

Roots in the African Dust

Sustaining the Sub-Saharan Drylands

The image of Africa in the modern world has come to be shaped by perceptions of the drylands and their problems of poverty, drought, degradation and famine. Michael Mortimore offers an alternative and revisionist thesis, dismissing both on theoretical and empirical grounds the conventional view of runaway desertification, driven by population growth and inappropriate land use. In its place he suggests a more optimistic model of sustainable land use which is based on researched case studies from East and West Africa, where indigenous technological adaptation has put population growth and market opportunities to advantage. He also proposes a more appropriate set of policy priorities to support dryland peoples in their efforts to sustain land and livelihoods. The result is a remarkably clear synthesis of much of the best work that has emerged over the past decade, and a timely and useful study.

Michael Mortimore is a Senior Research Associate at the Department of Geography, Cambridge University and the Overseas Development Institute, London. He was Professor of Geography at Bayero University, Kano from 1979 to 1986. He is the author of *Adapting to Drought* (1989) and, with Mary Tiffen and Francis Gichuki, *More People, Less Erosion* (1994).





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> In memory of Hawuwa, who died at Dagaceri on 22 September, 1995, aged three months. One among many denied a life, even in poverty

Blessed are you who are in need; the Kingdom of God is yours Luke 6:20(REB)





Contents

	List of Figures	<i>Page</i> viii
	List of Plates	xii
	List of Tables	xiii
	Preface	xv
	Acknowledgements	xvi
1	Introduction	1
2	Global perspectives on Africa's drylands	8
3	A smallholder's perspective	38
4	Risk in the rangelands	55
5	Risk for the farmer	75
6	Risk for the household	95
7	Degradation	124
8	Intensification	140
9	Conservation	159
10	Systems in transition	176
	Bibliography	197
	Index	214

vii



Figures

Figure 1.1	The sub-Saharan drylands, showing the countries and case	
	studies referred to in this study.	3
Figure 1.2	The 'Malthusian' spiral for dryland Africa.	5
Figure 2.1	Mean annual rainfall (left) and vegetation classes (right). After UNEP (1992) and Millington <i>et al.</i> (1994:17).	10
Figure 2.2	The length of the growing period (LGP), according to the	
	FAO (left) and aridity index, according to UNEP (right)	
	for the African drylands. After FAO (1982) and UNEP	
	(1992).	13
Figure 2.3	Rainfall probability in Machakos District, Kenya. After	
· ·	Jaetzold and Schmidt (1983).	14
Figure 2.4	Estimated population densities in sub-Saharan Africa, 1990.	
Ü	Sources: UNEP (1992: 38), for central, East and southern	
	Africa; OECD Club du Sahel (1994), for West Africa.	18
Figure 2.5	Severity of soil degradation in the African drylands. After	
U	UNEP (1992).	29
Figure 2.6	Departures from the mean annual rainfall in the Sahel,	
Ü	equatorial East and southwestern Africa (smoothed with	
	a ten-year statistical filter). After Hulme (1992).	34
Figure 3.1	The land use pattern around a dryland village (Gourjae,	
U	Maradi Department, Niger) in 1978. After Grégoire (1980).	43
Figure 3.2	Land and labour in Takatuku, Sokoto State, Nigeria in	
8	1967/68. Constructed from data in Norman et al. (1976).	44
Figure 4.1	Annual rainfall and pasture productivity (after Le Houérou	
8	and Hoste, 1977).	58
Figure 4.2	The effect of annual rainfall and nutrient availability on	
8	biomass production and its protein content in the West	
	African Sahel. After Breman and de Wit (1983).	59
Figure 4.3	The seasonal availability of forage and its protein content,	
8	, , ,	

