonial period: customary "deemed" vs "granted" land occupancy
- » *Ujamaa*: State control overrides customary/ private tenure
- » Mid-80s liberalisation, Land Acts 1999
 - » village lands: farmland title vs grazing lands 'open'
 - » State lease/sale of lands (commercial farms, hunting, tourism)

- Ethiopia

- » State control of land
- » Large scale land (and water) leasing/sale - Omo River Basin
- » Ethnic federalism: access assigned among competing groups

Across East African rangelands

- Formerly communal -> private / State
- State-controlled land -> investors
- Taxable returns + entrepreneur profits but
- Customary users displaced
- Livelihoods lost
- Environment fragmented
- Biodiversity lost

Is wildlife conservation + tourism the exception?

-> ASAL sustainable economic growth + poverty reduction?

Pastoralists, wildlife conservation and tourism

- Tourism revenues

- ~USD 1 billion/yr each in Kenya and Tanzania
- High proportion due to wildlife (viewing ± hunting)
- Pastoralist areas = fastest growing destinations

Homewood, Chenevix-Trench and Brockington 2012

- Savanna wildlife

- Kenya 50-80% ↓ 1975-2005 DRSRS, Western et al 2009
- Similar declines in TZ? - Stoner et al 2007, Sinclair et al 2008

- Wildlife and pastoralist livestock both

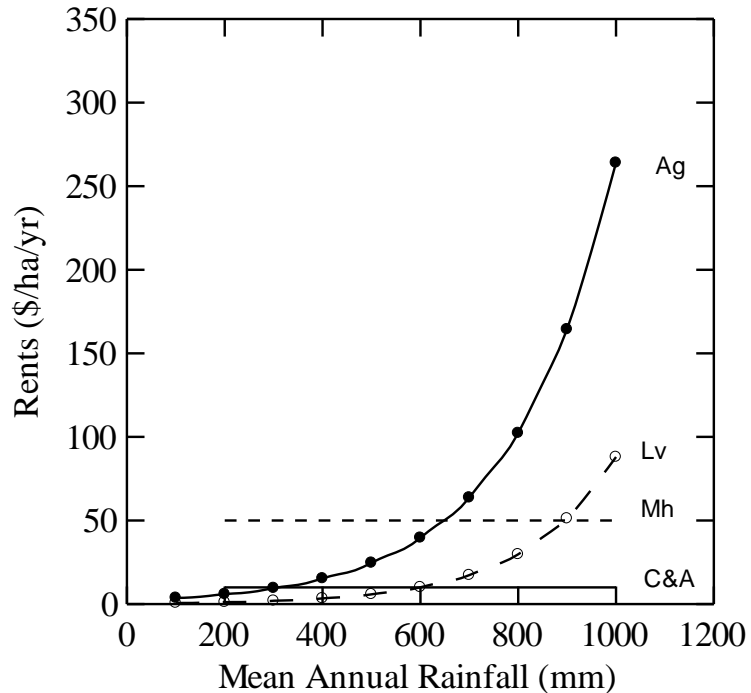
- Need same key resources
- maintain rangeland landscapes, biodiversity, tourism revenues

-> Green development policies

BUT

- Opportunity costs of wildlife tourism?
 - Returns relative to other land uses
 - Loss of
 - production (setaside/ key resource capture)
 - risk management potential / resilience
 - Costs (vs benefits) to national / local economies
 - Costs (vs benefits) to livelihoods
- Distribution of wildlife returns?
 - International vs national vs local
 - State vs entrepreneur vs local user
 - Inequalities / Poverty implications

Relative returns per hectare



- Ag - Agriculture
- - Lv - Livestock
- ... Mh - Mara "High" (\$50)
- C&A - Concession and Access (\$10.2)

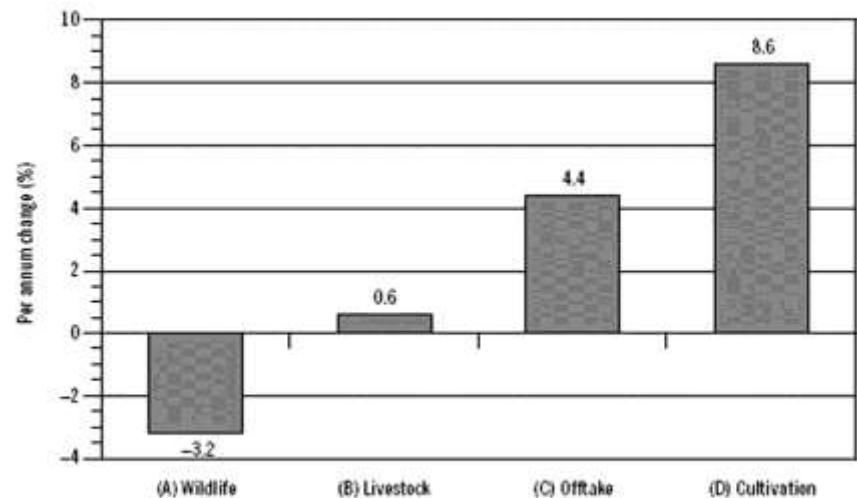
<- Tourism << Livestock returns << crops

Norton Griffiths and Said 2008

[but: revised values?]

