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Changling Li Peking University, China

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Who's carrying capacity ?

Wenjun Li , Qian Zhang , Yina Xie , Changling Li , and Yanbo Li Department of Environmental Management , Peking University , Beijing 100871 , China . E-mail : wjlee@pku edu .cn

Key words : carrying capacity , double contract policy , stocking rate , arid and semiarid rangeland , Inner Mongolia

Introduction In arid and semi-arid rangeland of Inner Mongolia, carrying capacity (CC) management at household rangeland scale has been implemented forcibly by the government since the 1980s when (livestock and grassland) Double Contract policy was initiated. The stocking rate for each household was indicated in the contract that was signed between the government and each herder household (Li et al , 2007). Nevertheless, CC management has never been accepted by herders, and they never think it's their CC. So often, the government complains that herders don't follow the contract to control the number of their livestock within the required stocking rate, and it has thus been deduced that current rangeland degradation resulted from failure of CC control. What does CC mean to herders? If it's not their carrying capacity, whose carrying capacity it is ?

Methodology The aim of this paper is to answer the above questions by analyzing who needs a carrying capacity from a political perspective , how it's be calculated ecologically , and why it is not accepted by herders .

Analysis and results Governments always intend to simplify and standardize management of nature and people, from so called scientific forestry" (Scott, 1998) to intensive livestock breeding and herder settlement in arid and semi-arid rangeland. In this way, politically they feel safe and administratively they can save cost. CC management is proposed in the same ideology by governments. They believe deeply that grassland degradation trend could be converted through technological means, and those technicians could calculate the exact stocking rate for each household rangeland. If the number of livestock in each household rangeland was controlled under the calculated CC, it would be easy to manage and utilize the pasture in a sustainable way. But for pastoralists, instead of adjusting the number of animals, they tend to adjust time, season and area of use to manage stocking rate. So it is the government's carrying capacity, while not the herders.

The stocking rate is calculated through measuring above-ground biomass under guidance of ecologists . They fail to consider that it is doubtful that carrying capacity is a meaningful concept for the non-equilibrium systems of arid and semi-arid Africa (Ellis and Swift , 1988) , that it can rarely be accurately measured (de Leeuw and tothill , 1993). For herders , it's the ecologists carrying capacity .

Moreover, the opportunity cost will be higher for herders to follow a fixed or conservative stocking rate than adopting flexible strategy, which is one of the root reasons why carrying capacity management can't be accepted by herders. If a fixed stocking rate was adopted, in rainfall abundant years the rich forage can not be fully utilized, while in drought years overstocking still couldn't be avoided (Behnke and Scoones, 1993). The more rainfall, the higher the opportunity cost if a fixed stocking rate is adopted.

Conclusions It's the government's CC and the ecologists' CC rather than the herders'. The stocking recommendations so derived can't be implemented by herders due to the high opportunity cost. Finally, we have to realize that technical solutions and scientific management may not only be not useful to local development, but they may be harmful to herder subsistence in arid and semiarid rangeland.

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