viii



	List of figures	ix
	for a semi-nomadic herd in Mali in 1977. After Breman and de Wit (1983).	60
Figure 4.4	Leafing cycles of four Sahelian trees, showing leaf biomass as monthly percentages of the annual maximum. Constructed from data in Hiernaux <i>et al.</i> (1994).	61
Figure 4.5	Seasonal movements of the herds of the Zeiyadiya in Darfur, Sudan. After Ibrahim (1983).	62
Figure 4.6	Inter-year variability of rainfall and herbage yield in the north Gourma region, Mali, 1984–90. Constructed from data in de Leeuw <i>et al.</i> (1993).	64
Figure 4.7	Scenarios of biomass production and animal condition under alternative rainfall regimes.	65
Figure 4.8	Fluctuations in biomass in Turkana, Kenya, 1982–87. After Ellis et al. (1993).	67
Figure 4.9	Grazing pressure and intensity of erosion in southern Ethiopia. After Coppock (1993).	68
Figure 4.10 Figure 5.1	Circuits of the Aïr Tuareg and WoDaaBe of central Niger. Annual rainfall at Kano, Nigeria, from 1905 to 1992	70
-	(five-year running mean).	79
Figure 5.2	Seasonal rainfall in Machakos District, Kenya, 1957–1990 (five-year running means). After Mutiso <i>et al.</i> (1991).	80
Figure 5.3	Seasonal rainfall in ten-day periods compared for 1961–70 (shown black) and 1981–90 (shown white), at four stations	81
Figure 5.4	in Niger and Nigeria. After Hess <i>et al.</i> (1994). Inter-year variability in the seasonal distribution of rainfall in a Sahelian village (Futchimiram, Nigeria): daily rainfall	01
Figure 5.5	events in 1992 and in 1995. The Sahel, caught between the desert locust, <i>Schistocerca gregaria</i> , and the grasshopper, in August, 1996. After SAS	82
Figure 6.1	(1996). Seasonal variation in mortality rates (by age) and man-biting	85
	rates for <i>Anopheles gambiae</i> and <i>A. funestus</i> , at Garki (northern Nigeria) in 1971. After Molineaux and Gramiccia (1980: 57, 235).	98
Figure 6.2	The demographic regions of West Africa, according to the West Africa Long Term Perspective Study. After Snrech <i>et al.</i>	,,
Figure 6.3	(1994). Indices of food consumption and work done in farming households in Hanwa, Zaria, Nigeria, 1970. After	101
	Simmons (1981).	104



x List of figures

Figure 6.4	Labour inputs and the production of milk in a herd of twenty-five cattle in north Mali. After Swift (1981).	104
Figure 6.5	Food storage by households in Machakos District, Kenya, in 1974. After Onchere and Sloof (1981).	105
Figure 6.6	Grain selling and buying in Dagaceri, Nigeria, October 1992–September 1993 (120 households).	106
Figure 6.7	The effects of drought on crop yields in Kano State, Nigeria (old boundaries), in 1973: villages reporting 10 per cent of	
	normal or less (n=631 villages).	110
Figure 6.8	The groundnut boom in northern Nigeria,1951–75.	115
Figure 6.9	Prices of major food crops in relation to rainfall in Kano State,	
8	Nigeria, 1970–86.	116
Figure 6.10	Circulation from five villages in northern Nigeria, during the famine of 1973–74.	121
Figure 7.1	Relationships between the exploitation of natural resources,	
118410 / 11	bioproductivity and degradation, according to a conventional	
	view.	128
Figure 7.2	Nutrient balances under conditions of 'soil mining' in	
1 16410 / 12	southern Mali. After van der Pol (1992).	132
Figure 7.3	Mechanisms of change in vegetation and soils in Botswana.	1,72
riguic 7.5	After Abel <i>et al.</i> (1987).	135
Figure 7.4	The enclosed area of Kondoa, Tanzania, with population	13)
Tiguic / . I	density. After Ostberg (1986).	137
Figure 8.1	Population density and land use profiles for Sharken Hawsa	-0,
118	and Tumbau. Constructed from data in Raynaut (1980) and	
	Turner and Mortimore (1996).	143
Figure 8.2	Land use in space and time, at Sharken Hawsa and Tumbau.	
8	After Raynaut (1980) and Turner and Mortimore (1996).	144
Figure 8.3	Farming intensity profiles for Sharken Hawsa and Tumbau. It	
8	should be noted that data are illustrative and, as the ranges	
	indicate, may not be widely representative. After Raynaut	
	(1980), Mortimore (1993a), Bourn and Wint (1994), Harris	
	(1995), Cline-Cole <i>et al.</i> (1990).	147
Figure 8.4	Nutrient cycling in the farming system of the Kano Close-	
1.6	Settled Zone, 1993–94. After Harris (1996).	151
Figure 8.5	Nutrient balances on three Tumbau farms, in 1993–94. After	-
	Harris (1996).	152
Figure 8.6	A West African model of trees, land use and settlement. Data	-
0 5 5 1 5	from Cline-Cole et al. (1990b).	153



