

**GUIDELINES TO SECURE PASTORALISM AND PREVENT
CONFLICTS IN AFRICA: A secure, peaceful and
sustainable pastoralism**



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Abbreviations

ACALAN	Académie Africaine des Langues (African Academy of Languages)
AOC	Appellation d'Origine Contrôlée (Controlled Designation of Origin)
AU	African Union
CEN-SAD	Community of Sahelo-Saharan States
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
DREA	Department of Rural Economy and Agriculture
ECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FAO	United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICPALD	IGAD Center for Pastoral Area and Livestock Development
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority for Development
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
RBM	Réseau Billital Maarobe (Billital Maarobe Network)
REC	Regional Economic Community
RUGA	Rural Grazing Area
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SAFGRAD	Semi-Arid Food Grain Research and Development
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Science and Culture Organization

Foreword

The African Union through a number of resolutions and decisions made by the Heads of State and Government has always put farmers and pastoralists at the forefront of its development agenda. Among which we have the Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP) and its companion documents on livestock, the Malabo declaration where the Excellences Heads of State and Government committed themselves to enhance resilience of livelihoods and production systems to climate variability and other related risks, the African Union Agenda 2063 and its Ten-year Action Plan (Africa we want), the adoption of several normative instruments to facilitate the structural prevention of conflicts, in addition to the Policy Framework on Pastoralism which was endorsed by the Executive Council in 2011.



The present study straightforwardly addresses the main issues and challenges facing the African pastoral development today and undertakes to give some clues to the issues of the future of pastoralism in Africa. Starting from the analysis of the undisputed benefits of pastoralism to African economies, the study highlights the major changes that compel the actors of pastoral development, be it grassroots communities or States to make unavoidable adaptations.

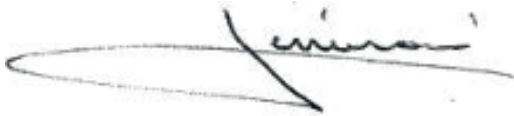
The idea is not to recommend responses designed from a merely theoretical approach, but to build upon the endogenous knowledge of pastoral communities as well as learn lessons from both positive and negative experiences.

In conclusion, the study suggests a flexible guidance tool aiming at enabling States to assist the pastoral communities in taking up the new challenges in pastoral development.

This document has been endorsed by the “Specialized Technical Committee (STC) of Ministers in-charge of Agriculture, Rural Development, Water and Environment in their 4th Ordinary Session held from 13th to 16th December 2021”, and by the Executive Council of the African Union in 2022 (EX.CL/Dec.1144(XL))

Our deep appreciation goes to the African Union Technical Office for Semi-Arid Food Grains Research and Development (AU-SAFGRAD) for their idea to conduct this very useful and indispensable reflection. We also thank all the Regional Economic Communities that have actively participated in the thinking process by making available and sharing their past experiences as well as current initiatives.

Our greatest expectation is that this work will fuel the on-going debates on pastoralism and most of all, inspire both national and regional initiatives on sustainable, secure and peaceful pastoralism.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Josefa Sacko', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the left.

H. E. Ambassador Josefa Sacko

Commissioner for Agriculture, Rural Development,
Blue Economy, and Sustainable Environment (ARBE)
African Union Commission

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We are also grateful to the experts from continental and regional organizations, RECs and Member States that participated in the review workshops.

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Executive summary

Pastoralism is a major source of wealth for the African continent. This wealth is generally underestimated by the States. Yet, if preserved, secured and supported by appropriate public policies, pastoralism has the potential to be a powerful leverage for Africa's economic development and to effectively contribute to provide food security for her populations.

Unanimously recognized as both a lifestyle and a production system that fits into its usually harsh environment, pastoralism is facing today many and rapid transformations that strain its ability to adapt. Such transformations are notably: the very high population growth; the phenomenon of accelerated urban development; increased competition over access to land and the massive conversions of rangelands in favor of other economic activities deemed more profitable; climate change including droughts and recurrent natural disasters. All these transformations have deep impacts on pastoralism practice which depends on direct access to natural resources and basically on mobility. It is then legitimate today to clearly question the future of African pastoral economies.

Through the adoption in 2011 of a « Policy Framework on Pastoralism in Africa», the African Union has clearly called upon its Member States to acknowledge the current and potential contributions of pastoralism to development and, to mainstream the activity in their national development plans and programmes. The AU vigorously urged Member States to secure, protect and improve the lives, livelihoods and rights of African pastoralists.

Nearly a decade later, this call is still particularly topical in view of the security challenge context facing the continent, specifically in its Sahel part. Nowadays, pastoral lands long forgotten by public development policies, tend to become areas where multiple criminal activities proliferate and armed groups settle and grow.

The primary victims of the emergence and intensification of the terrorist threat on the continent are the pastoral communities: their youths are recruited in such terrorist groups; their leaders are assassinated while pastoral ranges on which they depend for their livelihoods are abandoned when fleeing for their survival. On top of that, their cattle are most of the time taken away by cattle rustlers. Paradoxically, the same pastoral communities are finger pointed and summoned to justify themselves and prove that they are not accomplices of terrorist groups that bring mourning to entire regions.

From massacres to retaliatory actions, the instrumentalization of inter-community tensions by terrorist groups is seriously jeopardizing peace and stability in many African States, particularly in the Sahel.

The present study is intended to be a contribution to the implementation of the African Union Policy Framework on Pastoralism. It calls on African States to rethink the role of pastoralism in the economic, social and cultural development of the African continent.

Building on the concept of total economic value of pastoralism, the study highlights the various dimensions of the contribution of pastoralism to African development including the value of pastoral ecosystems, the importance of genetic resources diversity or the yet undervalued potential of pastoralism whereas it reflects the ecological image associated with products derived from an environmentally and animal friendly pastoral breeding.

At the national level, the contribution of pastoral breeding was evaluated in the perspective of its contribution to the States GDP. This can be as high as 10 to 15% of GDP in some countries of pastoral tradition such as Burkina, Mali and Niger. In IGAD member countries, livestock breeding accounts for an average of 20 to 30% of GDP.

It should be noted that in some countries, over 90% of the meat consumed is supplied by the pastoral breeding sector, which contributes to improving the trade balance. Sectors such as leather and hides have a huge economic potential that only few countries like Ethiopia have successfully tapped on to make of their livestock breeding sector a major raw materials provider for a blossoming global leather industry.

At the local level, the dairy product sector involving female pastoralists for production, processing and commercialization is particularly dynamic. Still at the local level, cattle markets that are well organized have proved to be major outlets for tax income generation for local governments. Finally, at the regional level, the large flows of traded livestock among States make of animal husbandry a key factor for regional integration despite the recurrent conflicts.

To fully tap on the development potential in pastoralism, Africa should assist the pastoralists in adapting to the heavy trends towards transformation which greatly impact their activity. Not waiting for either States or development partners, the pastoral communities have by themselves already engaged in adaptation strategies to overcome the various human insecurity patterns that are threatening them.

Such adaptation strategies include the quest for better land tenure security for their settlements and the preservation of rangelands. Adaptation strategies further include final migrations southwards, to softer climate conditions, narrowing transhumance movements and developing agro-pastoral production.

The States on their side have successfully initiated vigorous actions towards improving animal health through mass livestock immunization campaigns; even though less successfully, they have also piloted rangeland securing approaches including the demarcation and land marking of transhumance corridors or more the establishment of exclusive pastoral zones.

Adding to these efforts are the national pastoral legislation development initiatives, particularly in West and North Africa. Although they most often reflect the positive attention paid to pastoralism by public powers, most of such laws are not being enforced on the ground. Regarding Regional Economic Communities, they have most often taken initiatives aimed at regulating transboundary transhumance movements, while combining them with stringent zoo sanitary mechanisms.

In this context, the adoption of a continental instrument on pastoralism can contribute to operationalize the African Union Policy Framework on Pastoralism. It can indeed motivate the States to support the adaptation initiatives developed by the pastoral communities and create a friendlier environment for peaceful coexistence between crop farmers and livestock breeders. Finally, such an instrument is very likely to facilitate cooperation among States in the area of pastoral development and conflicts prevention.

Considering the sovereignty of the States while responding to the aspirations of African peoples to achieve integration, the present report advocates for the adoption of a « soft-law» type of mechanism which consists of guidelines on pastoralism. The recommended instrument would not be binding upon States; However, it will helpfully serve as a benchmark for assisting countries to develop or revisit their own national pastoral legislation if they so wish. It will further serve as a foundation for stepwise harmonization of national pastoral legislations at the regional level in case Member States are willing to do so.

The proposed draft guidelines are articulated around the following main sections:

- Preamble;
- Objective, scope and implementation area of the guidelines;
- Overview;
- Pastoral activity security;
- Balanced development of rural territories;
- Pastoralism-related risks management;
- Implementation of the guidelines.

Introduction

1. Pastoralism, a neglected asset of the African continent

Africa is indeed renowned for having forests, wildlife and mining resources. But the continent also has sizeable arid and semi-arid zones where large sheep, goat, bovine and camel herds graze.

For many development analysts, rather than being barren areas of devastation, the African continent's arid zones host invisible or at the very least underestimated wealth in national statistics, namely pastoralism.

Pastoralism is a production system that perfectly adapts to the harsh conditions in the large arid lands of the continent characterized by erratic rainfall and cyclical droughts. The resilience capacity of pastoralism cannot be overemphasized: pastoral communities have almost overcome alone dramatic cyclical drought periods, by truly paying the heaviest economic and human cost.

It often required international public opinion to be moved by the choking pictures of skeleton-like bodies of women and children of pastoralists and dry carcasses of their livestock for the international community to mobilize and provide aid that quite often comes too late. If pastoralism is preserved, secured and supported through relevant government policies, it can be a powerful tool to leverage economic development that meets global environment protection requirements.

Secure pastoralism means enhanced productivity of pastoral breeding by the population. Peaceful pastoralism would lead to improved political stability in the States and harmonious coexistence of local communities.

Instead of having such beneficial prospects for Africa, pastoralism today faces multiple challenges that undermine its development and threaten its very existence: rampant and worsening conflicts; non-existing economic, social and cultural investments on pastoral lands; deliberate or non-deliberate hindrances to strategic livestock mobility; pasture land grabbing by both foreign and domestic investors; marginalization of pastoral communities that suffer from different types of prejudice... Africa cannot look at its pastoral system dying without reacting, at the risk of throwing many youths into idleness, thus exposing them to recruitment by criminal and terrorist groups that are settling across the continent.

2. Providing African States with a conducive policy framework for pastoralism

African States have very early become aware of the tremendous economic and social loss as well as the major political threats resulting from the slow and relentless disruption in the pastoralism sector. Many initiatives were launched at country and regional levels before taking roots at the continental level.

Back in 2007, the African Union, through the Department of Rural Economy and Agriculture (DREA), started multi-actor consultations on pastoralism in all regions in the continent. Such consultations were fed into the development process of a continental policy framework on pastoralism in Africa which was endorsed in 2011¹.

The Africa pastoral policy framework is a sound analytical document that reviews the status of pastoralism in Africa before defining a set of prospects for sustainable pastoral development in Africa: the introductory section of the document gives the rationale behind drafting a continental pastoral policy framework; the second section of the document underlines the regional specificities of pastoralism in Africa; the third section highlights the historical, policy and economic context of African pastoralism, focusing on the challenges posed by the deep changes that hinder its development; the fourth section describes the principles and strategies that should underpin sustainable development of pastoralism in Africa; the document provides some general insights for the implementation of the pastoral policy framework and gives final comments.

3. Objectives of the study and mandate of the consultant

AU-SAFGRAD has undertaken to develop an instrument designed for securing pastoralism and managing crop farmer-livestock breeder conflicts. Conducting this research is very important as it may contribute to the implementation of the African Union Agenda 2063 and of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as well. The Agenda 2063 is the common vision and roadmap for an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa as an aspiration of African peoples. It calls for general mobilization towards the goals set to be achieved in the next fifty years. The study pays special attention to the issue of conflicts as the security context on the continent is deteriorating, more particularly in the Sahelian part.

The general objective of the study is to contribute in releasing the full potential of pastoral ecosystems in view of boosting economic development and building peace and security in Africa. The specific objective is to provide African States with a guidance tool that is conducive for securing pastoral activities, fulfill the rights of pastoralists and contribute to pastoralism-related conflict prevention and resolution.

4. Methodology of the study

The methodology of the study is largely based on a desk review of recent literature covering topics outlined in the terms of reference of the study. Such topics notably relate to the status of pastoralism and its contributions to development; the changes that affect the activity as well as new challenges facing it; finally, strategies for adaptation to changes and best practices developed by concerned actors. This literature review covered the relevant African Union publications but also those relating to pastoralism in the various regions of the continent. Documentation on pastoralism in other regions around the world (Europe and Asia notably) was also reviewed to draw lessons for Africa.

Some Regional Economic Communities (RECs) were visited more specifically ECOWAS, IGAD and COMESA. Such visits provided an opportunity to understand pastoral peculiarities of the various regions of the continent, learn about the initiatives undertaken by RECs and collect complementary information. Contacts were made with representatives of other RECs that could not be visited, to collect the relevant documentation available.

The present draft legal instrument was developed based on the key principles defined in the African Union pastoral policy Framework on the one hand, and on existing or projected regional instruments on the other hand. These are notably the Decision governing transhumance regulation among ECOWAS Member States (1998), the IGAD Protocol on Cross-border Transhumance (under finalization) and the recently drafted community agreement on cross-border transhumance in the ECCAS region. The main national pastoral legislations (West and North Africa specifically) were analyzed and lessons learned from some failed efforts to draft country texts. All these elements were used to develop the present guidelines on pastoralism. Finally, some continental and global instruments that have a link with pastoral issues were taken into consideration.

5. Outline of the report

The study is organized in five chapters dedicated to the various aspects of secure, peaceful and sustainable pastoral development in Africa. The chapters were preceded by an Introduction that gives the background of the study, describes the methodology and report outline.

- Chapter I presents the contribution of pastoralism to development in the economic, environmental and socio-cultural perspectives mainly;
- Chapter II discusses the major challenges faced by pastoralism today due to some deep changes at the local, national, regional, continental and global scales. Special emphasis is laid on the impact analysis of the security challenge on pastoral development;

- Through a review of endogenous adaptation initiatives and of promising practices tested in the pastoral sector, Chapter III displays great optimism and shows that giving a future to African pastoralism remains both advisable and possible;
- Finally, Chapter IV presents a draft Guidelines on pastoralism in Africa which aims at ensuring the so desired secure, peaceful and sustainable African pastoralism development.

Chapter I – The contribution of pastoralism to African development

1.1 -Contribution of pastoralism to Africa’s economic development

It is unanimously recognized that livestock breeding is an essential component of most African countries’ economies. This is the result of a great potential in pastoral resources that are smartly tapped on and preserved by pastoralists from generation to generation. West and Central Africa regions for instance are endowed with more than 350 million hectares of grazing lands² which, through the cattle movement strategy, provide food for about 35% of the global stock in the continent, despite unfavorable ecological context.

In East Africa and in the Horn of Africa, pastoralism is the predominant activity on arid and semi-arid lands which cover about 75% of the total surface area of the region³. The contribution of the livestock sector to economic development may be assessed based on the economic value of animal products and by-products. One should certainly take a step further and have a more comprehensive and certainly more accurate view of this contribution.

