

Climate Change Policy Narratives and Pastoralism in the Horn of Africa: New Concerns, Old Arguments?



PRESENTATION FOR ,

**EUI WORKSHOP TERRITORIAL CHANGES AND
LIVELIHOOD TRANSFORMATIONS**

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Overview



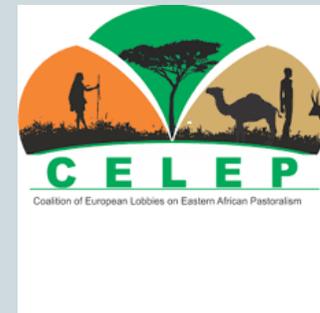
Presenting some results and insights from doctoral research project 2016-2020

- Why this research?
- Analytical framework
- Methodology
- Ethiopia as a case – key findings, some insights and conclusions

My interest



- My previous employers, Kimmage DSC, were part of a 3 year DFID funded collaborative project with IIED, Reconcile (Kenya), MS-TCDC (Tanzania) and others designed to build capacity around drylands policies and CC adaptation among local authorities and pastoralist organisations in Tanzania and Kenya
- Member of CELEP
- Inspired by work of certain scholars, meetings with pastoralist civil society, etc



Research Rationale



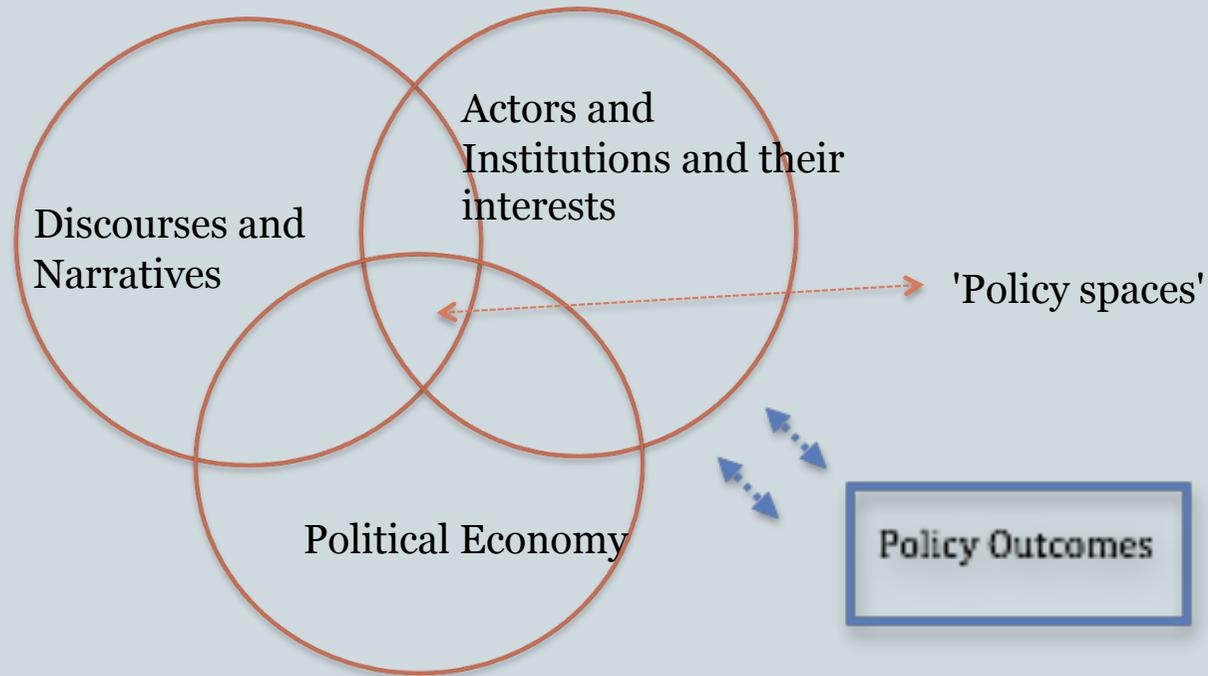
- For decades, dominant dryland narratives of ‘tragedy of the commons’, ‘desertification’ and ‘overgrazing’ underpinned conventional pastoral-development policies in the HoA and did little to strengthen pastoralist livelihoods. At worst, they led to displacement and marginalisation.
- In recent years, the state and their development partners have sought to respond to regional concerns about climate change, food security and political security. **‘Building Resilience’** has become the overarching discourse by which the state aims to build consensus and mobilise resources for the development of formerly ‘peripheral’ dryland areas..
- While this in theory provides a welcome impetus to pastoral development, it has been suggested that while the language may have evolved, some of the narratives driving current climate-change and green-economy policies in Ethiopia and Kenya as they apply to dryland areas are not necessarily ‘new’ but are instead rooted in historical discourses around ‘unproductive’ drylands and the need for modernisation (Maina et al. 2013; Odhiambo, 2014; Krätli, 2019).