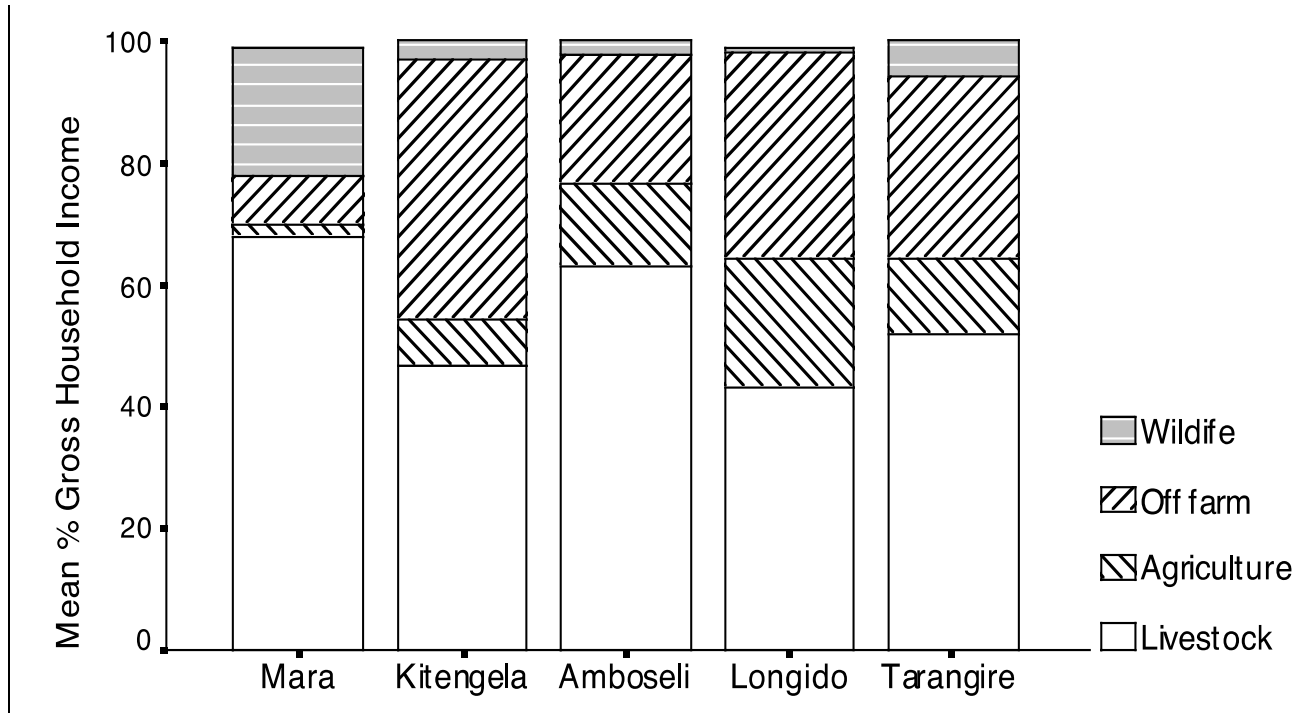
Land use choices that result ↓

Figure 2: Changes in production on Kenya's rangelands: mid-1970s to mid-1990s



System response, mid-1970s to mid-1990s

Household returns from tourism - relative to other land uses?