1.1.1 - The economic value of livestock products and by-products

Pastoralism and national economy

In the statistics of African countries, the contribution of the livestock sector to the national economy is generally measured by assessing animal commodities and by-products. This approach is used to calculate the share of livestock in the GDP. In West and Central Africa countries, livestock accounts for in average 5% of the States GDP⁴. This figure is however highly variable from country to country. In such countries that are typically pastoral, like Niger and Chad, the rate may be as high as 10 to 15%. In Djibouti, the livestock sector contributes to about 6.9% of national GDP⁵. In terms of agricultural GDP, the breeding sector accounts for an average 25% in West Africa. In the COMESA region, pastoralism also has a big part in agricultural GDP: this is the case in Kenya, Ethiopia and Sudan where the sector accounts for 35% of agricultural GDP⁶.

2 Bio Goura S., (2013)

3 AFSA, (2017).AFSA, (2017).

4 Bio Goura S., op. Cit. (2013)

5 IGAD/ ICPALD (2015),

6 COMESA, (2009).

In countries with a tradition of pastoralism, more than 90% of meat comes from pastoral stock rearing. This situation shows the resilience level of this productive sector which actually contributes to enhancing the trade balance of States, without significant support from public policymakers. If pastoralism were for any reason to be severely destabilized, most African States would be obliged to massively import meat of lower quality from other regions of the world.

At the global level, leather and hides constitute the main raw materials for very high profit-making processing industries. Many animal species are even reared in some regions around the world, for their skins rather than for their meat. Africa has a tremendous livestock population and yet the value-adding sector of leather and hides still remains at a low level in the continent.

Box 1: The leather and hides sector potential in Africa

“With nearly 10% of the world herd of cattle and buffaloes, 10% of sheep and over 20% of goats, Sub-Saharan Africa has in principle an abundant resource. However, for each of these three categories, her contribution to the global hides production is less than her part to the global herd, with less than 9% for bovine and buffalo hides, while Europe with 8% of the live cattle produces over 15% of traded hides.”

Source : CTA, *Peaux et cuirs, Secteur d'avenir pour l'Afrique*. Spore 66, CTA 1996

Only few countries like Ethiopia, were able to make of their pastoral sector a raw materials supplier for a booming leather industry. It should be noted that live animals or even raw hides exportations constitute significant loss of revenue for African countries.

Box 2: Leather and hides trade

“The world trade in leather and leather-made articles which was worth USD 60 billion+ in 2004 is expected to continue growing. Africa has more than a quarter of sheep and goats and 15% of the world cattle, which represents a huge potential and yet the continent suffers from the gap between available resources and actual production. The continent produces 14.9% of hides and leather at the global scale but few finished leather goods. The example of Ethiopia which manufactures high-end leather products is proving that promises can be materialized. L’Ethiopia has a great potential for leather exportations and the Government has ranked the sector as a priority area with the aim to gradually develop the entire value chain, moving from « wet blue » leather production to « crust » leather and then to finished leather and products.”

Source : *Forum du commerce international*, No.3/2006

The role of pastoralism as the driving engine of the local economy is obvious in view of the dynamism of the processing and trade sectors of animal by-products. We are all aware of the critical role of pastoral stock breeding in supplying cities with fresh milk, yoghurt, butter, traditional cheese, etc. Women from pastoral communities are at the frontline of the animal by-products market. As a matter of fact,

women in pastoralist families are the owners of the milk produced by the family cows and are fully responsible for selling dairy products.

Given that they owe the income generated from the sales, women in pastoralist communities are able to cater for themselves; they contribute to the family expenses, notably for child care. Research conducted in Benin in 2010 showed that during the transhumance season, women could earn between CFA F 125,000 and 150, 000 per month⁷.

Though no recent and reliable statistics are available on the volume and economic returns of the ancestral practice of bartering milk for food grains, its importance should not be underestimated despite its relentless decrease. Beyond its contribution to the local economy, milk-to-grain trade has clearly enhanced the value of natural complementarity between transhumant pastoralists and sedentary crop farmers, while creating a tolerant and peaceful coexistence climate among grassroots communities. Beside its economic dimension, the practice teaches lessons of complementarity between agriculture and stock rearing that African States should toady consider and develop.

Still in the perspective of the local economy, livestock trade in cattle markets brings an outstanding contribution to energizing the local trade and implementing the decentralization process. In fact, breeders and local governments are increasingly joining efforts to promote new cattle market management methods as part of the self-managed cattle market policy.

Box 3: Example of a self-managed market

The Gogounou self-managed market (Benin)

In Benin, there are very old traditional markets on the one hand and more recent self-managed markets on the other hand. Traditional markets are characterized by the presence of intermediates (*dilaali*) who take their own big shares in each transaction at the expense of the parties to the transaction (seller and buyer). The case of the *Gogounou* self-managed cattle market is a living testimony of the numerous benefits derived from this new type of market for the local economy: i) they enable breeders to maximize their earnings owing to the absence or marginalization of the intermediates; ii) such markets give a new impetus to the local trade in livestock because of the prospects for increased incomes for breeders; iii) local governments benefit from a net increase in their budget revenue through more effective tax collection; iv) finally, due to their improved organization, self-managed cattle markets make it possible for the communes to collect consistent and reliable statistics on cattle trade.

Source : *Inter-réseau*, http://www.interreseaux.org/IMG/pdf/Benin_Marche_betail_Radio_Transcript_UDOPER_2007.pdf

Pastoralism and regional economy

In the regional economy perspective, livestock trade significantly contributes to a vibrant regional market and enhanced regional integration process. In West Africa for instance, livestock breeding ranks second in the regional trade of local commodities, after hydrocarbons and before cereals⁸.

Nigeria is the largest market for both Western and Central African breeders. Nearly one million head of cattle are yearly imported into the country from West Africa (mainly from Niger and Burkina Faso) and two million heads from Central Africa (mainly Chad and Central African Republic). Livestock transactions account for 25 to 30% of Niger exportation revenue, and up to 40% for Chad before the advent of the petroleum economy. Livestock trade remains a dynamic activity, even in this context of political instability and crisis. Thus, Somalia is still an active livestock exporter to the Gulf countries: just for the last four months of 2008, Somalia has exported 640,000 sheep and goat heads, 34,000 cattle and 700 camels.⁹

1.1.2-Rethinking the contribution of pastoralism to development: the total economic value of pastoralism

Despite the huge economic potential earlier described, some authors are of the opinion that African States have under-estimated the real contribution of pastoralism to their economies¹⁰. Hence their call for expanding pastoral economic benefits estimates beyond the sole value of livestock products and by-products (milk, meat ...) to include all values associated with this specific activity. The total economic value concept in pastoralism was forged to better account for the extent of the economic benefits of pastoralism.

In Sahelian countries for example, livestock raising is often the only form of exploitation of the vast arid lands that are unsuitable for crop production. Thus, deserts which constitute vast portions of the national territory of many Sahel countries are low in organic compounds; similarly, some savannah soils have been hardened with crust (laterite). Without pastoralism, such surface areas would remain unused and empty, giving way to all sorts of criminal and unlawful activities. For the States, pastoralism thus has an economic value through the optimum development of barren land, and also a political and security value in certain parts of the national territory.

Livestock farming provides a substantial contribution to unemployment reduction and job creation in the rural areas. The activity indeed creates a wide range of direct and indirect jobs: breeders, herdsmen, cattle traders, transporters, conveyors, butchers, meat grillers, dairy product processors and distributors (yoghourts, cheese) and meat (Niger's *kilishi*, Southern Africa's *biltong*...¹¹), leather and hides handicraft makers involving numerous women, community tourism beneficiaries and tourist guides, all of whom are groups whose existence directly or indirectly depends on animal husbandry.

8 Bio Goura S., op. cit. (2013)

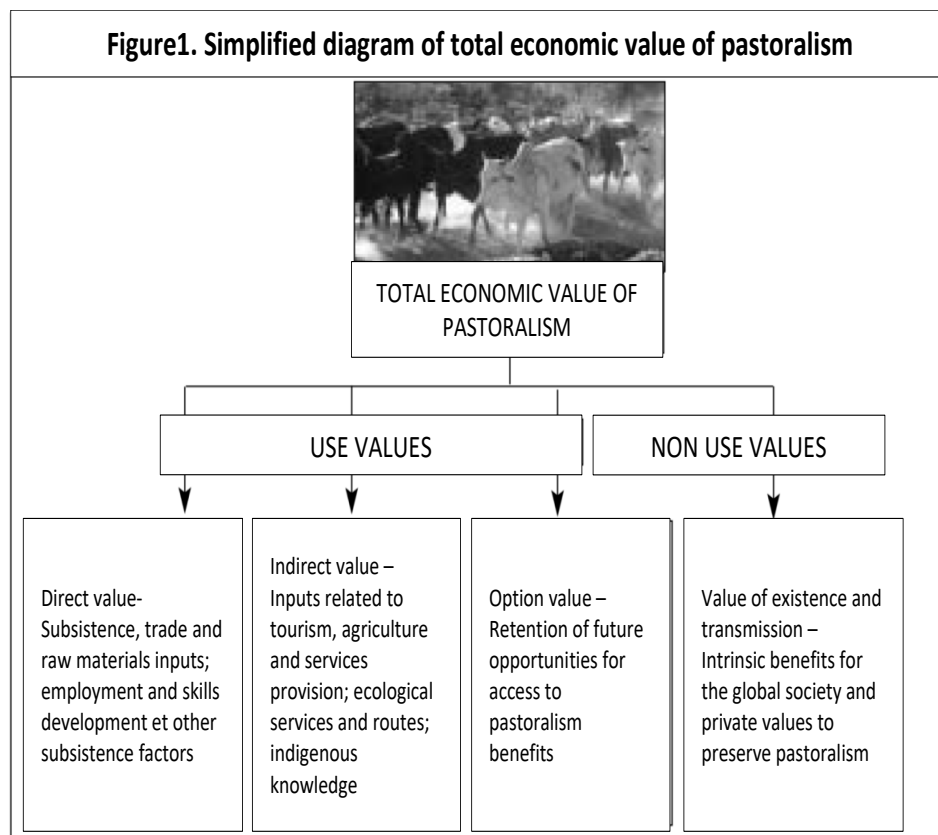
9 COMESA (2009)

10 Hesse, C., McGregor, J., (2006).

11 Kilishi and biltong are dried seasoned meat produced and sold respectively in Niger and Southern Africa. These are commodities that are highly appreciated by both local and foreign people.

Before the wave of terrorist attacks that spread across the Sahel, many countries in the region had substantial incomes generated by a very dynamic tourist sector associated to the desert: tourist circuits, car race and rally events (including the famous Paris-Dakar rally racing), hotel business were all substantial income sources for the local populations and the youth in particular. Similarly, the State and communes were receiving considerable budget revenues as a result of diverse tax payments. Adding to this was the Paris-Dakar competition that used to attract many humanitarian projects for the benefit of the villages crossed.

Box 4: The total economic value of pastoralism



Source: Hesse, C., McGregor J., (2006).

The economic returns from the cultural peculiarities of pastoralist societies are not adequately accounted for. Traditional music of the desert often symbolized by the Fulani shepherd's flute, the various cultural festivals (music, fashion shows...) or emerging modern music groups from pastoral communities generate a new economy which potential is still under-estimated.

In view of making a better estimate of the overall value of pastoralism, land planning policies could be used as a major tool. Land planning is an intervention by the Government aiming in a prospective and long-term vision to facilitate a better distribution of people and their activities in a given national, regional or even communal land area.

The goal of such policies is to identify and highlight the specific natural potential so as to address regional development imbalances among regions within the same country, which are the root causes of many frustrations and even autonomy claims. If understood in this way, land planning offers the opportunity to identify the full economic potential of pastoral lands and guide both public and private investment in the effective development of such land areas. As a tool for a more balanced development of the national territory, land planning may in principle prevent the marginalization of pastoral lands and lead to the planned implementation of economic infrastructure (boreholes, improved pasture lands, cattle markets, cattle vaccination sites, food processing plants), social facilities (health care, safe drinking water) and cultural (education infrastructure notably). In the same vein, pastoral land development helps to enhance the value of the natural complementarity between Sahel areas in the North and Forest areas southwards.

Finally, it is quite obvious that keeping transhumant and nomadic pastoralists in African deserts and other under-populated areas ensures nation-wide coverage, contributes to asserting national sovereignty and reducing the risk of seeing pastoral land areas turned into unlawful areas, left in the hands of people engaged in organized crime and terrorism.

1.2- Pastoralism and environmental sustainability

1.2.1- Deconstructing environmental prejudices on pastoralism

Pastoralism has for long been presented as being one of the main factors of environmental degradation. This negative perception has fueled a well-established hostility, particularly among forest guards, towards pastoralists around the world. In France for instance, « foresters in the 19th century have written a lot to stigmatize the « misdeeds of the sheep tooth ». They have mercilessly chased goats, blamed « pastoralists' carelessness», accusing them of being responsible for deforestation, erosion and floods»¹². Similarly, in Africa, stock farmers and herdsmen are said to be uneducated peasants who have failed to move away from archaic and outdated practices because of their attachment to livestock rearing for prestige. They are further accused of being the main responsible for environmental degradation due to wandering of animals and therefore of being desertification agents. More recently, pastoralists are being blamed for greenhouse gas emissions per meat kilogram or milk liter produced.

Yet, more recent research findings tend to question this very negative perception of pastoralism, notably in terms of its environmental impact. On the contrary, many sedentarization experiences in several countries with large herds on fenced grazing lands have proved to be a major challenge and have often created environmental issues such as soil erosion, plant cover degradation and proliferation of invasive plant species.

Box 5: The DOLLY Ranch (Senegal)

DOLLY RANCH, 45-YEAR-OLD, DILAPIDATED, 87 500 HA SITE WITH 3337 INHABITANTS...

"Dolly is in pain. Located in far south of the Linguère Division, Dolly Ranch was established in 1968 by the first President of the Republic of Senegal, Léopold Sédar Senghor. It covers a surface area of 87,500 ha and has about 3,337 settled inhabitants spread over 7 center villages and about one hundred camps. In the past, in 1963, the State had granted the Dolly zone the status of sylvo-pastoral reserve covering a total surface area of 110,900 ha. This zone was developed in 1968.

The ranch was created to meet a dual objective: promote the rearing of domestic ruminants in order to regulate the meat supply of the city of Dakar and other large urban centers in the country while enabling biological diversity conservation in the zone.

But, for around ten to twenty years, the ranch has lost its former glory. In fact, the territory of Dolly has been the object of all the desires including those of the large farmers in the groundnut pioneer area as well as of private investors. This sometimes creates disputes between crop farmers and pastoralists. Remember that the ranch, around the 90s was the scene of frequent and violent clashes between crop farmers known as «Baay Fall» and breeders of the Fulani ethnic group mainly. Many people lost their lives in that conflict."

Source : Enquête : <https://www.enqueteplus.com/content/ranch-de-dolly-45-ans-d%C3%A9labr%C3%A9-87-500-ha-3337-habitants-macky-sall-en-visite-chez-un-grand>

According to a recent study conducted by UNEP and IUCN, pastoralism is believed to be one of the most sustainable productive systems on Earth¹³. Transhumant pastoralists depend in fact on nature and the resources that it provides. Rich and biologically diverse pastures in turn depend on livestock productivity and health; The cattle survival as well as the sustainable exploitation of pastures lie on the availability in quantity and quality of water resources and their good distribution. As evidenced by the ancient tradition of salt licking in Niger, breeders establish a link between cattle access to the various minerals and the quality and productivity of the herd. Pastoralists are hence the natural allies of nature and should it to ensure their own survival and well-being. Pastoralists are thought to have tremendous endogenous knowledge of the forest and of medicinal plants specifically. As transhumant breeders for long months across the forest, pastoralists are among the best-informed persons about anything happening in the deep forest regarding both lawful and unlawful activities. In the current security context, transhumant pastoralists represent a major source of information and have genuine capacity to contribute to the security of their host communities.