Research Questions



- What are the dominant discourses and narratives around pastoralism found in current national climate-change and drylands policies in Ethiopia and Kenya and have these changed over time?
- Who are the principal actors and institutions shaping policy narratives, and what are their interests?
- What are the consequences for pastoralism of the kinds of policy prescriptions that flow from these narratives?

Analytical Framework



Adapted from Keeley and Scoones (1999, 2003); Wolmer (2006)

Also informed by....



- **‘Political Ecology’** – interrelations of politics and power, structures and discourses, with the natural environment
- For political ecologists – the ways in which environmental change is framed or understood often serves political interests and agendas.... be it to legitimise a change in land-use, to attract funding, or for advocacy purposes.
- PE is also interested in how the supposed benefits that derive from interventions in the name of the environment are unevenly distributedie. ‘winners and losers’ (Adger et al 2001)

Methodology



- **A comparative case study** - two countries (Ethiopia and Kenya) with sizable drylands and pastoralist populations and some similarities but also important differences - allowing me to compare and contrast the results.
- **Mixed methods** – Content Analysis + Discourse Analysis of national climate change and drylands development policies and strategies, Semi-structured interviews with KIs (n.68) - from a range of policy actors, sectors and perspectives.

Ethiopian policy relevant documents 2007-2017



Agency	Year	Title
FDRE-NMA	2007	<i>Ethiopian National Adaptation Programme of Action (NAPA)</i>
FDRE	2008	<i>Policy Statement for the Sustainable Development of the Pastoral and Agro-Pastoral Areas of Ethiopia ('Pastoral Areas Policy')</i>
FDRE	2010	<i>Afar Regional State Programme of Plan on Adaptation to Climate Change</i>
FDRE	2011a	<i>Somali Regional State Programme of Plan on Adaptation to Climate Change</i>
FDRE-MoA	2010	<i>Agricultural Sector Policy and Investment Framework (PIF) 2010-2020</i>
FDRE-EPA	2011	<i>Ethiopian Programme of Adaptation to Climate Change (EPACC)</i>
FDRE	2011b	<i>Climate Resilient Green Economy Strategy (GES)</i>
FRDE/WB	2013	<i>Coping with Change: How Ethiopia's PSNP and HABP are building resilience to climate change</i>
FDRE	2014	<i>Growth and Transformation Plan 2 (GTP II) 2015-2020</i>
FDRE-MoA	2015	<i>Ethiopian Livestock Master Plan (LMP) 2015-2020</i>
FDRE	2015	<i>Nationally Determined Contributions of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia</i>
EPCC	2015	<i>EPCC Climate Change Working Group First Assessment Report: Impacts, Vulnerability, Adaptation and Mitigation – Agriculture and Food Security</i>
FDRE-MECC	2015a	<i>CRGE: Agriculture and Forestry Climate Resilience Strategy</i>
FDRE-MECC	2015b	<i>CRGE: Water and Energy Climate Resilience Strategy</i>
USAID / Mercy Corps	2016	<i>Climate Resilient Development Case Study – Ethiopia: Integrating climate change into market-based development programmes</i>
Farm Africa Ethiopia	2016	<i>Market Approaches to Resilience</i>
FDRE	2017	<i>National Adaptation Plan, Ethiopia's Climate Resilient Green Economy (NAP-ETH)</i>