	List of figures	xi
Figure 8.7	The farm trees of the Kano Close-Settled Zone. Constructed	
	from data in Cline-Cole et al. (1990a), Mortimore (1993b).	154
Figure 8.8	The transition from degradation to intensification in a	
	dryland farming system.	157
Figure 9.1	Population density in Machakos District, Kenya, in 1932 and	
	in 1979. After Tiffen et al. (1994).	161
Figure 9.2	Land use and terracing in Masii in 1948 and in 1978. After	
	Rostom and Mortimore (1991).	164
Figure 9.3	Recorded output of four market crops in Machakos District	
	from 1963 to 1988. After Mbogoh (1991).	167
Figure 9.4	Farm output (per square km) in Machakos District, 1930–	
	1987, in constant 1957 maize prices. After Tiffen et al.	
	(1994).	173
Figure 10.1	Environmental changes over the last 5,500 years BP (before	
	present), reconstructed from lake sediments in Kajemarum.	
TI	(Holmes <i>et al.</i> 1997).	179
Figure 10.2	Fluctuations in the level of Lake Chad and drought	
F: 10.2	chronologies in the Sahel. (After Nicholson 1978).	180
Figure 10.3	Change in the area of the Sahara from 1980 to 1989 (Hulme	101
F' 10 /	and Kelly, 1993 after Tucker <i>et al.</i> 1991).	181
Figure 10.4	Positions of the isohyet for 400 mm annual rainfall in the	
	Sudan, for various centuries in the Holocene and years in the	102
	twentieth century. After Hulme (1990).	182



Plates

	(Except where statea otherwise, photo M. Mortimore)	
1	An advancing Sahara? Moving dunes versus annual grasses at	
	Maiburin in the Manga Grasslands, northern Nigeria (August,	
	1993).	1
2	Degraders or custodians of a natural heritage? Dagaceri,	
	northern Nigeria.	8
3	Producers, reproducers, or consumers? Family farming in	
	northern Machakos, Kenya, 1990.	38
4	'Emaciated, diseased, overstocked'? Grazing the Badowoi	
	parklands in northern Nigeria (September, 1993).	55
5	Genetic anarchy or purposive adaptation? Sorghum (above)	
	and pearl millet (below) from villages in north-east Nigeria.	76
6	Rural capitalism or rural exploitation? A weekly market at	
	Birniwa, Jigawa State, Nigeria.	95
7	Which came first? Moving dunes and harvesting the nutrients,	
	Manga Grasslands (upper) and the Kano Close-Settled Zone	
	(lower).	125
8	Low or high inputs? Adjacent farms under contrasting	
	management at Tumbau in the Kano Close-Settled Zone,	
	Nigeria (September, 1994).	141
9	Resources - natural or human? Landscape transformation at	
	Kiima Kimwe. Machakos, Kenya, photographed in 1937	
	(upper J.M. Barnes) and in 1990 (lower).	165
10	Urbanisation on desert dunes? The Quaternary landscape of	
	Metropolitan Kano revealed by earth satellite imagery	
	(Landsat TM vegetation index, Band 4/Band 2, 19 December,	
	1986, processed by J.E. Nichol). The darker the tone, the less	
	the vegetation.	178

xii



Tables

Table 2.1	Alternative classifications of aridity for the African drylands.	12
Table 2.2	Seasonal drought probabilities in Machakos District, Kenya,	
	using a drought index (average of seven stations).	15
Table 2.3	'Human induced' soil degradation in the African drylands	
	(millions of hectares), according to the Global Assessment of	
	Soil Degradation.	28
Table 3.1	Global and smallholder perspectives on natural resource	
	management.	39
Table 3.2	Driving questions in managing natural resources.	40
Table 3.3	Family labour in a sample of households (Futchimiram,	
	Nigeria).	41
Table 3.4	Household differentiation in livestock ownership, WoDaaBe	
	of Niger.	46
Table 3.5	Crop inventory for sorghum, Dagaceri, northern Nigeria.	47
Table 3.6	Methods of feeding livestock in Machakos, Kenya (1983).	49
Table 3.7	Fruit tree management on smallholdings, Mbiuni Location,	
	Machakos, Kenya.	50
Table 3.8	Wells and farming households in Kala, Mali.	51
Table 3.9	Technological change in Machakos District, Kenya,	
	1930–90.	53
Table 5.1	The number of cultivars in use in the farming system of	
	Dagaceri.	88
Table 5.2	A framework of sequential choices available to farmers in	
	Dagaceri.	93
Table 6.1	Famines recalled in Darfur, 1885–1985 (de Waal 1989: 71–72).	109
Table 6.2	Trees commonly used as food in northern Kano State,	
	Nigeria, in the famine of 1972–74.	113
Table 7.1	Changes in land cover, Ngwaketse area of Botswana,	
	1963–82.	134
		xiii