Regarding greenhouse gas emissions from livestock breeding, a recent research conducted in Senegal shows that pastoral land areas may have a carbon neutrality, as emissions of animal origin are offset by carbon sequestration in soils and vegetation¹⁴.

¹³ McGahey, D., Davies, J., Hagelberg, N. et Ouedraogo R., (2014).

¹⁴ Assouma, M., H., Lecomte, P., Corniaux C., Hiernaux, P., Ikovicz, A., Vassière, I., (2019)

To ensure effective nature protection and implement adaptive and sustainable management of natural resources they depend on, pastoralists have always used a set of endogenous and local knowledge that was acquired over many centuries and passed on from generation to generation. Unfortunately, public development actors tend to despise or underestimate such endogenous knowledge, which leads to their gradual loss.

One should certainly not move from an extreme end to another and present pastoralism as an activity that is free from any adverse environmental impact. As any human activity, pastoralism alters the state of the environment and therefore carries short or long-term environmental risks. The purpose of current developments is to, based on recent research findings, give evidence that pastoralists are not the forest and environment destroyers as some people usually believe. More importantly, we should ensure that the environmental risks resulting from human activity remain at a reasonable level and more particularly, that they match the capacity of nature for self-repair through regeneration. We may conclude with FAO that “the future of the interface between livestock rearing and environment will depend on how we address the balance between two demands: animal products for food on the one hand, and environmental services on the other hand¹⁵. Given that the natural resource base is not unlimited, the increase in production essential to meet the growing demand should be met while significantly reducing its impact on the environment.

1.2.2- The contribution of pastoralism to biological diversity

There is nowadays a wealth of research findings showing that pastoralism is beneficial to the biodiversity of rangelands and to cattle productivity. With the pastoral productive system, cattle play a critical role in maintaining and regenerating grazing lands. Through livestock mobility in particular, fodder crop seeds are carried and disseminated over longer distances. Similarly, soil crust is broken by livestock trampling, thus allowing improved water infiltration in the soil. Other observers have established a link between pastoralism and bush fire control because a huge amount of grass is browsed by the herds instead of fueling forest fires¹⁶.

Research conducted in Europe has also shown that biodiversity loss could result from overgrazing and under-grazing as well: Many ecosystems have indeed adapted to grazing since long time to the extent that a sudden withdrawal of livestock could be disastrous in terms of biodiversity. For instance, plant and animal diversity on mountain rangelands in Europe decreased considerably when stock farmers moved from transhumance to mountain grazing systems and settled permanently at the bottom of valleys¹⁷. Finally, maintaining effective grazing is conducive to biological diversity and biomass production.

¹⁵ FAO, (2006)

¹⁶ McGahey, D., Davies, J., Hagelberg, N. et Ouedraogo R., op. cit. (2014)

¹⁷ Beaufoy, G., Baldock, D., and Clark, J., 1994,

In genetic terms, ancestral practices of pastoralists have helped to preserve cattle breeds that have well adapted to the environment, and gained ability to travel long distances, keeping optimum productive capacity under extreme weather conditions and resisting endemic zoonotic infections. The N'Dama bovine breed the secular origin of which is in Fouta Djallon, Guinea is well known to be a trypano-tolerant species. Though of small size, the N'Dama has a good level of meat production. The States that have such local species that are naturally resistant to certain animal diseases should work towards preserving them and developing breeding and multiplication programmes for their export to other African countries.

1.2.3- The importance of pastoral landscapes

Pastoralism depends on the adaptation to a challenging environment characterized by low nutritive value resources that are scattered over different territories. It therefore definitely needs extensive rangelands to be effective. Better still, such extensive rangelands can only play their role fully when the linkages among complementary rangelands are established and preserved, including access to water points. Many pastoral landscapes have now been acknowledged for their specificity and beauty. Old and diverse literature reveals for instance the shining beauty of the Fouta-Djallon grazing land in Guinea: its mild weather, its plateaus of diverse altitudes, its inner plains and lowlands, incised valleys have given a name as «the African Switzerland»¹⁸.

For centuries and even for millennia, the pastoral activity has contributed to shaping the pastoral landscapes in a unique manner. Some pastoral landscapes could even be fit for the UNESCO International Convention on the World Cultural and Natural Heritage¹⁹. Some typical pastoral landscapes¹⁹ are indeed representative of peculiar pastoral regions and cultures in the continent. Genuine works combining natural and man-made views they express the long-standing and close relation between humans and their environment.

As paradoxical as this may appear, deserts are a haven for rich and diverse wildlife. In the Niger desert for instance, until recently large antelope herds used to wander across vast sand areas while bustards were attracting rich hawk hunters from Arab Gulf countries.

It is important to underline the cultural treasures hosted by pastoral territories. Such wealth contributes to lively and diverse cultures in the continent. The languages spoken by several pastoral communities are used across the continent because of past transhumance movements²⁰. Over the past decades, numerous cultural events (fashion shows, music...) have been held in the desert, sometimes without media coverage, thus confirming the growing cultural attraction for these seemingly hostile spaces and cultures.

¹⁸ Andre, V., Pestana, G., (2017)

¹⁹ Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. 16 November, 1972

²⁰ It should be noted that the African Union has set up the African Academy of Languages (ACALAN) which mission is to revive the policies on African languages and promote cross border African vehicle languages in view of strengthening the cultural unity of the continent.

Many archeological sites dating as far back as several thousand years are being discovered on a regular basis in the Sahara Desert²¹, which contributes to unveiling the history of mankind.

Despite the many ecological and economic opportunities offered by pastoral landscapes, these have received little attention from African States. Left to themselves, they are increasingly threatened by many anthropogenic phenomena such as rangeland fragmenting, archeological site looting, land grabbing and massive changes in their traditional pastoral destination. These anthropogenic degradation factors are compounded by natural factors such as climate change effects notably. Awareness of, and concrete action towards pastoral landscape protection constitute a major challenge yet to be addressed.

1.2.4- New opportunities offered by the prospects for transition to a green economy

Long time accused of being an archaic production system, pastoralism today appears to have a chance for revival in the context of green economy promotion. Green economy is a new economic paradigm shift that advocates for a transition to an economic system whereby the generation of material goods would not lead to uncontrolled increase in environmental risks to the detriment of ecological species or social equity.

The current feeling of public mistrust or even distrust towards the industrial type of farming in Europe is in favor of safer production systems such as pastoralism. The European pastoralism is still vivid (mostly for ovine, sheep and goats) and is increasingly being associated to the positive image of « quality » and « ecological » goods because it evolves aloof high-intensity production models and is safe from the food scandals widely covered by the media in Europe²². This growing tendency among European consumers²³ is still marginal in the African continent; but one should not overlook the potential for rapid change in Africa as usual.

Box 6: Environmental risks posed by intensive livestock farming

“With hundreds or even often thousands of animals crammed together in closed vicinities, intensive stock farming is likely to create a range of pollution sources. Such pollution sources may affect the natural environment, animals and plants. In 2006, the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) described stock farming [of the intensive type] as « ...one of the major contributors to most current serious environmental issues ».

More traditional stock farming methods are often relatively effective in processing grass and some wastes into useful cattle feed. The industrial stock farming model of «rapid growth, high yield » is far less effective as it uses considerable amounts of cereals and protein-rich soybean to cover the feed needs of the animals. Food grains receive great amounts of pesticides and nitrogen and phosphorous-rich fertilizers to stimulate their growth, but many of these chemicals can leak into soils and ground waters».

Source : CIWF, France : <https://www.ciwf.fr/vous-informer/elevage-intensif-et-environnement/pollution/>

21 The Gabero Site in the Tenere Desert, over 10 000 years old

22 Notably, the scandal of the mad cow, bird flu....

23 Attraction for Commodities with AOC (Appellation d'origine contrôlée) such as cheese.

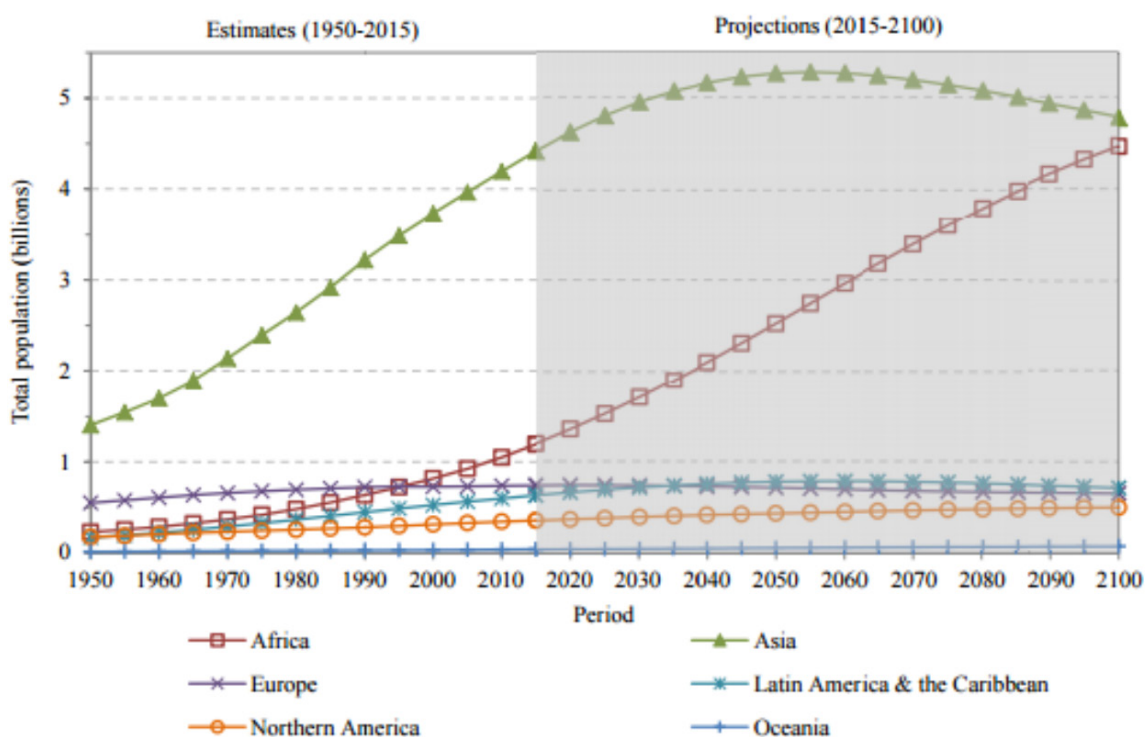
Chapter II - Pastoralism at the crossroads

2.1- Changes affecting pastoralism development

2.1.1- Rapid population growth and urbanization

All the population data indicate that the world population is steadily increasing, more than ever. By 2050, the world population is likely to increase by one third, from 7.5 billion in 2017 to about 10 billion²⁴. This exceptional growth in the world population is widely fueled by the African population growth. In fact, over the same period, the population in the continent could double, increasing from 1.2 billion in 2017 to 2.5 billion. In other words, in 2050, one human out of three on Earth will be an African as compared to one out of six currently. Projections even show that the population of the African continent could increase by four-fold by the year 2100, reaching 4.4 inhabitants.

Box 7 : Population by region: estimates, 1950-2015, and medium-variant projection. 2015-2100



Population par région: estimations, 1950-2015 et projection moyenne variante 2015-2100

Source: United Nation, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2017. *World Population Prospect: The 2017 Revision*. New York: United Nation

This rapid population growth combines with a change in land use modes. Urban development is the key feature in land use in the African continent. Africa is nowadays the continent that is experiencing the fastest urbanization rate in the world.

²⁴ INED, (2017).

Just in 1990, 1/3 of the African population was living in the urban areas. In 2035, projections show that half of the African population will be living in cities²⁵. Africa will thus very soon be more urban than rural.

One of the biggest challenges created by this rapid urbanization is to know how Africa will be able to feed a consistently growing and urbanizing population of consumers that do not produce what they consume, including livestock products. Africa is today facing the urgent challenge of producing more to meet the demand of a constantly increasing consumer population. This challenge is faced by both the agricultural and livestock sectors. Livestock rearing has a key role to play in the quest for people's food security in the continent. The issue is to know whether pastoral breeding can alone meet such a challenge. The answer is definitely no.

Pastoral breeding has its full room in the African development; but it has to coexist with more intensive breeding systems. Trends towards intensive or even industrial stock farming have already been observed in African countries, notably with short cycle animal species (poultry, pigs, fish farming...). But the sector is confronted with too many challenges to be fully developed, including regular and adequate good quality feed supply, availability of improved, adapted and highly performing animal breeds (milk, meat) or credit access for the often-required high capital investment²⁶.

While representing a risk of imbalance and social disruption in the future of the continent, this rapid population growth and urbanization however hold many development opportunities that the continent should identify and immediately take hold of. With a growth rate above 5% per annum, most countries in the continent have been steadily recording economic progress for the past fifteen years or so²⁷. This economic growth has given birth to a growing urban middle class composed of young and very dynamic actors who have embraced new life styles and consumption habits. This actually represents a vast and lively African market for food production sectors, including livestock commodities. These are the most significant outlets in the future for African stock farmers as the demand for animal products is relentlessly increasing. This is the case for meat and dairy products which constitute a large bulk of the food demand from African city dwellers. The future of livestock breeding in Africa is therefore more promising than seen at a first glance. However, just like African agriculture, livestock breeding needs to produce more if the sector is to cover the demand of a population that is expected to grow two-fold in just few coming decades.

If they fail to feed their population, African States will run the risk of being inevitably confronted with multifaceted « hunger riots » which have a powerful destabilizing potential. In such a context, pastoralism which production is unanimously deemed to be of good quality, should definitely evolve and produce more while production-oriented sedentary forms of livestock breeding should develop their production both qualitatively and quantitatively.

²⁵ CEA, (2017).

²⁶ Richard, D., Alary, V., Corniaux, C., Duteurtre, G., Lhoste P., (2019).

²⁷ Zamfir L., (2016)

To produce more, Africa does not need to go through the same high-intensity production abuses as in the Western world. These are the types of abuses that have ultimately endangered the whole world and caused the still embryonic economic paradigm shift attempts towards the now unavoidable ecological transition. Against this backdrop, pastoralism represents a chance for Africa. The current trend towards the questioning of production-focused breeding is in contrast with the recognition of the ecological nature of pastoral production. Somehow ironically, pastoralism has moved from being perceived as an archaic and outdated production model to a situation whereby it is taking revenge as an adapted and sustainable wealth production model that does not harm nature and the Earth. In this perspective, pastoralism is a form of production that is perhaps showing the pathway to sustainable development in Africa and in the world. This avenue is realistic provided public authorities become aware of the deadlock in certain production-oriented models; it is realistic if decision-makers give evidence of political will to adopt alternative production modes which do not need to originate from Africa, but just to be supported and improved. Finally, special emphasis should be laid on the fact that the idea is not to reject any intensification of animal production; what is recommended is avoiding dependence on the sole intensification-oriented production model which has shown all its limits and caused increasing citizen's distrust.