Informants (Ethiopia)

ETHIOPIA		
<u>Name of Organisation</u>	<u>Type of Organisation</u>	<u>N. Partic.</u>
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ)	Bi-lateral Aid agency	1
US AID	Bi-lateral Aid agency / Donor	1
World Bank	Donor	2
Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO)	UN agency	2
Ministry for Agriculture and Natural Resources	Federal government ministry	2
Ministry for Environment, Forests and Climate Change	Federal government ministry	3
Ministry for Federal and Pastoral Development Affairs	Federal government ministry	1
Oromia Pastoral Area Development Commission	Regional State government commission	1
CARE Ethiopia	INGO	1
Misereor	INGO	1
Danish Church Aid	INGO	1
Christian Aid	INGO	1
Mercy Corps	INGO	2
SOS Sahel Ethiopia	INGO	1
Drylands Research Directorate, Ethiopian Institute for Agricultural Research	National research institute	1
Feinstein International Centre, Tufts University	International research organisation	2
The International Centre of Insect Physiology and Ecology (ICIPE)	International research organisation	1
Climate and Development Knowledge Network (Ethiopia)	Research consortium	1
International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI)	International research institute	1
Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia	Pastoralist representative organisation	1
Oromia Pastoralist Association	Pastoralist representative organisation	1
Agricultural Policy Unit, African Union	Regional organisation	1
Freelance drylands development consultants, researchers	Local researchers	3
Total		32

Discourse Analysis



- Looking to identify dominant discourses and narratives or storylines, the assumptions behind them, how ‘problems’ are framed to suit certain actor's interests, and how ‘solutions’ or policy prescriptions effect material outcomes
- 'Interdiscursivity' – when different discourses are combined and recombined in new ways
- Identifying ‘discourse coalitions’ - groups of actors who may share the usage of particular set of narratives over a particular time.
- Drew on CDA theory, Foucault's understandings of power, and environmental policy DA (Dryzek, 2013; Hajer, 2005)



Ethiopia – 'Discourses and narratives'



- While there is evidence of 'new thinking' around the inherent resilience and adaptive nature of pastoralism, the document analysis reveals that a 'transforming pastoralism and pastoral areas' discourse remains dominant in Ethiopia.
- Within this discourse, often simplistic and depoliticised **crises narratives** of 'resource scarcity', 'conflict-ridden' drylands and '**climate-induced pastoralist vulnerability**' remain to the fore.
- These generally amplify the perception that some kind of 'intervention' needs to take place, so opening up space for the state, or other actors, to claim control over resources previously managed under customary institutions.



- **NAPA (2007)** - 'Rain-fed farmers and pastoralists' who are engaged in 'coping mechanisms' as they deal with climate extremes are identified as 'the most vulnerable' (p. 5) There is a need for 'greater awareness about natural resource management amongst livestock keepers' and for more 'rational use of resources' (p. 33). Prescriptions include: 'improved/productive animal breeds to reduce herd size and its pressure on the land', 'promotion of grazing management', 'de-stocking', and the introduction of 'irrigation and mixed farming systems, where appropriate' (p. 40). There is a call for the 'reorganisation of drought-affected community' (p. 44)....
- Regional State adaptation plans where a more nuanced understanding of the causes of vulnerability can be found. The ***Afar Plan (2010)*** observes that 'the vulnerability of pastoral communities to climate risks and shocks is thus more a consequence of their marginalization than climate change per se' (3). Similarly, the ***Somali Plan (2010)*** maintains that 'for a long time, a poor understanding of herding systems resulted in inappropriate policies that undermined pastoral development — such as by constraining herd mobility, leading pastoralists to become sedentary' (p. 82). The same plan asserts that 'climate alone is rarely the reason people fall into poverty; instead, it interacts with existing problems and makes them worse' (p. 8).