XIV	List of tables	
Table 8.1	Comparison of two Hausa Sahelian production systems:	
	ecology.	142
Table 8.2	Soil properties under annual cultivation, Kano Close-Settled	
	Zone, 1977 and 1990 (top 20 cm).	150
Table 8.3	Trends in population density and land use, Tumbau,	
	1962–91.	156
Table 9.1	Farm sizes, investment and incomes in Mwala, Machakos,	
	Kenya in 1980.	172
Table 10.1	Transitions in the human systems of the drylands.	184
Table 10.2	The intensification of crop production.	185
Table 10.3	The intensification of livestock production.	186



Preface

The title of this book is intended to communicate hope, which is the spiritual diet of farmers, and for none so much as those who live in the drylands. Smallholders are themselves like roots in the soil. They shoot in good times, but when times are hard, they search deeper (or wider) for the moisture and the nutrients they need to sustain themselves. They die back to the basics, and surprise us with their resilience when the rain returns. Small farmers and livestock producers are the roots of African economies, and the basis for their development.

For too long it has been the convention either to dismiss smallholders as anachronistic survivors, certain to disappear in the rush to modernisation, or as quite malignant in their treatment of the African environment. This condescension, as is now recognised, was more a product of ignorance than any rational understanding. Only now, when so many foreign transplants have wilted or died in the hard earth of Africa, is the value of indigenous resources openly acknowledged. Given an enabling policy environment and unobstructed access to new ideas or markets, the resources of dryland communities can be mobilised in sustainable systems for managing natural resources.

The evidence for these assertions is found in a heterogeneous corpus of field-based studies whose published reports are widely distributed. I am more aware than any of my readers that I have been selective in choosing material for this study; and furthermore, my selectivity is the result of ignorance as well as design. Those whose work is not used must forgive me for trying to build a coherent case on what I know best, recognising that other selections might either strengthen, or bring into question, my arguments. However I believe that the multiplication of unco-ordinated, and sometimes duplicative, parallel case studies has gone far enough. There seems to me to be a need for research and debate driven by the search for a unifying theory of environmental management in drylands, encompassing their natural and human resources. I would like to think that if this root, which I am trying to nurture, perishes in the dust, a stronger one will take its place.

X۷



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I am grateful for the institutional support and encouragement that has enabled me to pursue my interest in drylands research in Africa over many years: Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, and Bayero University, Kano (both in Nigeria); and the Centre of West African Studies of the University of Birmingham, the Overseas Development Institute, and the Department of Geography at the University of Cambridge (in the United Kingdom), whose third year students of the Geography of Africa in 1993/94 suffered an earlier exposure to, and hopefully questioned, these ideas.

In tilling this soil I have learnt from so many people that it is impossible to mention them all. In their contributions to this project, as it grew from seed bed to flower garden, the following friends joined me: through wrestling with theory and design, Bill Adams, Michael Chisholm and Mary Tiffen; through shared labours in the field, Afolabi Falola, Francis Gichuki, Ahmed Ibrahim, Alhaji Chiroma, Aminu Shehu, Donald Thomas, Maharazu Yusuf, Salisu Mohammed; with tutorials on soil science, Frances Harris; with cartographic ornamentals, John Antwi; by commenting on the vista, Bill Adams, David Anderson, Frances Harris, Mary Tiffen and an anonymous referee; for killing many weeds and cheerily challenging my presuppositions, Beryl Turner.

xvi



Acknowledgements

xvii

To the villagers of dryland Africa it is impossible to compose a *gracias* adequate for the acceptance, willing co-operation, hospitality and above all, friendship with which I have always been blessed on my researches. Living on the margin of the global economy, Sahelians are notable exponents of courtesy.