According to the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), the current economic transformation of Africa can only be deep and sustainable if it relies on the development of the industrial base of the continent²⁸. It is only at this cost that Africa will stop depending on some raw materials which prices are set by external markets. Many livestock by-products can be used as raw materials for a profit-making and job creating industry (leather and hide sectors; dairy products sectors ...). Though many non-tariff barriers designed for protectionism have been put in place in developed countries, African countries should promote inter-African trade while establishing strategies to gain market shares in developed countries including in Europe, Asia and Gulf countries. The increasingly demanding Western food consumers are low hanging fruits for African producers if the latter know how to sustainably position themselves in a quality production sector backed by certification and labeling policies and practices.

2.1.2- Threats to pastoral rangelands and economy

Most in-depth changes occurring in Africa nowadays present serious threats to pastoral rangelands and strategic cattle mobility. In case no measures are taken to address the situation, pastoralism is more than ever running the risk of being sustainably disrupted or even die out. The threats that should be considered include large scale investment in rural lands. These so-called "land grabbing" processes result from a sudden increase in the demand for land from investors, mostly foreigners (both private and public) more specifically, starting from mid-2000.

Such investors are trying to produce food items at a large scale for the purpose of reexporting to profitable and creditworthy markets in developed countries. Such large-scale land acquisitions are now at an alarming level, making small crop and livestock producers lose a significant share of land and other natural resources for their livelihoods. Some of these investors are thought to be in a purely speculative logic because they find in the financially affordable African land areas, an opportunity for placing part of their equity that was made vulnerable by the financial crisis of the 2000s.

With real or false hopes to see the fulfillment of promises to invest in an agricultural sector that has remained the poor relative of official development aid for long, the African States rushed to offer the requesting multinational companies large rural land plots, often at the expense of their own people whose land tenure rights were disregarded. To be sure to successfully attract investors, African States have given land away under very favorable conditions, sometimes for free.

The first and silent victims of this massive land attribution policy to the investors were the pastoral communities whose routes were abusively termed as unused or under-used land areas. Examples of deprivation of pastoral communities for the benefit of foreign investors are commonly found everywhere in Africa. For instance, just before the 2011 civil upheaval, the Swiss company GWH (Global Wood Holding) had signed a contract with the Tunisian government to exploit about 160,000 ha of the best rangeland in South Tunisia²⁹.

The consequences of this type of contracts for pastoralists are compounded by the fact that “rural land grabbing” most often conceals “water resource monopolization”. The surface areas eyed by investors generally host water points that are traditionally used by the local communities for livestock breeding, crop farming and domestic supply. Once the land is attributed to investors, water access for people and livestock is generally banned or hindered. In some cases, massive water abstractions by beneficiary companies affect the amount of water available for local uses, specifically for livestock. The pollution resulting from untreated waste water flows also put livestock breeding at risk.

Box 8: Testimony on pastoral land grabbing

“On the occasion of the World Forum on Access to Land (WFAL) held in Valencia on 31 March, 1st and 2nd April, 2016, Alo Yayo Barule and Sanaya Alo, two Ethiopians of the Afar tribe had come to give testimonies of the impact of agri-business development on their region. This semi-nomadic people of breeders have indeed witnessed the progressive grabbing of the best pasture lands in the region by national or transnational companies, a process that ultimately lead to the disappearance of the breeders. When we asked them questions on the reason for their attendance of the WFAL, they both said that: « we are here to call for help”.

Source : C., Sauzion, *Bulletin AGTER*, Avril 2016.

The phenomena of opening new crop production fronts and uncontrolled urban development deeply affect cattle breeding systems. In the absence of sound land planning schemes, the best rangelands are converted into residential areas while transhumance routes are used for other purposes, including by the States themselves in some instances. The dismantling of transhumance routes has serious effects because the linkages among the various rangelands are broken, thus preventing their optimal complementary exploitation all the year round.

2.1.3- The breakdown of pastoral societies

The rapid changes occurring in Africa have major consequences on the pastoral communities themselves. Traditional education has long been the only form of education among pastoral communities. Its goal was to perpetuate and consolidate the pastoral cultural identity among the youth and ensure the transfer of a body of knowledge and techniques that are required for the conduct and sound management of the herd, as well as environmental conservation.

Despite the low availability of government educational services in pastoral territories and the resistance of certain actors, slow but steady progression of the literacy rate was observed among the pastoral communities. Such communities are increasingly showing interest in sending their children to school, with the hope of seeing new generations that are fully integrated into the national community and economically and socially promoted through their access to jobs in the State administration, private sector or in the army.

Country leaders on their side have made efforts to adapt public education service provision to the realities and life style of pastoralists. Chad for instance has fairly successfully piloted mobile school approaches: the teacher moves around on the back of a horse or of a camel with the community, equipped with his or her teaching materials, giving classes in the shade of trees or under the tent⁸⁰.

The educational progress registered among pastoral communities has undoubtedly improved their living conditions. Significant progress remains to be made in terms of access to education for women and girls in pastoral communities. But at the same time this evolution however comes with a continuous loss of endogenous knowledge of pastoralism and transhumance. The States should support the efforts made to document endogenous pastoral knowledge and enable their transmission within pastoral communities through all proper audio and audio-visual materials as well as new information and communication technology.

2.1.4- Pastoralism versus climate change

One should not overlook the severe consequences of climate disturbances on the future of African pastoralism. Climate change effects on pastoralism include the shrinking of pasture lands and post-harvest grazing areas as well. Such a situation compels stock farmers to move further down to the south beyond their usual pasture lands into new, unfamiliar and hostile territories.

This trend exposes pastoralists to increased conflict risks with sedentary crop farmers with whom no alliances were patiently negotiated and consolidated over time. As a matter of fact, increasing hostility is being observed from coastal countries to the arrival of transhumant herds as they consider such movements to be recurrent conflict sources with no economic benefit for the host countries.

Climate change also has adverse impacts on water resources availability, thus exposing cattle to more recurrent drought and massive losses. Finally, recent studies have shown rapid desert encroachment southwards. The recent research findings have given evidence that the surface area covered by the Sahara Desert has expanded by 10% in the past 100 years³¹. The Sahel countries which people heavily depend on crop and livestock farming are the first victims of the desertification process.

Other studies have shown the weakening capacity of pastoralists to adapt to climate change. This decline in resilience capacity is due to the numerous non-ecological challenges facing pastoralists in addition to the harsh environment³² among which economic and political marginalization, social stigma, growing barriers to mobility and access to natural resources or rampant insecurity. Also, another problem that should not be underestimated is that the changes faced by pastoralists are growing faster and faster and do not allow them time to elaborate effective adaptation strategies.

2.2- Conflicts arising from the use of natural resources

2.2.1- The competition for access to natural resources as a major conflict factor

Pastoralism-related conflicts are obviously as old as pastoralism itself. As a productive human activity, pastoralism leads different actors to compete for access to natural resources and to control resources on which their livelihoods depend. Such resources are notably pasture lands and water as well. The seasonal variability of pastures and water resources as well as their distribution in space make the mobility of livestock during the year essential. Stock farmers need to move around so as to ensure the optimal use of the limited natural resources in arid and semi-arid zones. However, this indispensable mobility is not without creating conflicts with crop farmers, often victims of damage caused to crops by animals.

Far from being spontaneous or uncontrolled cattle movements as described in some literature, transhumance is based on the in-depth knowledge of the environment, the location and the state of resources as well as the climate. Also, pastoralists have established from generation to generation a network of alliances with the host communities to facilitate mobility and ensure peaceful access to pastoral resources. Finally, they have a sound knowledge of the farming season period in the various land areas that they usually cross. This complex endogenous knowledge has allowed the pastoralists to effectively and peacefully lead their herds and feed them adequately despite the scarcity of resources.

31 Thomas N., & Nigam S. (2018)

32 Bronkhorst, S., (2012).

In addition to the endogenous technical knowledge required for herds management, pastoralists have special ability in meticulously preparing the seasonal migration of animals. Through formal and informal negotiations, alliances that were established for many generations among communities and families, pastoralists have acquired some expertise in the preparation and implementation of transhumance. A set of alliance mechanisms and networks are in place including «joking relationships», cereals bartering for dairy products or arrangements for farm fertilizing with organic manure. All these practices contribute to creating complementarity-based relationships and a peaceful coexistence atmosphere while mitigating unavoidable tensions among local actors.

It is therefore not surprising to see that African pastoralism has survived the centuries despite hostile policies from the administration and Governments. However, it should be noted that the traditional mechanisms that have so far been conducive to pastoralism are gradually losing their effectiveness. Traditional institutions have gradually lost authority while pastors are becoming further marginalized at the local, national and even regional levels. At the local scale, attacks and evictions of pastoralist camps have become recurrent. At the national level, pastoralists are victims of predatory practices by the local administration on dispute settlement occasions or through many illegal payments imposed upon them. At the regional level, some States, those of coastal countries in particular, do not hesitate to show their hostility towards pastors who cross their borders, even going so far as to prohibit cross-border transhumance or to make it almost impossible.

Though pastoralism-related conflicts most often arise from pastoralist-crop farmer relationships, one should not limit pastoral conflicts to these instances only. Conflict situations also occur among the pastors themselves; specifically, for access to water resources. In some countries, rich and powerful transhumant or nomadic pastoralists owning huge herds impose themselves to small local breeders, take control of water points and make use of the resources. When they come to a breeding area, they just ignore the regulatory power of local traditional chiefs and forcefully occupy the pastoral wells to water their herds. They stay as long as they deem it necessary to feed their animals (thousands of camels in general) and do not hesitate to impose themselves on local communities by displaying their war weapons and sometimes to repress in blood any attempt at resistance. It should be particularly recalled that the root cause of one of the deadliest conflicts experienced by the African continent, that of the Darfur, was a fight to take control of pastoral resources, namely water resources and grazing lands.

Box 9: Conflicts among pastoralist communities: Darfur

The Darfur conflict: access to water and pasture lands as the triggering factor

« This conflict was triggered by clashes over access to water and pasture lands between smaller peasant communities [...] and pastoralist groups [...]. These groups became increasingly numerous, which led to increasing clashes. The confrontations took a turning point in 2003 when powerful Janjaweed leaders asked for support from their Government allies, which took the conflict to another dimension.

The members of the militia, who were believed to get support from the Government, were driving people out of their settlements. Once they leave, the Janjaweed would take control of the water points for their cattle. They had millions of heads and it was not easy to find adequate water supply. For nearly three years now, the Janjaweed - «horsemen» - have had clashes with the local communities, making thousands of people to seek refuge in camps at the border between Sudan and Chad ».

Source : Nzwili F. : *Water conflicts increasing*. *Global Policy Forum*, June 2007 <https://archive.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/198-natural-resources/40382.html>

2.2.2- The growing violence in pastoralism-related conflicts

While conflicts related to pastoralism are very old and have always been perceived to some extent as being normal situations, they are today taking on an alarming twist due to the ever-growing violence expressed. Also, they are increasingly of an inter-community nature which could get them out of control.

The levels of violence in pastoralism-related conflicts worry not only the local populations who are the first victims, but also the leaders for whom they represent dangerous factors of political instability and serious threats to national security. When they break out in the form of mere disputes, such conflicts indeed disrupt the social and economic life, but remain under control and easily manageable. They become a cause of legitimate concern when they take the form of social unrest. The most worrisome conflicts are when violent confrontations happen, whether armed or not.

Disputes

Disputes or clashes are a sign of disagreement between two or more actors putting at stake their respective particular interests that they deem legitimate as far as they are concerned. One may consider a dispute as being the normal expression of social relationships. Thus, competition among several actors for the same natural resources creates somehow normal tensions among the actors involved. Some of them would want to use the resource for their family food needs while other want to cater for their herds.

The issue may be spontaneously resolved when one side of the actors acknowledges their misconduct with regards to consensual local rules governing access to resources. In many countries, negotiating and adopting local agreements on natural resources management has proved to be a best practice for conflict prevention.

Sometimes the intervention of a mediator is required to reconcile the views of both parties and help end the dispute. In certain cases, the dispute would be settled by involving an institution or local authority vested with the legitimate power to resolve disputes and therefore to impose a solution on the parties. The institution or local authority would actually use the local customary standards that are mandatory to all and can neither be negotiated nor questioned.

Finally, disputes are usually characterized by the fact that they remain within acceptable and manageable limits and are handled through internal mechanisms and local institutions set up by the community.

Social unrest

Social unrest represents a higher level of seriousness of a conflict situation. With its collective nature, social unrest generally occurs following persistent tensions arising from an issue that is deemed to be important and yet ignored or poorly addressed. Social unrest relates to a confusing situation; for instance, a mere rumor may lead to serious social unrest.

Socially speaking, social unrest reflects the genuine and long contained exasperation of the communities involved. Social unrest may be triggered and amplified by a rumor, unintentional incident or a more serious event that leads to death. It is very common that following a damage to the fields the breeder and the farmer clash until one of the parties is seriously injured the relatives of the victim generally decide to react, and often in a disproportionate way, dragging with them their community members.

Social unrest occurs and amplifies when social institutions fail to resolve persistent issues and lose control over the actors who ultimately decide to do justice by themselves. In the case of disputes arising from fields damages, it is the repetition of such incidents with no prospect of improvement in the situation that ends up exasperating the entire farmer community.

Social unrest creates legitimate concern for public institutions because it is very difficult to read both in its motivations, its objectives and its operating methods. It can lead to unpredictable consequences, including mistrust of the existing institutions and social chaos. The dangerous nature of social unrest also lies in the fact that actors behind it are more often not identifiable or hidden.

Box 10: The social unrest risks around pastoralism in Nigeria

In their quest for solutions to the pastoralism crisis, the Government of Nigeria has decided to promote the «ranching» system through the RUGA (Rural Grazing Areas) Project. RUGAs are vast pastoral spaces that must be developed to accommodate breeders. In this 1st pilot phase of the Project, the RUGAs will be tested in 12 States. But the Project very quickly became a source of great controversy.

Supporters of RUGAs see this approach as the best way to avoid the increasingly numerous and violent conflicts between farmers and herders. For the opponents of RUGAs, on the other hand, this Project is perceived as a way to facilitate the grabbing of ancestral land heritage of indigenous farmers by « foreigners» namely transhumant pastors. The controversy is poisoned by a political instrumentalization of the debate by certain actors. Thus, very active pressure groups have mobilized and issued an ultimatum to the Government to stop what they consider to be a disguised enterprise of *fulanization* of the country. Prominent Nigerian personalities today sound the alarm, believing that the Nigerian nation is in grave danger.

Source: Interviews during the ECOWAS Peace and Security Department mission

Violent clashes

What could be considered as the ultimate level of conflict situations consists of violent and organized clashes between parties competing for access to natural resources. Violent clashes involve groups organized and prepared for confrontation that they now consider inevitable and that they want to be as deadly as possible. It is the context of organization and preparation that explains the generally high toll on human lives. The means used are intended to ensure self-defense but also cause the maximum of casualties in the opposing camp as reprisals or to convey a strong message, intended to move public opinion and make lasting impression.

While bladed weapons and traditional or hunting rifles were used until recently, each of the camps now possesses warfare weapons due to the common trafficking of light weapons throughout the continent.

The situation can get out of hand quickly when unscrupulous actors undertake to exploit ethnic or community tensions for political or electoral purposes. Violent pastoral related clashes are increasingly taken the form of inter-community conflicts. Pastors are usually associated with a particular ethnic group that is targeted in reprisals. The reality, however, is much more complex, with several different ethnic groups practicing pastoralism. The inter-communal nature of violent clashes linked to pastoralism is particularly dangerous as it endangers the social peace and political stability of nations and the continent at risk in the long term.

2.3- Pastoral spaces as new settlement areas for organized crime and terrorism.