- **2017 NAP-ETH** - 'Short term coping mechanisms' no longer sufficient in the face of climate-change. Need instead for 'building resilience and adaptive capacity for vulnerable communities' (12). Unlike the Regional adaptation plans, there is no reference to non-climatic drivers of vulnerability, or to pastoralists' own agency.
- Technical solutions – 'improved (livestock) breeding and feeding systems and improved pasture/grazing management', 'improving the resilience of value-chains and marketing systems for livestock', 'improved early-warning systems' and 'livestock insurance' - along with adaptation options that include 'livelihood diversification and voluntary resettlement', are once again to the fore (pp. 18-22)

*Ethiopia's Climate Resilient
Green Economy*

National Adaptation Plan

Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia



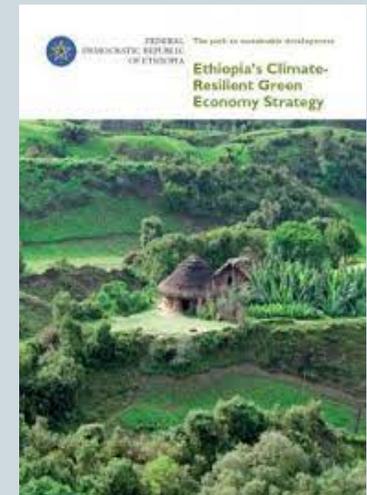


- In the *GTP II* (2015) ‘modernisation of agriculture’ remains central to Ethiopia’s vision for a *CRGE* (p.2). The target set for irrigation schemes is 4.1 million hectares by 2020, while the ambitious target for national forest coverage is 20% (p.95). As afforestation means less land is available for livestock grazing, there are implications for the pastoral lowlands.
- *GTP II* states that the livestock sub-sector is ‘still at the lowest state of development, being still dependent on backward production methods...efforts will be made transform the sub-sector’ (p.22). Ethiopia’s **LMP** (2015) sets out similar investment interventions to improve livestock-sector productivity, with only a small section devoted to pastoralism.

Climate Resilient Green Economy (CRGE)



- **GES (2011)** - explicitly refers to the ‘creation of new agricultural land in arid areas through irrigation ...agricultural land could be created from un-cultivated non-forest areas, thereby reducing emissions from the expansion of total cropland’ (p. 138). Policy prescriptions include: ‘reducing herd size and switching to more efficient livestock systems’, ‘improving (rangelands) to enhance their carbon-sequestration and encouraging ‘a partial shift towards lower emitting sources of protein’ (p. 24). While there is no explicit mention of sedentarisation, the assumption that traditional pastoral systems are no longer viable is still strong.
- **FDRE/MECC (2015b)** sets out Ethiopia’s plans to expand irrigation and energy in peripheral areas, including Afar and Somali. Plans to expand forest cover, exploit renewable energy potential (notably hydropower) and reduce emissions from livestock are also at the heart of Ethiopia’s *NDC* commitments from 2015 (FDRE, 2015).
- Pastoralists ‘lack climate information and adaptation strategies, as well as the ability to effectively manage natural resources’ (USAID 2016: 2). ‘Market-based approaches’ and ‘diversification of livelihoods’ are offered as the primary means of strengthening the ‘resilience of vulnerable pastoralists’ (Ibid. 2).





- Clearly the desire to ‘transform’, ‘commercialise’ and ‘integrate’ dryland resources and production – including the pastoralist economy – within a broader framework of national development, is being driven by an ideology of market-based economic growth and modernisation, notwithstanding a strong mediation role for the central state.
- The imperative of climate change, meanwhile, has provided a new language to policymakers to reframe growth as an opportunity to build a ‘green economy’ and to redefine the role of the state.
- Although mobile pastoralism is acknowledged as a proven adaptive livelihood strategy in some documents, any positive direct references to pastoralism are lost in the overall negative representations.