Multi site study across Kenya and Tanzania households Household level:

- Most sites <5% income from wildlife
- cf livestock production (50-70%) + off farm

Mara: pre conservancy

- 20% household income from wildlife
- 70% income from livestock

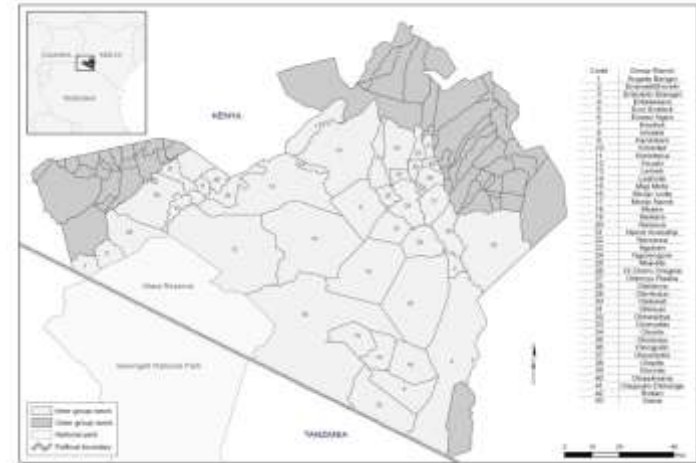
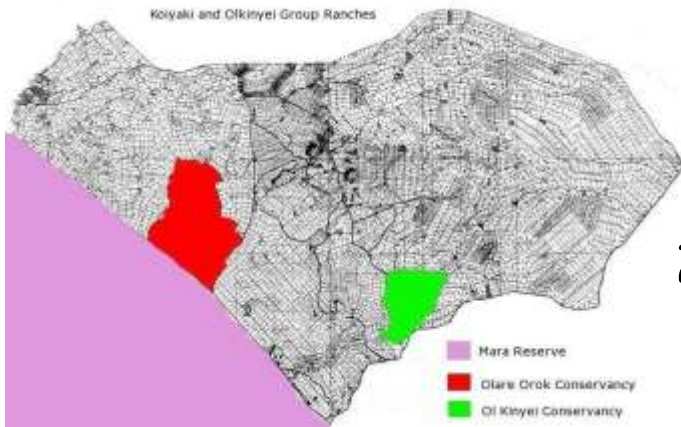
Mara: evolving conservancies

Osano, Bedelian

MARA: CHANGING TENURE AND ACCESS

1. Formation of group ranches

- Security of tenure
- Membership registration?



2. Subdivision of group ranches

- Protect individual interests?
- Land fragmentation
- Impacts on wildlife and on livestock

3. Formation of conservancies

- Reverses fragmentation
 - Pays market rate to titled owners
- BUT
- Exclusion/displacement of wider population
 - Shrinks area for pastoral production
 - Constrains livestock mobility
 - Knock-on effects