2.3.1- The marginalization of pastoral territories as a conducive pattern for the establishment of terrorist groups

The deterioration of the security context and the growing terrorism are the root of new challenges for African pastoral development. Faced with the multiplication of attacks and the repeated capture of their animals by so-called jihadist groups, the pastors are at the same time summoned to justify that they are not the accomplices of the same «jihadists ». It is essential to analyze the new security context, in all its complexity and to better understanding it, if we want to be able to contribute to identifying promising prospects for secure, peaceful and sustainable pastoral development.

One constant factor about the rapid deterioration of the security situation in the Sahel in particular, is that terrorist attacks occur and intensify in countries marked by a very weak policy, administrative and technical footprint of the State. Most often, the States affected by terrorism have a vast national territory, that is difficult to control by weakly decentralized or deconcentrated administrations and with few resources. In the Sahelian strip for example, almost all the States have a surface area of more than one million Km²³³.

Such territories are difficult to control and monitor. Some parts of the national territories are thus abandoned. Whether intentionally or not, they correspond to traditional pastoral territories. The local communities notably transhumant pastoralists, are left to strive on their own without any assistance or control from the State. Unfortunately, it is criminal gangs that have gradually settled in and taken control of such abandoned spaces: They have found in these areas an unexpected opportunity to move easily across porous borders and freely develop their illicit activities without any hindrance.

Contrary to a widely held idea, terrorism in Africa is not as emergent as a phenomenon. Some of the nebulous terrorist organizations operating across the Sahel today, for example, have their origins in the fight started many years ago by groups who rose up against the Algerian government, using techniques of terror. Somehow successfully driven away by the Algerian troops, these terrorist groups have spread further south, particularly in the desert of Northern Mali. The phenomenon has experienced, it is true, a recent acceleration with the fall of the Libyan regime and the looting of well-stocked arms.

33 Mauritanie: 1,3 km²; Mali: 1,24 km²; Niger: 1,27 km²; Tchad: 1,27 km²; Soudan: 1,88 km²; Ethiopie: 1,1 km²

2.3.2- The connections between organized criminal groups and terrorist groups in pastoral territories

The converging results of several studies show the existence of a close relationship between organized crime and terrorism in Africa³⁴. While conventional wisdom considers that organized crime is basically fueled by the extractive industry, the reality on the ground covers many other dimensions. Organized crime in Africa prospers through a multitude of other types of trafficking activities, including drugs, counterfeit medicines, weapons, cigarettes, cars and other luxury goods.

The global flow of organized criminal activities is certainly international, but the control over these activities is carried out through networks of local actors. This is how international drug cartels, those in Columbia in particular, circulate cocaine from Latin America to Europe, using West African States as transit countries (Guinea Bissau, Senegal, Mali, Burkina Faso...). As part of this, they work to set up local networks of corruption responsible for facilitating the safe transit of goods³⁵. The local West African criminal groups used by the cartels are responsible for facilitating the circulation of illegal products through channels of corruption in the various spheres of the Government (police, customs, politicians, etc...). One may recall the emblematic case of the so-called «Air Cocaine» plane in the Malian desert or the repeated examples of large drug seizures in Guinea Bissau.

Box 11: Connections between international and local traffickers

“The Bissau-Guinean anti-drug unit of the judicial police has made on Monday [2 September, 2019] a record seizure of 1869 kg of cocaine, an operation conducted in two stages in the same city of Canchungo, in the northern part of the country: 264 kg of drug were seized in the afternoon and 1605 kg in the evening. Three Colombian citizens, one Malian and four Bissau-Guineans were arrested during the operation named «NAVARRA ». The drug was hidden in the fake wall of the private residence of a Bissau-Guinean who allegedly escaped the police. However, the judicial police set off on the heels of the trafficker who brought the drug into Guinea-Bissau two weeks ago by sea. Five varieties of drugs were found in the seizure including TOP, LV, OK and TBE. According to the police, each kilogram can cost 17,500 Euros on the market, or more than 11 million XOF ».

Source : APAnews: <http://apanews.net/index.php/news/saisie-record-de-1869-kg-de-cocaine-en-guinee-bissau/>

The criminal activities – terrorism nexus is established based on the recognition by the criminal groups, of the ability of terrorist groups to occupy and control vast territories, mainly in the desert or under-populated forest parts of the countries. It is an alliance of well-understood mutual interests between international criminal networks and terrorist groups who are responsible for establishing «secure» areas in a given territory, where criminal activities can be initiated and continued without hindrance.

34 Alda, E, & Sala, J. L. (2014).

35 See the case « Air Cocaine » in Mali

In return, terrorist groups levy taxes on criminal trafficking activities, specifically drug and arms trafficking, hostage ransom payments, etc. Of course, the situation on the ground is far from being crystal clear and it is not always easy to make a clear distinction between criminal gangs and terrorist groups.

Finally, we will conclude that we should avoid establishing a direct link between pastors and terrorist groups or to assimilate them with each other. As proof of this, the pastoral communities are also among the populations of Internally Displaced Persons who had to flee massively from the threats, abuses and assassinations of which they were victims. Their animals are being slaughtered or rustled during attacks on villages and camps and they have abandoned their rangelands, water points and practically all their livestock, for their own survival. The purpose of terrorist groups is to take control of pastoral territories which are more accessible because they are neglected and less well administrated by the State. These groups also exploit the long-contained frustrations of pastoral communities to more easily recruit young people.

2.3.3- The instrumentalization of farmer-herder inter-community conflicts

The terrorist groups' strategy of territorial expansion has proven to be particularly pernicious in the Sahel region. In Burkina Faso for example, the first attacks in the country targeted foreigners, notably in the capital city. Then they focused in the Northern part of the country, territories of pastoral breeding per excellence.

Then they spread to different parts of the national territory, particularly in the underpopulated forest zones in the East by harassing advanced military posts deployed by the State in an attempt to secure the borders. Their clearly stated goal is to drive the administration out of these territories and take control of them. The latest trends consist of fueling or triggering inter-community conflicts, thus leading to a cycle of massacres followed by reprisals by self-defense groups³⁶. Attacks and retaliations are spreading and contributing to the destabilization of the country and to the weakening social cohesion.

Unexpectedly, the deterioration of the security context and the growing terrorism have become very serious factors in the de-structuring of pastoralism in Africa. In Mali, caught under the pressure of self-defense groups of sedentary crop farmers (wrongly referred to as Dozos by the pastors), the pastoral communities have also created their own self-defense groups (abusively termed as jihadists by the sedentary farmers).

36 The Yirgou Massacre : In January 2019, following a terrorist attack on the village of Yirgou (northern Burkina Faso), the villagers attacked the Fulani communities in retaliation.
Ba-Konaré, D., A., O., (2018)

In a confrontation between «fake Dozos» and «fake jihadists» in central Mali, the «real jihadists» are those who benefit the most from the situation: they take advantage of these tensions to challenge the State in its attempts to manage the crisis. «As such, the jihadists and all other criminals benefit from the chaos, as they can not only assert their presence but also further exploit vulnerable communities by forcing them to pay ransoms and taxes».³⁷

One can expect that the growing insecurity in the pastoral territories will cause an increasing isolation of these areas and contribute to fast-tracking the dismantling of pastoralism as well as to lead to massive migrations of pastoralists still further South, towards more secure zones. Without being alarmist, one must recognize that inter-community clashes and the serious destabilization of certain States are no longer just an assumption but they are a major risk.

Chapter III – For a secure, peaceful and sustainable pastoralism

3.1- Adaptation strategies developed by the pastoralists

Pastoralists are finding it increasingly difficult to overcome the challenges facing their work. The rapid changes affecting the African continent multiply and aggravate those constraints and complicate pastoral practice due to emerging issues for which the pastoralists are ill-prepared: rapid population growth and increased pressure on land resources; new security challenges and takeover of pastoral territories by organized criminal groups; stigmatization of pastoral communities and rampant inter-community conflicts.

The pastoralists themselves are expressing growing aspirations to improved living conditions in a context whereby the youth are more and more educated, the transmission of endogenous pastoral knowledge is being weakened and whereby the youth are attracted by new opportunities offered by the urban life (well-paid jobs, entertainment, health infrastructure, possibilities of emigration ...)

Without waiting for the States or development projects, the pastoralists have developed themselves adaptation and survival strategies aimed at overcoming the new challenges and forms of insecurity.

3.1.1 – Adaptations of pastoralism to human insecurities

Within the framework of this development process, the insecurity concept is understood in its general sense as being the absence or deficit of human security. One can indeed make a distinction between human security and national security. National security deals with threats related to tensions between States, while human security takes into consideration the various security needs felt by individuals and social groups. Thus, the absence of human security can be defined as a « set of political, economic, social, environmental and cultural threats that confront individuals in their daily lives and affect the satisfaction of their basic needs and their development. »³⁸ We deliberately choose to address issues of physical and land tenure insecurity of pastoralists here, while also paying special attention to their political and legal insecurity.

Physical insecurities

A deep-rooted prejudice tends to make people believe that banditry is mainly the work of young people from pastoralists communities. Yet, from the many elements that can be drawn from the reports of the security services on the ground it appears that the captured bandits come from all the local communities without any particular representation of pastoral communities. Above all, many facts actually reveal that pastoral communities are also targeted by bandits.

History refers to the ancient phenomenon of raids that spared no community including pastoralists. Gangs grabbed not only properties (cattle, crops etc.) but also captured people that they sell as slaves ³⁹.

The perpetrators of modern-day raids are today highway robbers, cattle rustlers and hostage-takers who terrorize and bring mourning to the local populations without distinction. Highway robbers target mainly livestock breeders and traders because they are thought to carry large sums, notably on livestock market days. Cattle rustlers regularly attack transhumant herds or animals being transported to cattle markets. As for hostage takers, they target, more particularly in Nigeria for example, the children of the rich breeders whom they kidnap and ask for ransoms.

Box 12: Insecurity risks related to kidnappings in pastoral communities

« Very well-organized groups of 20 to 30 armed men burst into villages and kidnap young Mbororo children. Such kidnappings may be operated when the children are grazing their animals. The bandits would demand substantial amounts of money to release the children. »

Source : N., Koussoumna Liba'a, P., Dugue, E., Torquebiau. *L'élevage sédentarisé Mbororo au Nord Cameroun : entre adaptation et impuissance face aux insécurités. Garoua, CIRAD, 2010*

Land tenure insecurities

Special attention should be paid to a certain type of pastoral insecurity which is not adequately considered in public policies i.e. land tenure insecurity of pastoralists. Very few land tenure policies and reform processes take account of the specific needs of pastoral communities to access land and pastoral resources.

Regarding national land tenure policy dialogue processes, few people would make sure to involve representatives of pastoral communities as legitimate land resources users. It is generally considered that because of the mobility that characterizes their production mode, pastoralists have no stable right over the land. In the same vein, because of the community use of pasture lands and other pastoral resources, some people have prejudice saying that pastoralists are «landless» communities and therefore have no right over the land.

With such erroneous perceptions, it is common to see that year after year, grazing lands peacefully exploited for decades by the pastoralists are brutally recovered and cleared by the indigenous host communities for crop farming (expansion of their farms, settling young persons); sometimes these grazing areas are perceived as being empty, undeveloped land and given away by the States to foreign or local investors seeking for land. Stock farmers' camps are particularly yearned for by the indigenous populations because they have been fertilized with organic manure for many years and are visibly more productive. Obviously, in the absence of land tenure security and a guarantee of pastoralists' access to pastoral resources, pastoralism is doomed to undergo profound destabilization or even disappearance in the longer run.

Political and legal insecurities

Increasingly, pastoralists expect their children to escape the harsh and uncertain conditions of pastoral life, and enjoy the benefits of local and national development too just like the other communities. Any breeder dreams today of seeing his child become a veterinarian, doctor, prefect or parliamentarian. Pastoralists who have long remained in the margins of the building processes of the nation so dreamed of by the elites of the post-independence period, and accused of being «without a fixed nationality.» are increasingly expressing their attachment to their respective national communities.

Today, they ensure that their children are registered with the civil registry where possible and enroll them in public schools; more and more, they have national ID cards and travel documents to secure their travels. Also, many pastoralists' children hold senior positions in both public and private sectors. One may think that such developments augur better conditions for advocacy for pastoralism despite the current difficult conditions.

Access to civil registration is a particularly significant issue as it is the only way to prevent statelessness⁴⁰ and enable access to a nationality. Pastoral communities are people at high risk of statelessness because of their mobility-based lifestyle and their settling habit in poorly administered zones. Many pastoralists are not recognized by any State as being part of their nationals. Without nationality, that is without any official link with a State, the person does not benefit from the protection of a given State and cannot enjoy the privileges granted to the nationals of the country (right to vote, right to be elected, right to access government jobs...)⁴¹

3.1.2- Adaptations of pastoralists in the face of threats of pastoralism breakdown

Pastoralists are the most aware of the multifaceted threats and insecurities that jeopardize their activity. However, educated by the millennial wisdom of practicing pastoralism they have never shown any desire to give up pastoralism. On the contrary, they have resolutely sought often narrow paths of adaptation, often with few options offered to them. Today they must «adapt or perish»⁴². More positively, one could say that pastoralists are aware that the changes that are rapidly taking place before their eyes are here to stay. They are striving to adapt while seeking to make the most of it. The adaptation strategies invented by the pastoralists themselves takes diverse forms.

40 1954 Convention relating to the status of stateless persons.

41 Cf., Abidjan Declaration (2015) on the eradication of statelessness in ECOWAS member countries

42 Formula quoted from Joseph Ki-Zerbo in his book on education: Joseph Ki-Zerbo, *Eduquer ou périr*. UNESCO- UNICEF, 1990

Permanent settlement in new territories further South and progress of agro-pastoralism

To improve their physical security conditions, pastoralists have opted, since the severe droughts of the 70s and 80s, to sustainably settle, even permanently settle in new territories further south where natural resources are abundant and breeding conditions less erratic. Herds from Mali and Burkina have migrated since the severe droughts of the 1970s and have since settled in Northern Cote d'Ivoire. A similar process has been observed in Benin where pastoralists from Niger and Nigeria have settled permanently, even creating new villages⁴³.

In these new rural areas, pastoralists still practice transhumance but a transhumance of lower amplitude. At the same time, they have undertaken to diversify their productive activities by growing food grains. Thanks to better access to land and use of organic manure, they produce enough food crops and are self-sufficient in cereals. They thus tend to become agro-pastoralists.

Stabilization of the family housing and part of the herd

Everywhere, as is the case in Northern Cameroon, nomadic or transhumant pastoralists have chosen to settle and build sedentary family houses and stabilize part of their livestock. In pastoralist communities in general, the elderly, women and young children reside permanently in the camps while the young people are traditionally responsible for the care of the animals and their management within the framework of the periodic transhumance. However, with the deteriorating security situations (risk of attack and kidnappings), even young pastoralists now tend to stay in family camps for their safety.

Preference is then increasingly given to the recruitment of salary-earning shepherds. The aim of partial stabilization of the herds is mostly to ensure milk production. As a matter of fact, it is in such camps that milk is mostly produced, processed and sold and this activity is controlled by women. These activities are becoming more and more extensive and are sources of significant income for women, who take advantage of the new urban markets.

The gradual stabilization of pastoral family settlements is a strategy that has enabled pastoralist communities to benefit from enhanced land tenure security. Countries like Niger have conceptualized and mainstreamed in their national legislation the principle of pastoral «home territories» within which the pastoralists' land tenure rights (qualified as priority use rights) are recognized and guaranteed.