Actors and their interests



- **Government actors** were more likely to frame contemporary challenge facing pastoral areas in terms of a naturalistic understanding of vulnerability and the causes of conflict, while prescribing largely technocratic solutions – matching the dominant ‘transforming pastoralism’ discourse found in the document analysis.
- **Non-state actors**, utilising metaphors and narratives more usually associated with ‘pure pastoralist’ and ‘modern and mobile’ discourses pointed instead towards the appropriation of critical rangeland resources as undermining pastoralist’s inherent adaptive capacity.
- Nonetheless, state actors in Ethiopia have clearly **adopted the language of counter narratives** – as they seek to mobilise resources around common goals of ‘climate resilience’, food security and economic growth.



- For state informants, providing new services and infrastructure are not only a means to develop the hitherto untapped potential of Ethiopia's lowlands, but also a precursor to the creation of '*climate-resilient livelihoods*'....
- Referring to the new ***Pastoralist Development Policy and Strategy*** (2018), a senior civil-servant asserted that: '*The whole idea of the policy framework and strategic thinking is to create resilient pastoralism ... resilience in terms of diversified livelihoods*'.
- The potential to attract substantive donor funding was undoubtedly a contributory factor when developing the PDP, just as NAPs are developed with international climate finance in mind.
- 'Stakeholder consultations' in turn satisfy the concerns of international donors, even if – according to several non-state informants – they rarely reach out beyond a select group



- There was an assumption amongst donor officials interviewed that incorporating pastoralists into the market economy was necessary for pastoralists to adapt to climate change.

'Transformation is not just changing pastoralists to agrarians. But improving their production system...The two (mobility and commercialisation) are actually compatible. Those people who stay in the system are going to benefit from the market, from the demand for livestock. So the system will continue to grow, but with commercialisation' (Interview with WB official, 23/05/18)

Actors and their interests cont...



- There state is clearly the primary driver of policy making in Ethiopia, as is to be expected, in a country with a long history of centralised planning
- Nonetheless, the influence of various non-state actors – donors, UN agencies certain dryland researchers - on bringing new thinking to debates on the future of pastoralism is significant. POs to a lesser extent. Prevented under the *Charities and Civil Society Proclamation* from publicly challenging certain narratives for many years (e.g around villagisation, or building dams), CSOs have tried to influence policy by other means....

Policy consequences



- While the changes underway in pastoral areas are clearly driven by multiple factors not just policymaking, it is evident narratives of ‘food insecurity’ and ‘climate vulnerability’, are being deployed to make decisions around changes in land-use and investments, justifying the appropriation of formerly communally owned lands in pastoral areas and the continuation of past unpopular policies (eg sedentarisation).
- For one MoECC official, the latest NAP: *'Brings positive change ... there are measures for example, early warning systems will help them (pastoralists) to prepare before they are affected by droughts and floods. Irrigation may help them minimise the effect of drought. Infrastructure helps to protect against the impact of floods'*
- According to a MoA official, Ethiopia’s flagship PSNP has taken on board the kind of integrated drylands development thinking found in such regional (HoA) initiatives as the RPLP and is now: *'very supportive (of pastoralism) ...now the future is in drought resilience'*



- Infrastructure development and the drive for ‘green energy’ – hydro, wind – has led to displacement and local tensions over benefit sharing.
- Non-state informants spoke of how these ‘mega-projects’ have led to the human-rights violations among indigenous agro-pastoralists in the Lower Omo Valley. Thousands who have been displaced by the conversion of former grazing land to irrigated sugar plantations and by associated resettlement. Affirming what has been documented extensively elsewhere (Kefale and Gebresenet 2014; Hodbod et al. 2018; Oakland Institute 2019; Regassa et al. 2019; Gebresenet 2020)

“HOW THEY TRICKED US”
LIVING WITH THE GIBE III DAM AND SUGARCANE
PLANTATIONS IN SOUTHWEST ETHIOPIA





- It is evident that mobility – pastoralist’s key strategy for managing variability - is increasingly restricted.