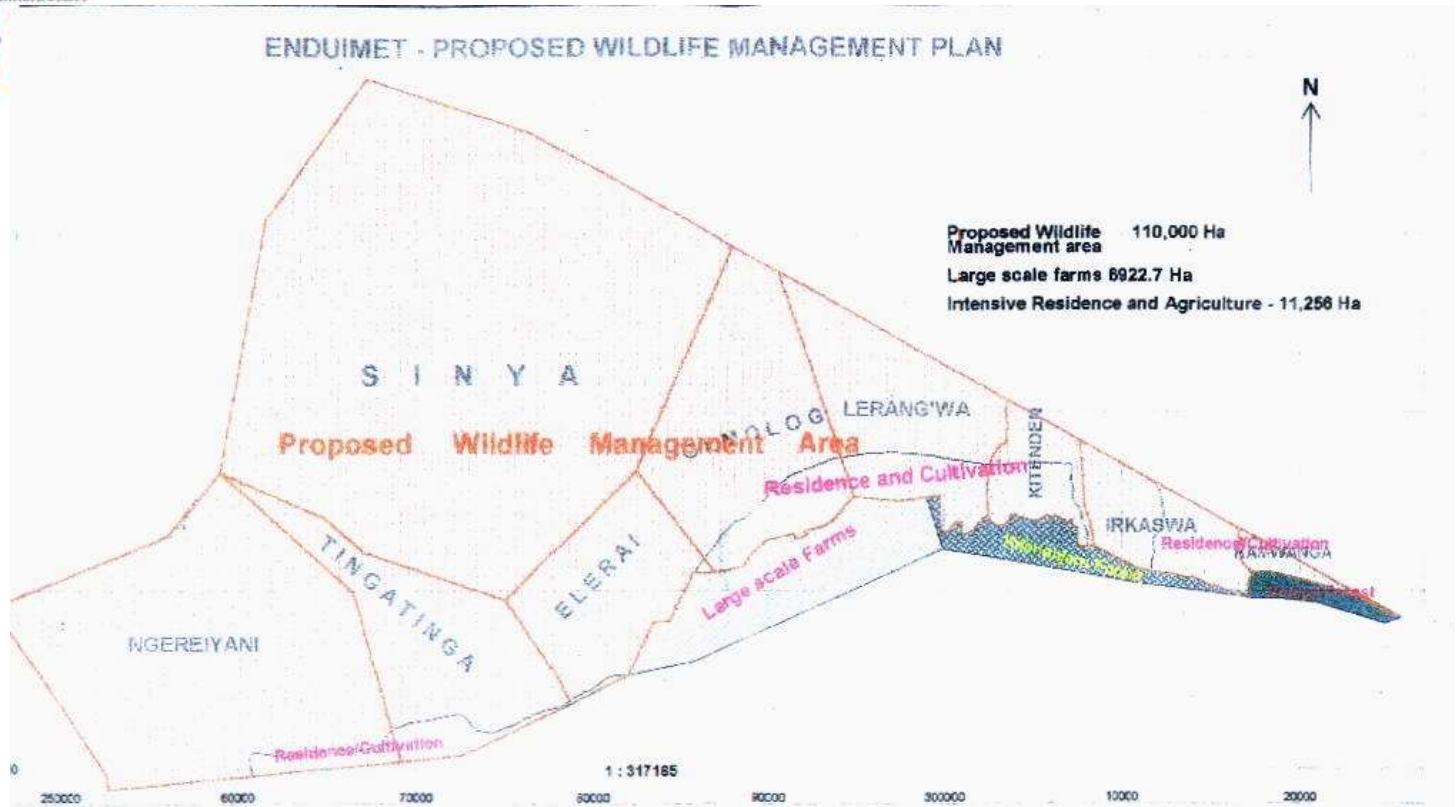


CHANGING TENURE AND ACCESS

Tanzania: Enduimet WMA as initially planned



Enduimet WMA Conservation Infrastructure



Inequalities in distribution of tourism returns?

- ~5% tourism returns at local level cf. national/international
Norton Griffiths and Said 2008
- Of that 5%: distributional inequalities (community/hh level?)
 - Mara:
 - Wildlife >20% mean household income, all wealth quintiles
 - Top quintile: 75% conservation income
 - $\frac{2}{3}$ receiving wildlife income in 1998 → $\frac{1}{2}$ in 2004
 - Longido
 - Conservation <3% mean household income,
 - few households involved

Green development?

- Wildlife returns at the grassroots:
 - » Mostly small(multi-site study)
 - » potentially far outweighed by costs(Enduimet WMA)
 - » concentrated in fewer hands through time (Mara)
- Is conservation working for development?
 - » Despite high earnings
 - » Minor contribution to livelihoods even in best case Mara
 - » Elite capture
 - »Re-investment in conservation-incompatible alternatives

NOT tradeoff between national economy vs livestock-based livelihoods

But rather:

1. Relative contributions to national economy:

- wildlife returns vs livestock production vs crops?
- livestock production vastly undervalued WISP 2007, IGAD 2011

2. Livelihoods: distributional/inequality issues

Contributions to whom?

- To national economy?
- To investors?
- To local elites?
- To local livelihoods?

Ways forward?

- Attitudes to livestock production systems shifting
 - African Union 2010
- Better official data (economic, social, ecological)
- Better M&E of interventions
 - » Costs and benefits (TEV) - WISP 2007, 2008; IGAD 2011
 - » Comparative contributions of competing land uses
 - » Distributional effects
 - » National, community, household and individual levels
- Improving governance of conservation initiatives
- Better understanding of policy outcomes
- Better policies balancing tradeoffs between
 - » Sustainable livelihoods/ poverty / coping strategies/ resilience
Vs
 - » Investor profits/taxable returns

- African Union 2010 *Policy framework for pastoralism in Africa*. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
- Behnke R and D Muthami 2011 *The Contribution of Livestock to the Kenyan Economy*. IGAD LPI Working Paper No. 03 - 11
- Behnke R and Metaferia F 2011 *The Contribution of Livestock to the Ethiopian economy*. IGAD LPI Working Paper No. 02 - 11
- Catley A, Lind J and Scoones I 2012 *Development at the Margins: Pathways of Change in the Horn of Africa* Routledge/Earthscan
- Homewood K., Chenevix Trench P and Kristjanson P. 2009 *Staying Maasai: Livelihoods, Conservation and Development in East African Rangelands*. Springer, NY.
- TNRF 2012: *Making land investment work for Tanzania: scoping assessment for Multi-stakeholder Dialogue Initiative*. Tanzania Natural Resources Forum, Arusha.
- WISP, 2008, *A global perspective on the total economic value of pastoralism. Global synthesis based on six country valuations* . Compiled by L.Rodriguez, ILRI, for World Initiative for Sustainable Pastoralism, Nairobi, Kenya.



A research programme co-funded by DFID, ESRC & NERC and accredited by LWEC



LIVING CONSERVATION