Box 13: Pastoral priority use rights

« Article 28. – Pastoralists can be granted the right to use in priority the natural resources existing on their home territory. The priority use right does not exclude compliance with the common habits and customs of pastoralists in terms of grazing land management and use, notably access to water points for third parties, the right of grazing and of pasture. In case their activities require a fixed and permanent location on a delineating area, land ownership may be recognized for them under the conditions and within the limits provided for by the present law».

Source : *Ordonnance N° 93-015 du 2 Mars 1993 fixant les Principes d'Orientation du Code rural*

In the same vein, progress in deconcentrating and decentralization processes has contributed to the creation of self-administered municipalities in some pastoral territories. As part of the deconcentration of the administration, the Government has granted many pastoral camps the status of administrative villages. The progress accomplished in the decentralization process has also given local communities, including pastoralists, the right to self-administer and manage the resources on which they depend and through their elected representatives.

Finally, the family housing stabilization strategy has enabled pastoralist communities to acquire more stable land tenure rights and better participate in local and national decision-making processes. Pastoralists are gradually becoming aware that they are full-fledged citizens and therefore key actors and partners in the management of the natural resources on which they depend.

Splitting the herd into smaller units

To cope with the growing insecurity for herds during transhumance on the one hand, and with the fragmentation of pasture lands as well as the multiplication of barriers to mobility on the other hand, pastoralists have developed strategies for splitting herds into smaller units that are easier to manage.

This practice makes it possible to minimize the risks of animals' loss during attacks and to continue feeding the animals in a more consistent and optimal way, knowing the harsh conditions. However, splitting the herds has an impact in terms of management costs of the herd. In many cases, because of the non-availability of young men in the family, salaried herdsmen are increasingly being recruited by the pastoralists.

3.2- Best practices for improved pastoralism

3.2.1 – Improvement of the livelihoods of pastoral communities

Aware of the substantial profits that pastoralism brings to the national economy, African States are also far from having renounced pastoralism and transhumance. They are rather looking for ways and means to ensure the sustainability of this practice on which millions of people depend, while trying to reduce the inherent risks.

In the current context of mobilization on all fronts against terrorism, they have become aware of the dangers of marginalizing pastoral territories and are therefore paying

more attention to improving the livelihoods of pastoralists through capital investment in territories that been marginalized a long time.

Box 14: The Emergency Programme for the Sahel (Burkina)

«Since 04 April, 2015, Burkina Faso has been living threats of terrorist groups and this situation is of great concern to the Government, especially since this new phenomenon is undermining peace, security and stability and hence the development of the country. The Government has therefore made the decision to implement a programme entitled «**Emergency Programme for the Sahel**» for the **period 2017-2020**.

The Sahel Emergency Programme is intended to address the concerns raised by the local populations during the ministerial tours in the Sahel Region. The Programme is based on the National Economic and Social Development Plan (PNDES), the law on internal security and its National Internal Security Strategy (SNSI) as well as the sectoral policies of basic social sectors».

Source: SIG, <http://www.sig.bf/2017/08/programme-durgence-pour-le-sahel-la-reponse-du-gouvernement-face-aux-menaces-terroristes/>

3.2.2 – Experiences in drafting national pastoral legislations

The good practices developed by the States are observable in the legal and institutional domains, with notably the national pastoral legislations drafting experiences. Since the mid-1990s, research on pastoralism has contributed to the emergence of national policies and legislations favorable to pastoral development and the creation of specific ministries in-charge of livestock. West Africa in particular is credited with the most noticeable efforts.

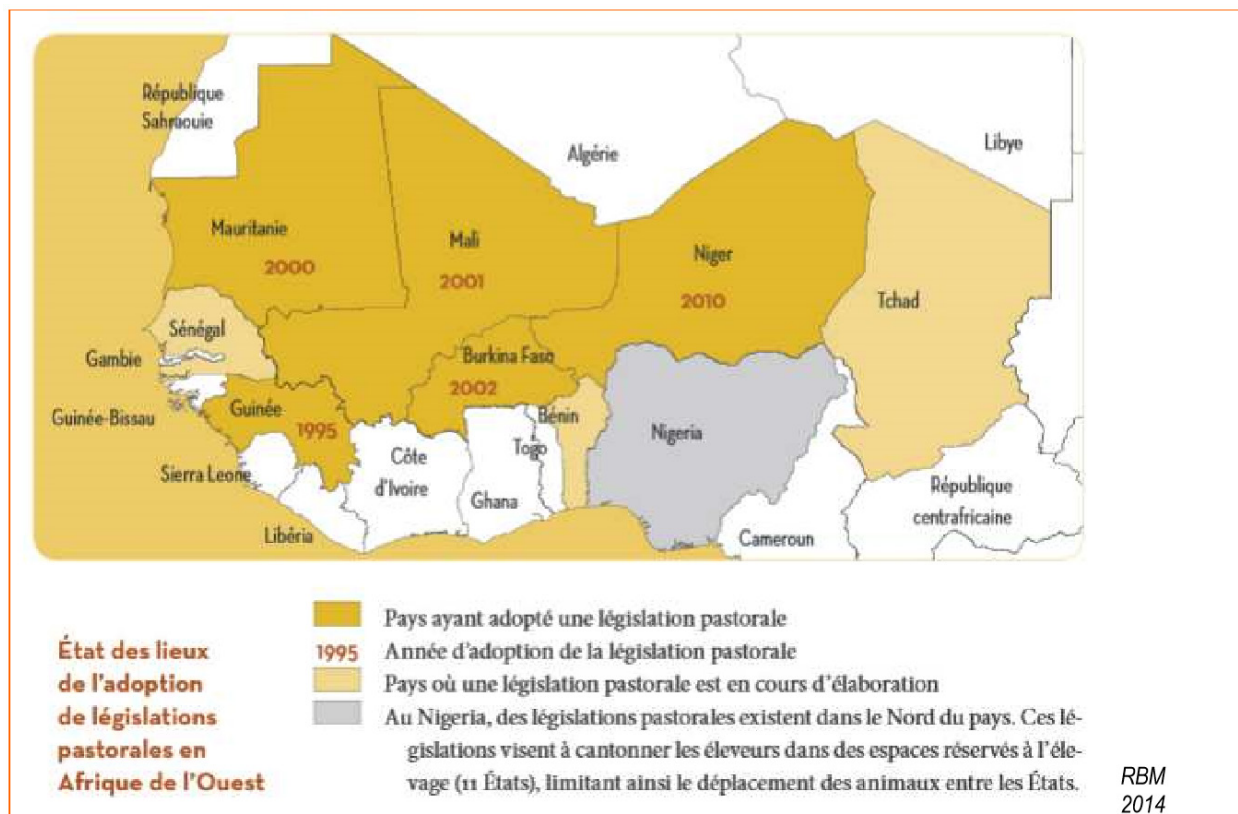
North African countries have also drafted national legislations on pastoralism, like Morocco⁴⁴ and Tunisia⁴⁵. The development processes of pastoral codes in some countries such as Chad or Djibouti were never completed due to their rejection by the opposition political parties⁴⁶.

44 Loi 113-13 de 2015 sur la transhumance pastorale et l'aménagement et la gestion des espaces pastoraux et sylvopastoraux.

45 Projet de Code pastoral, Tunisie (2018).

46 In Chad, it is the Constitutional Council that cancelled the bill on pastoralism following the appeal by the opposition even though the National Assembly had already passed the law. The decision of the Constitutional Council was notably based on the motive that equality among citizens was no longer guaranteed as the Code was favorable to only part of the rural producers, namely the pastoralists.

Box 15: Current status of pastoral legislations in West Africa



Source : http://www.inter-reseaux.org/IMG/pdf/RBM_Code_pastoral_Niger.pdf :

The major innovation of most pastoral legislations is certainly the paradigm shift consisting in considering pastoralism as a legitimate and legal economic activity of pastoral communities. In this perspective, cattle movement is seen as a right (that of moving across the national territory), and not as a merely tolerated activity. For the Mauritanian lawmaker, only the security requirement may constitute a valid reason to restrict cattle mobility⁴⁷.

Pastoralists now have the right to access natural resources for their livelihoods: this notably includes the right to access various grazing lands and also water resources without which the right to pasture lands cannot be fulfilled. Some national texts recommend the temporary protection of portions of rangelands with the aim of promoting the rapid regeneration of pasture lands⁴⁸.

47 Loi 2000- 044 du 26 juillet 2000 portant code pastoral, Mauritanie.

48 Loi marocaine sur la transhumance pastorale, la gestion et l'aménagement des espaces pastoraux.

Box 16: Protection of portions of pastoral land (Morocco)

« In respect of the rights of land owners, rights holders and users, restricted areas can be established and demarcated by the relevant administration for a limited duration inside pastoral and sylvo-pastoral areas so as to allow the regeneration and replenishment of pastoral and fodder resources of these lands ... »

Source : Art. 7, loi 113.13 (Maroc) sur la transhumance pastorale, la gestion et l'aménagement des espaces pastoraux.

In terms of land tenure, some national laws have been clear about the status of pastoral resources as being Nation-owned property.

Box 17: Mauritania: the federal land nature of pastoral resources

« Pastoral resources in water, grass lands and aerial pastures, amersal quarries or plots for licking, belong to the Nation, with the exception of the resources located in collective or individual private estates. »

Source : Art. 9, Loi 2000- 044 du 26 juillet 2000 portant code pastoral (Mauritanie)

Some other texts prefer the recognition and guaranty of pastoral usage rights instead of property rights that appear to be less suitable to the context and needs for pastoralism. A recognition and guarantee of pastoral collective use rights on cattle routes is a major breakthrough in the sense that it gives way to compensation in case of expropriation for reasons of public interest by the Central or local governments.

The Mauritanian legislator has banned any ownership of pastoral lands for private purposes. In view of organizing the security of community pastoral resources as a whole, the Niger legislation provides for the inventory of all such resources and their registration in the rural file. This inventory and registration exercise constitute an act of classification of the pastoral resources concerned into the State public domain⁴⁹.

As in any legal approach, the recognition of the pastoralists' rights comes with obligations imposed on them. Thus, the right to move involves the obligation to respect the property of others, notably by complying with the general obligation to monitor and controlling one's animals⁵⁰. Transhumance movements should follow routes allocated to that effect (transhumance pathways, cattle routes or passage corridors).

In case of international transhumance, special attention should be paid to compliance with health standards (holding of an international transhumance certificate). Similarly, access to grazing lands requires, for instance, the respect for classified forest areas, wildlife reserves and other spaces with restricted access. Some national legislations treat pastoral ecosystems as areas of special interest and imposes the carrying out of environmental impact studies when projects may threaten the environment and living conditions of pastoral communities⁵¹.

49 Art. 10, Ordonnance 2010-029 du 20 mai 2010 relative au pastoralisme (Niger).

50 Ordonnance 2010-29 (Niger).

51 Loi 01-04 du 27 février 2001, portant charte pastorale du Mali.

Pastoral legislations organize conflict resolution mechanisms, notably conflicts related to crop damages. Preference is always given to alternative mechanisms, through dispute resolution commissions. In case the parties fail to come to an agreement, they can always resort to the conventional jurisdictions.

The very recent Benin legislation⁵² expresses the specific position of coastal countries with regard to transhumance. As host countries for transhumance movements from Sahelian countries, these countries assert the recognition of the contribution of pastoralism to development while showing firmness in relation to the recurrent crises caused by such displacements. Thus, the Benin pastoral legislation acknowledges and guarantees the transhumance practice. Recalling the regional scope of transhumance, it urges the State to work towards the establishment of regional platforms for cooperation, monitoring and advocacy on transhumance.

While recognizing their rights, the Benin legislator clearly lays down the obligations that weigh on the actors of transhumance. Pastoralists are held responsible for any damage caused by their animals. At the same time, pastoralists will not be held accountable when crop farmers do not comply with the provisions relating to pastoral land areas. Moreover, clear sanctions are foreseen in case of violation of the provisions of the pastoral law. The security concern is clearly stated in the Benin pastoral legislation. Hence the carrying of arms by transhumant pastoralists is prohibited when crossing the country's borders.

Interesting provisions in the law relate to the institutional development of pastoralism. Thus, provision is made for the full participation of breeders' organizations in the bodies responsible for the management of pastoral resources. A national transhumance management agency has been created as well as a support fund for pastoralism.

However, it is mainly through tax provisions that the Beninese legislator has expressed his reservations about pastoralism. Diverse national taxes have been instituted including animal entry taxes. An entry deposit per animal head (refundable) is also required. Adding to these national taxes, are local taxes payable by transhumant pastoralists (grazing tax and local development tax).

Despite the criticisms to which they are often subject, national pastoral legislations constitute headway, however modest, in favor of the pastoral world. Instead of rejecting them because of their defaults, we should rather work towards their constant adaptation and improvement using the "learning by doing" approach on the ground. Unfortunately, such texts remain unapplied on the ground. Only a strong political will on the part of States can reverse the trend and promote the effective implementation of pastoral legislations.

3.2.3- Experiences in delimitating and securing pastoral spaces

Almost everywhere across the continent, the relentless shrinking of cattle routes represents the most serious threat to the sustainability of the pastoral system. Pastoral spaces are gradually disappearing because they are considered by a certain opinion and as well as by a certain literature as being undeveloped or under-exploited areas.

To preserve sufficient grazing areas and reduce conflict, some States like Senegal and Burkina Faso have long opted for the creation of so-called pastoral zones, vast expanses of land exclusively reserved for pastoral activities. As far back as in 1968, Senegal had created the Dolly Ranch (in the far south of the Linguère department) which recently inspired the setting up of the highly controversial « RUGAs » (Rural Grazing Areas) in Nigeria. Today, Burkina, which has acquired sound experience in this area, has 26 developed pastoral zones out of a potential of 187 suitable pastoral zones⁵³.

The creation of pastoral zones or pastoral plots is most often initiated by the State. According to many land tenure legislations, the State is the owner of all rural lands and the prime manager of such surface areas. Therefore, the State is the main institution capable of identifying and allocating vast surface areas that are exclusively dedicated to pastoral activities. However, nothing in principle prevents other public or private institutions to take the initiative of establishing pastoral zones, provided that they have access to land tenure and have powers to control this land. The same applies to the communes because they have a communal land domain as a result of decentralization. Similarly, pastoralist organizations could, in consultation with the local traditional authorities and municipal or regional authorities, work to create secure and develop community pastoral zones. This last option could prove to be the most sustainable, because with the involvement of traditional authorities and the empowerment of local actors, the conflict risk is mitigated and the local communities are more likely to adhere to the process.

The establishment of a pastoral zone raises the unavoidable issue of its security against invasion risks posed by other types of activities and actors notably. In the absence of security, even the State could be tempted or put under pressure to allocate all or part of the pastoral zone to actors with projects that are rightly or wrongly deemed to be more profitable (notably projects brought by foreign investors in the agribusiness sector or projects developed by the elites from the indigenous communities, who wish to access land and invest in agriculture). The pastoral zones delineated by the Government generally have a legal status of a public domain. Through such a status, pastoral zones benefit in theory from a relatively strong legal protection. Legally, public domain lands are indeed inalienable (i.e. that they cannot be transferred in full ownership to private applicants), imprescriptible (i.e. they cannot be acquired through the effect of long-term detention or occupation) and unseizable (they cannot, in the context of legal proceedings, be subject to forced execution under private law).