'Winners and losers'



- Although wealth disparity is not a new phenomenon among pastoralists (Catley and Aklilu 2013; Korf et al. 2015), it is evident that there are growing social inequities, with some groups emerging as 'winners' from the transformation of Ethiopia's predominantly pastoral lowlands, and others 'losing out' in the process.
- The winners include the state itself – in terms of a growing national economy and increased agricultural export earnings, investors who have moved into the fertile riparian areas of the lowlands to take advantage of changes in land-use, as well as a new commercial class of wealthier pastoralists who have profited from a lucrative regional and international market for livestock, and/or who can afford to diversify their interests (see Rettberg 2020).
- Poorer pastoralists, and minority ethnic groups, whose mobility and access to critical seasonal rangeland resources is increasingly restricted by changes in land-use and infrastructure development, are evidently the 'losers' from the kinds of changes described thus far.

Recent developments



- Hopes that the reforms initiated by PM Abiy Ahmed along with the new *Pastoralist Development Policy and Strategy*, finally ratified this year, might open up a new 'policy space' for pastoralist engagement in decision-making processes and bring about greater recognition of pastoralist rights, seem premature – in light of growing ethnic and political tensions between different regional states (along border between Somali and Oromia for example) from 2017 on....
- MoFPDAs - who have responsibility for this policy rebranded as the Ministry for Peace...shift in priorities....

Conclusions

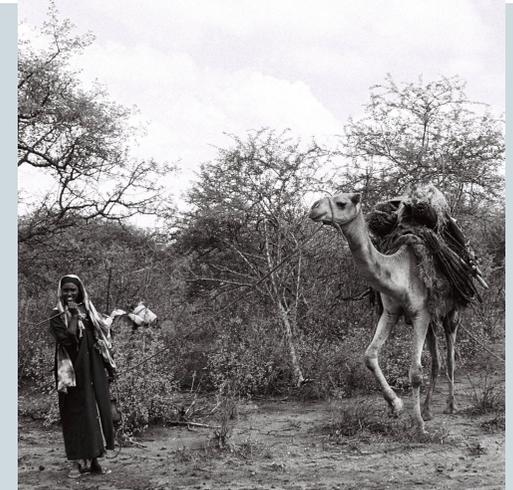


- ‘Old narratives’ remain remarkably persistent, despite new thinking and understandings of pastoralism and rangeland ecology
- Policies and actions to address climate change, or ‘build resilience’, will invariably create new disparities, as well as consolidate existing ones - as different actors and interests seek to take advantage of the kinds of investment opportunities and political / policy spaces that are opening up.
- Pastoralism, nonetheless, remains a flexible and dynamic system that continues to adapt in the face of these uncertainties. Pastoralists in Ethiopia, as in Kenya, as we know, are adapting their livelihood activities in order to co-exist with the kinds of land-use change taking place around them.

Conclusions cont...



- The challenge is to enable pathways that allow the development imperatives of the state to be met in a way that does not undermine the rights of pastoralists to land and other resources. And which affords more agency and voice to pastoralists in policymaking processes that affect them.
- Climate change offers an opportunity for the state and their development partners to move beyond simply recognising the role of pastoralism in drylands management and food security and to translate that new understanding into adaptation and mitigation strategies that are appropriate to local and diverse contexts, and which do not promote the interests of some groups over others.
- Further research to determine to what extent implementation of Ethiopia's various climate resilience plans and programmes lead to a fair distribution of benefits, particularly with regards to the economic, political and social trade-offs at the local level, would be of interest



Thank you !

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