53 Interview du Ministre burkinabé chargé de l'élevage. <http://news.aouaga.com/h/101271.html>

To benefit from, even more effective protection, the pastoral zone is generally subject to delimitation and demarcation. Delimitation helps to legally identify the zone through for instance, its geographical location and determination of its precise place. Generally speaking, the delimitation is governed by a decree issued by the relevant administrative authority (the Ministry in charge of Livestock in general). Land demarcation helps to materialize the physical pastoral space, notably by placing fixed and visible markers (most often made of concrete beacons that can be seen by the generally illiterate riparian communities and any other persons). Demarcation has deterrent effects against attempts to invade pastoral zones.

Box 18: The procedure for establishing a pastoral zone (Burkina Faso)

Description of the process towards implementing a pastoral zone or grazing area	
Designation	Pastoral zone
Negotiation/identification	Participatory diagnosis, study of the living environment, documentation, mapping, wide awareness raising, consultations among local users.
Delimitation	Delimitation of the area by the users (opinion leaders, customary authorities, technical services, administration and security), marking with paint, boundary marking with GPS coordinates, summary mapping and restitution.
Supporting documents	Minutes (Report) of discussions signed by stakeholders; Management mode.
Partners	Population, leaders, customary leaders, administration, technical services, project and program, NGOs.
Official recognition	Application for recognition; Minutes (Report) of discussions; Mapping
Management	Specifications

Source : Bonnes pratiques agrosylvopastorales d'amélioration durable de la fertilité des sols au Burkina. CILSS/ UE, 2012

To be fully useful to pastoralists, the pastoral zone should be developed and made operational. Pastoral land development schemes consist of building infrastructures (pastoral boreholes, immunization lots ...), and organizing the spatial occupation of the zone: allocation of individual land plots for residential camps, crop farming for self-consumption and fodder crop production; community grazing areas...). Land development schemes may also include special operations to fight against bush fires (creation of firebreaks), soil protection or pasture land improvement (promotion of fodder crop production by pastoralists).

Demarcated and developed pastoral zones in traditional northern pastoral territories and administered by the local customary authorities were more successful in Burkina Faso. Conversely, those developed further South in the Sudanese zones occupied by traditional sedentary crop farmers have experienced many challenges. The example of the Sidéradougou pastoral zone (51,000 ha) in Western Burkina is emblematic of the serious constraints to keeping this type of land areas for pastoralists⁵⁴. The initial generous idea of securing this area for the benefit of pastoralists and thus reducing the recurring conflicts between crop farmers and stock farmers has ultimately failed:

- The indigenous populations whose traditional lands were reclaimed by the Government for the establishment of the pastoral zone remained frustrated, because of the prohibition of any cropping activity inside the zone, whereas the need for farmlands was quite pressing. They consider that the developments of the pastoral zone benefit only the generally “foreign” pastoralists, while the natives are very poor. As a result, the frustration among indigenous communities is easily instrumentalized by different local and external actors.
- Though they expressed satisfaction for having been granted an exclusive surface area, the pastoralists would not agree to be « locked up » all the year round within the limits of the pastoral zone. They express the need to continue to have access to complementary pasture lands outside the demarcated pastoral zone (notably post-harvest pastures or specific fodder varieties indispensable for keeping the cattle in good health ...). The need for maintaining social ties with other pastoralist communities or with allied indigenous crop farming families should not be overlooked⁵⁵.
- Finally, when the Burkinabe refugees fled the civil war in Côte d’Ivoire in the 2000s, they were « generously » welcomed and established in the pastoral zone by the indigenous communities. Under the unquestionable argument of solidarity towards their brothers in distress, the indigenous communities had actually undertaken an unprecedented operation to reconquer their ancestral lands, encouraged in this by an emerging informal rural land market.

The State helplessly witnessed the establishment of large cotton fields, cashew nut orchards and even informal mining activities in what was no longer a pastoral zone as such. In all cases, the pastoralists themselves were not in favor of the eviction of the crop farmers who had settled in the zone because they feared a further deterioration of the situation and exacerbation of the already serious tensions.

54 Greenough, K., (2017)

55 Some breeders in the zone have even declared that they were compelled to take part of their livestock to Côte d’Ivoire because in spite of the availability of water, they were short of grazing lands inside the zone at certain periods in the year.

Pastoral areas have not been a success. The only merit that can be attributed to them, however, is that they have been laboratories for testing new approaches to securing pastoral zones. The main lesson that could be learned from these experiences is that the option of separate development between crop farming and livestock breeding is the very opposite of the pastoralism concept.

With pastoral zones, people have conceptualized a logic of separation whereby one activity could be carried out without disturbing the other, forgetting to envision how one production system could work with the other. « At the end of the day, it is regrettable to note that the ultimate goal in creating the pastoral zone was not to achieve the combined development of livestock breeding and crop farming»⁵⁶.

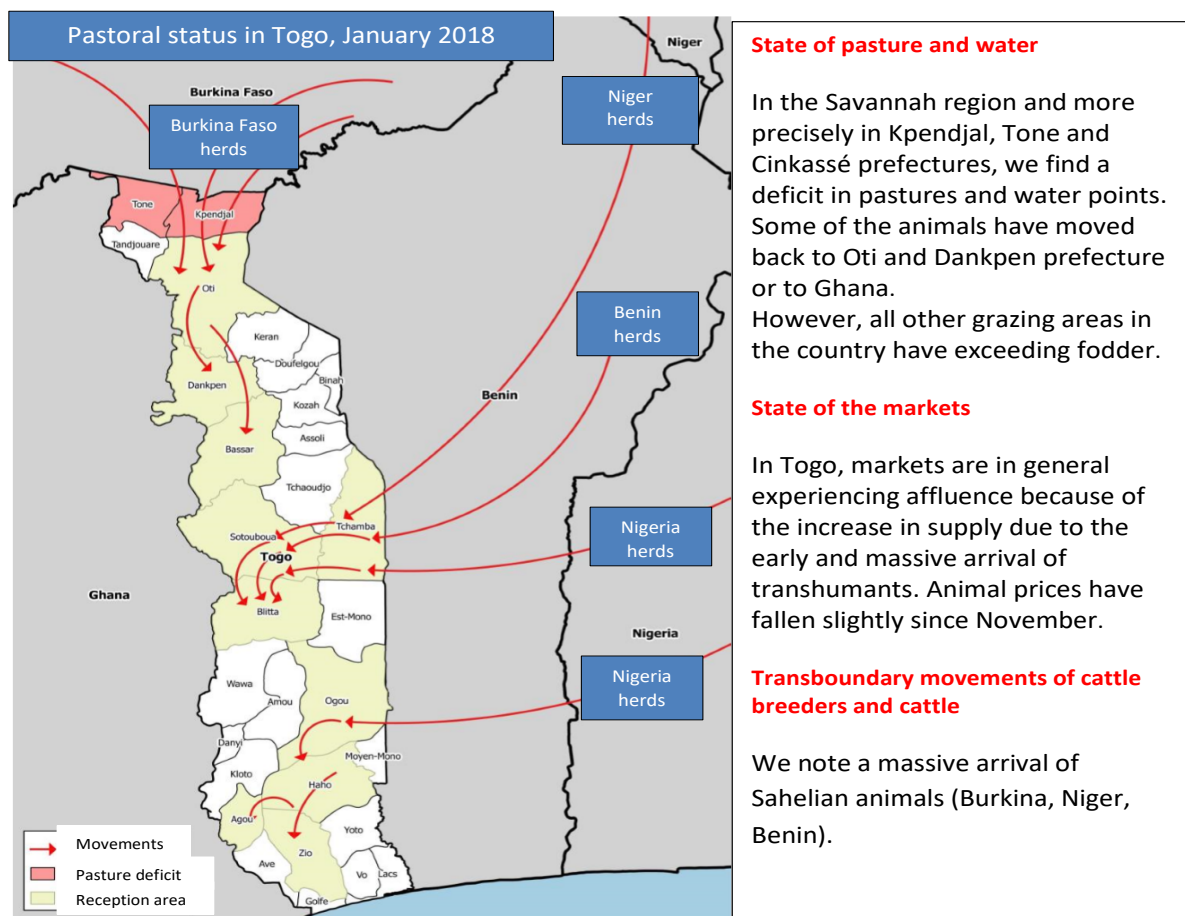
3.2.4- Innovative information mechanisms on pastoralism

Pastoralism is highly dependent on highly volatile natural resources as well as unpredictable weather. Access to up-to-date information on many aspects relating to pastoral practice is therefore a strategic assistance to pastoralists and contributes to reducing the many risks they are exposed during their activities, including the risk of conflict. Many initiatives today rely on advances in information technology to provide reliable and timely information to pastoralists, so as to assist them in efficiently preparing and executing their seasonal migrations.

Since 2013, the Billital Maarobé Network (RBM) has thus established an «informative monitoring» system on pastoralism. The purpose of this informative watch is to ensure periodic (monthly) monitoring of the pastoral situation in the members countries of the Network and anticipate potential threats to pastoralism and pastoral communities. This monitoring thus allows the timely implementation of alert mechanisms for the attention of pastoralist organizations but also for public authorities, States and local communities. Through these alerts, it becomes possible to quickly trigger well-targeted prevention or risk management actions. Early warning also helps to take effect mitigation measures in case a crisis occurs despite all efforts made to avoid it.

The informative monitoring methodology consists of deploying information collectors on the ground. These workers, who come from the pastoral communities, collect information from the population on areas such as the state of pasture lands, water points, and cattle markets, specific political and social events (conflicts). The information is forwarded to a «country focal point» that is responsible for checking and possibly complementing it (by collecting testimonies for instance) and analyzing it. This analytical work enables the country focal point to draft a country bulletin which is widely disseminated at the national level. The national bulletin is communicated to the « Network centralizer» who is responsible for drafting a regional bulletin for the pastoralists to know what is happening in other countries.

Box 19: Informative Monitoring Newsletter on pastoralism (Togo)



Source : RBM, Situation pastorale Togo, Janvier 2018. https://sigsahel.info/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/RBM_Veille_Togo.pdf

In addition to providing information on the pastoral situation, the mechanism makes recommendations for action for the attention of public authorities and pastoral organizations. The informative watch is a simple and useful tool for pastoralists. It is even more relevant in the current context of the worsening security crisis in the Sahel trip.

3.3 – Regional transhumance regulation Initiatives

Transhumance is in essence a regional phenomenon which for a long time has ignored the borders between States. Pastoral resources used are found on both sides of the borders; Similarly, the members of pastoral communities are settled on both sides of the same borders. It is therefore quite natural for the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) to very early take an express keen interest in the issue of cross-border transhumance management. The most prominent initiatives have been developed by ECOWAS for West Africa, IGAD for East Africa and the Horn of Africa and ECCAS for Central Africa.

3.3.1 – ECOWAS Decision on transhumance regulation

In terms of cross-border transhumance regulation, ECOWAS has been a pioneer by adopting as early as in 1998, a « Decision on transhumance ».

The ECOWAS Decision on transhumance is a relatively short text (about twenty articles) that lays down the basic principles of sound transhumance management. The text specifically covers the crossing of borders for transhumance purposes, by taking care to explicitly exclude livestock trade-related activities.

In a very logical approach, the text successively unfolds the key principles relating to: the displacement of animals; their keeping and; reception of transhumant animals in host countries. It should be emphasized that the 1998 ECOWAS Decision clearly states the right for pastoralists to go on transhumance, including crossing borders within the entire ECOWAS zone. However, pastoralists on international transhumance are compelled to hold an International Transhumance Certificate. Failure to hold the International Transhumance Certificate exposes the pastoralist in international transhumance to the quarantine of his livestock without prejudice to the penal sanctions incurred in compliance with the legislation of the host country. Furthermore, transhumant pastoralists are bound to follow the transhumance roads demarcated for this purpose.

As we know, most conflicts between transhumant breeders and indigenous crop farmer communities originate from damages caused to crops by animals that were inadequately looked after or monitored during their displacement. Fairly stringent measures were thus provided for in the Decision with respect to watching over livestock, including the obligation to have transhumant herds led by caretakers (shepherds) in adequate numbers depending on the size of the herd. For minimum control purposes of persons' displacements, these caretakers should also be identifiable with mandatory national identity documents.

As for the reception of transhumant herds, the Decision makes it mandatory for host States to set arrival and departure periods and earmark host zones for transhumant animals. The States also have the obligation to guarantee the security of transhumant pastoralists, and the latter have the obligation to abide by the legislation and regulations of the host countries, specifically with regards to classified forests.

3.3.2 – IGAD Protocol on transhumance

IGAD is currently in the process of finalizing a draft protocol on transhumance. The goal of the draft protocol is to fully tap on the potential of pastoralism at the economic and social levels. The Protocol further aims at effectively responding to the challenges of animal mobility in the region, while organizing their orderly displacement.

Just like in the ECOWAS Decision from which it partially draws, the Protocol reasserts the right for pastoralists to move across borders with their animals for transhumance purposes. The Protocol requires the pastoralists during their displacement, to move along the transhumance tracks provided for this purpose. To this end, IGAD is committed to assist the States in identifying and mapping out existing transhumance routes or creating new ones. For security reasons obviously, the Protocol imposes the crossing of borders in daytime only.

It should however be noted that bilateral agreements are provided for in order to ensure the effective implementation of the right to go on transhumance. Similarly, State parties reserve the right to refuse entry in their territory of certain or all transhumant pastoralists.

A major point in the IGAD Protocol on transhumance is the obligation to hold a transhumance certificate. This document particularly serves for informing host countries about the number of animals entering their territory and about the owners of such livestock. Any animal that was not declared in the transhumance certificate may be quarantined.

3.3.3 - Community agreement on pastoralism and cross-border transhumance in the ECCAS region

The ECCAS community agreement on pastoralism and cross-border transhumance was developed just in May 2019. The document strongly highlights security concerns in the Central Africa region. The goal of this ECCAS community mechanism is to regulate pastoralism and cross-border transhumance, prevent conflicts and fight against cross-border crime, while ensuring respect and promotion of the free movement of persons and goods.

To this effect, a set of commitments are made by the States at different levels, notably: political, legal and institutional; economic and social; security; environmental; as well as in terms respect for human rights.

The community agreement outlines the principle of engagement of the Member States to promote pastoralism both as a productive economic activity and in its socio-cultural dimension. The States shall also ensure the harmonization of legal and institutional frameworks for livestock farming while ECCAS shall engage to cooperate with the other Regional Economic Communities in the area of transhumance.

We will focus mainly on the commitments of the States in terms of security to underline the will of ECCAS to take measures that are likely to facilitate peaceful coexistence among the different communities. Similarly, the States are committed to further strengthen cooperation within the framework of transhumance, including cooperation in terms of intelligence. Measures have also been planned to facilitate information sharing among the States and ensure the traceability of transhumant animals. Finally, conflict prevention and management mechanisms have been included to complement the security arrangement.

Chapter IV – Guidelines to secure pastoralism and prevent conflicts in Africa,

4.1 - Preamble

Africa is today engaged in a set of dynamics of profound and rapid changes which, while offering opportunities for development, jeopardize the practice of pastoralism. The continued increase in population across the continent is increasing pressure on land and leading to an increasingly noticeable phenomenon of land scarcity.

The scarcity of land is accompanied by an exacerbation of competition between actors for access to land with a view to carrying out various development activities, including agro-industrial investments, urban development, mining etc. Among the first victims of the changes taking place on the continent are the pastoral communities. Considered in public policies as insufficiently profitable and characterized by a community, indirect and unsustainable hold on the land, pastoralism is not perceived as being part of the legitimate and priority land uses. However, well secured and effectively supported by adequate public policies, pastoralism is able to make, alongside agriculture, a decisive contribution to national economic growth and food security.

On the other hand, marginalized, neglected and abandoned to the uncertainties of the many hazards that undermine its existence, pastoralism will be permanently destabilized: the risk is then great for the young people of pastoral communities reduced to unemployment, to be tempted by the adventure of clandestine migrations, or to be seduced by recruitment attempts by terrorist groups. For the continent, the risk is just as great of becoming, in the medium term, dependent on the importation of products of animal origin, in particular meat.

Aware of the crucial place of livestock breeding the African development, the African Union has since 2011, adopted a Strategic Policy Framework on Pastoralism. The objective of this Framework is to protect the lives, livelihoods and rights of pastoralists and to foster continental mobilization for the development of pastoral communities.

The Policy Framework sets out eight fundamental principles to guide secure, sustainable and peaceful pastoral development in Africa: 1) the recognition of the rights of pastoralists; 2) the participation of pastoralists in the processes of developing public policies that affect them; 3) the recognition of pastoralism not only as an environment friendly production system but also as a way of life; 4) the recognition of the strategic importance of mobility as a key component of the pastoral production system; 5) the promotion of regional cooperation as an appropriate response to the current challenges facing pastoralism; 6) the need for managing the risk inherent to pastoralism, including cyclical droughts ; 7) the identification and consideration of existing pastoral policies; 8) the periodic review and updating of the pastoral policy in the light of the deep changes affecting the sector.

These guidelines are developed based on these fundamental principles established by the African Union on pastoralism. They aim to provide the Member States of the African Union with a tool to strengthen their legal, institutional and operational capacities to translate the principles and orientations of the Policy Framework on Pastoralism into concrete measures and actions at the national level. The guidelines also aim to inspire cooperation and coordination initiatives in pastoral development at regional levels.

Based on the African Union Constitutive Charter, the Guidelines on pastoral development in Africa take into account the basic principle of sovereign equality and interdependence of all the African Union Member States. It also endorses the aspirations of the African peoples for shared prosperity and well-being, unity and integration, as expressed in the African Union's Agenda 2063.

4.2 - Objectives and scope of the Guidelines

A - Objectives

1- The objective of these Guidelines is to contribute to a secure, peaceful and sustainable development of pastoralism in Africa.

More particularly, the Guidelines aims to:

- Promote complementarity between all rural activities, in particular between agriculture and pastoralism;
- Maximize the potential of pastoralism for national economies, while minimizing the risks associated with it;
- Create conducive environments for equitable and secure access of all rural actors to land and natural resources;
- Contribute to the consolidation of peace and national security by promoting peaceful coexistence between rural producers, mainly farmers and herders.

B - Scope of the Guidelines

2- These Guidelines are developed to serve as a basis for the mobilization and commitment of Member States of the African Union in favor of secure, peaceful and sustainable pastoralism. Non-binding tools, they are a guide and a benchmark for the African Union's Member States wishing to improve their national legislation, to adopt such legislation or even to ensure its effective implementation.

By adapting them to the specific conditions of their national political, historical, social, cultural or institutional environment, the Member States of the Union may freely draw inspiration from the approach, structure, and orientations underlying these guidelines.

3- The Guidelines apply to pastoralism as defined in this document. In particular, they recommend measures aimed at ensuring the security of pastoral activities, balanced development of rural territories including pastoral land areas as well as risk reduction and conflict management in the sector of pastoralism.

4.3 - Overview

A - Main definitions

4- For the purposes of the present Guidelines, the following terms are defined as follows:

- Land planning: a set of measures envisaged in a long-term perspective, which, based on a potential assessment of the land and of available natural resources, aims to facilitate a balanced development of the territories or regions through a better distribution of the people and activities; land planning also enables improved channeling of public and private investments in the use of the identified potential.
- Pastoral routes: a complementary network of pasture lands linked to each other by livestock passage pathways.
- Pastoralism: an extensive animal production system that is adapted to particularly harsh and unstable conditions in arid and semi-arid zones and characterized by seasonal movements of cattle across complementary ecological zones for the purpose of optimal use of natural resources for cattle feed.
- Pastoral resources: diverse types of natural resources used for cattle feeding. It may be grasslands, aerial pastures or post-harvest residue or mineral resources such as salt licking lands.
- Transhumance: seasonal cattle movements of variable magnitude whereby animals are at a given period of the year, conducted outside usual rangelands, into host territories with more abundant resources, in order to find sufficient cattle feed; at a given period of the year, livestock is taken back to the traditional lands of pastoralists so as to distance them from crop zones in host territories.
- Grazing pasture: the right recognized to an individual livestock breeder or group of breeders to access farmlands after harvest, in order to feed the animals with crop residues.

B - Recognition of pastoralism as a production system and a way of life

5- The States who adhere to the present Guidelines shall recognize pastoralism as a production system that adapts to the harsh conditions prevailing in arid and semi-arid zones. This livestock breeding system built upon cumulative experiences acquired over many centuries as well as endogenous knowledge and know-how passed on from generation to generation, was successfully used by pastoral communities to cope with recurrent cyclical crises, notably droughts.

The States concerned also recognize pastoralism as a specific way of life of pastoral communities, which may contribute to the wealth and cultural diversity of the African continent.

6- The States adhering to the present Guidelines recognize that in many cases, pastoralism is the only way for achieving optimal development of vast rural territories unsuitable for crop production due to the barren land extreme weather conditions.

With their human presence in such under-populated territories that receive little support from the State, the pastoral communities contribute to the security of the national territory.

7- The States note with satisfaction that pastoralism significantly contributes to national economic growth in most African States. Pastoralism is the capacity to provide a critical contribution to the food security of African populations and enhanced trade balance of African States if it is better secured and taken into consideration in the development and implementation of public policies. By adding value to its by-products, the livestock sector provides great opportunities for the development of processing industries, notably in strategic sectors such as leather and hides.

4.4 - Pastoral activities' security

A - Access right to pastoral resources

8- The States adhering to the present Guidelines are encouraged to implement holistic and inter-sectorial agro-pastoral development policies based on the enhancement of complementarity between crop farming and livestock breeding activities. To achieve this, they shall learn from ancestral traditions of solidarity between crop farmers and pastoralists as shown by the traditional practice of swaps and specific service delivery contracts such as organic manure provision contracts.

9- The States parties to the present Guidelines shall recognize an equitable and non-discriminatory access right to natural resources for all rural producers including pastoralists.

10- Subject to the enforcement of the national forest texts, grasslands and aerial pastures may be part of pastoral resources.

Depending on their peculiar conditions, the Member States may agree that crop residue shall constitute post-harvest grazing material and is therefore accessible for free grazing. However, the States are urged to promote such measures at the local level primarily, with the agreement of local communities and land owners concerned in compliance with the relevant local uses.

11- Water resources are part of pastoral resources. The central and local Governments shall provide free access to natural water courses or lakes under their jurisdiction, for livestock watering.

Access to water resources from man-made infrastructure such as traditional wells, boreholes or dams are subject to the authorization of the owner or communities that have control over such infrastructure. In any case, access is subject to compliance with the local customs and uses or specific rules and regulations set for the management of the infrastructure.

12- Salt licking areas may also be part of pastoral resources. The traditional authorities responsible for such areas shall organize the equitable and sustainable access to the areas, in line with the local customs and uses.

13- Where appropriate and in conformity with local realities, the States parties to the present Guidelines shall empower the local traditional authorities for the management of pastoral resources. These local authorities shall be supported in their mission in compliance with good governance principles at the local level.

14- All local actors, both farmers and pastoralists have the duty to contribute to the sound management of the natural resources on which they depend, and to participate in the preservation of the environment. They shall use such resources in a sustainable manner, preserving the interests of future generations. To this end, they shall refrain from environmentally destructive practices such as bush fires and other practices that are may degrade the environment.

B - Preserving the strategic mobility of cattle

15- The States parties to the present Guidelines are urged to recognize the right of pastoralists to move with their herds for the purpose of accessing and using pastoral resources to feed their cattle. They shall establish appropriate mechanisms for ensuring the fulfillment of this right and protection of pastoralists.

16- The right to cattle mobility may be exercised within the framework of both domestic and international transhumance. Domestic transhumance consists of the displacement of livestock from one ecological area to another without crossing the borders of the State of origin of the pastoralists. Conducted on the basis of bilateral or regional agreements in force, international transhumance involves the displacement of animals with the crossing of one or several borders.

17- The States adhering to the present Guidelines shall undertake to establish appropriate mechanisms for surveying, marking and protecting transhumance routes. They shall, in collaboration with the local governments and pastoralist organizations, keep and update national and international transhumance routes within the borders of their national territory.

18- The States parties to the present Guidelines shall, in collaboration with the Regional Economic Communities, undertake to share information on a regular basis on transhumance movements. They are urged to work towards the review, periodical updating and effective enforcement of regional agreements and bilateral arrangements on transhumance.

The Regional Economic Communities shall take the leadership in developing and adopting regional agreements on cross-border transhumance in the regions where such agreements do not yet exist. They should undertake periodical evaluations of the implementation status and abide by regional agreements in force.

19- As part of internal or international transhumance movements, the pastoralist communities shall urge their members to strictly comply with the legislation on animal health. They shall ensure the sound monitoring and control of their herds during the entire period of transhumance so as to avoid damage to crops to the extent possible. They are also encouraging them to participate in both national and regional pastoral activity monitoring initiatives.

In case of international transhumance, the pastoralist communities shall urge their members to adhere the rules and regulations of the host countries, notably with respect to gazette areas and wildlife reserves. The pastoralist communities shall call on their members to refrain from entering the host country's territory with weapons.

Land tenure security

20- As part of the land tenure reform processes, the States parties to the present Guidelines shall ensure that the problems, concerns and specific needs of pastoralists are clearly identified and taken on board. To this effect, the representatives of rural producers, farmers and pastoralists are encouraged to actively participate in the national dialogue processes relating to land tenure.

21- The States adhering to the present Guidelines are called upon to make appropriate legislative and regulatory provisions in view of the recognition and protection of the specific rights of pastoralists on their traditional routes. They shall therefore take adequate measures to limit cases of conversion of pastoral routes into other types of economic uses.

22- Under the national land tenure Act and in consultation with all actors concerned, the States are encouraged to ensure the land tenure security of camps used human settlements by the pastoralist communities. Such land tenure security measures shall also cover the generally adjacent areas used by pastoralists for food grain production.

23- The States are requested to undertake the identification and security assurance of the pathways to complementary pasture lands and pastoral water points. To this end, the States shall ban the use or obstruction of transhumance routes and see to the compliance with the relevant right of way. They are urged to include such roads in their public property registry so as to better protect them.

24- Building on positive local practices such as shared use of the same land areas for complementary activities or contract-based practices between crop farmers and pastoralists, the States are encouraged to develop integrated pastoral development approaches that would not lead to the separation farmlands from pastoral areas. The approaches that shall be implemented would rather facilitate cooperation among the users of the various spaces.

4.5 - Balanced development of rural territories

A-Rural territories development and promotion of economic development

25- The States parties to the present Guidelines are urged to develop national land planning policies that reconcile the various economic uses of land areas in a spirit of complementarity between farming areas and pastoral areas.

The definition and implementation of such land planning policies shall reside in a participatory approach involving all actors, including pastoral communities, in view of ensuring the adherence of the populations.

26- The land planning policies developed by the States shall contribute to a better assessment of the potential in pastoral territories in various terms, notably in the economic, cultural and environmental perspectives, with the aim of attracting and channeling public and private investment in identified promising domains.

27- Land planning policies shall have an objective to diversify the economic activities undertaken in pastoral territories through the development of their potential. In particular, they shall facilitate job creation and income generation for the youth and women in recognized sectors such as handicraft, tourism and livestock product and by-product processing.

B-Enhancement of human securities in pastoral territories

28- Government land planning policies shall focus on the human development of all communities, with special attention to the generally isolated and marginalized communities in pastoral areas.

29- National land planning policies shall facilitate the adoption of legal, policy and institutional frameworks that contribute to enhanced human security and national cohesion. More particularly, emphasis shall be laid on provision of public services in the area of civil registration, human health, education and safe drinking water for domestic uses.

30- The States parties to the present Guidelines shall pay special attention to improving the security situation of pastoral areas so as to prevent the sustainable establishment of organized crime and terrorist activities. To this end, the States are encouraged to fight against corruption, trafficking and warfare arm holding and creation of self-defense militia.

4.6 - Pastoralism-related risks management

A-Climate change-related risks management

31- The parties to the present Guidelines shall acknowledge the fact that climate change effects have an adverse and severe impact on the future of pastoralism. This is due notably to the disruption in seasons; increasing temperatures; recurrent rainfall deficits; more frequent occurrence of disasters such droughts and floods.

The parties concerned shall recognize that pastoralism is itself an adaptation system and that pastoral communities have in the past given evidence of their remarkable capacity to overcome different drought periods. They shall however recognize the need for supporting pastoral communities through the development and implementation of national strategies for cyclical drought risk management so as to help them to better cope with climate change.

32- To be successful the national strategies for drought cycle management shall mainly aim at building the capacity of the grassroots communities. The States shall in particular develop the capacity of grassroots communities for anticipating and responding to drought cycles.

The anticipation capacity of grassroots communities may be developed through early warning systems, including the provision by local actors, of relevant and reliable information in an easily accessible and understandable format. Response capacity shall be geared towards the adoption of measures to minimize the risks of massive cattle loss. The States shall therefore develop the knowledge and expertise of pastoral communities in terms of risk management, while assisting them in taking special action such as the granting of exceptional and temporary access to certain forest areas that are inaccessible for herds under normal circumstances.

33- Risk management systems in relation to pastoralism shall be of holistic nature, taking into consideration constraints other than drought to pastoral development such as: land tenure insecurity including the conversion of rangelands into other productive activities, the use of transhumance routes for other purposes and conflicts among local actors, notably the persistent farmer-herder conflicts.

B-Conflicts prevention and resolution measures

34- The States concerned by the present Guidelines are encouraged to preferably apply outreach policies for the resolution of local farmer-herder conflicts. To achieve this, they shall empower the local traditional institutions and involve the local governments and traditional authorities for accountability purposes.

The States concerned by the present Guidelines are called upon to instruct their decentralized administrative and technical departments, including those in charge of security, to aid the local traditional and decentralized institutions for conflict prevention and settlement.

35. The States concerned by the present Guidelines shall put in place mechanisms that help to prevent the outbreak and aggravation of conflicts arising from pastoralism. To this end, special attention shall be paid to the participatory and concerted preparation of rural land planning so as to ensure more organized more harmonious and more equitable access to natural resources for all players.

In the same way, the empowerment and accountability of the local authorities, both traditional and decentralized is likely to reduce the risk of conflict outbreak on the ground.

36- In collaboration with Regional Economic Communities and with the support of competent research centers, the States parties to the present Guidelines shall undertake to identify, document and value the endogenous best practices in the area of conflict prevention among farmers.

37- In case of failure of local alternative mechanisms for conflict resolution, the States and local governments shall urge the parties to refrain from using force and doing self-justice. To this end, the States should improve access to justice for the people everywhere in the country.

4-7- Implementation of the Guidelines

A-Implementation key principles

38- The implementation of the present Guidelines shall be guided the following key principles:

- The implementation of the Guidelines is part and parcel of the execution of the African Union Pastoral Policy Framework. As such, it shall be consistent with the global commitments adhered to by the African Union member States, as well as the continental commitment and regional instruments.
- The Guidelines shall be implemented at the national level by the member States through legislative, regulatory and operational measures that are relevant to their specific national context and to the specific needs of national actors of pastoralism. The Guidelines shall not be binding upon the African Union member States.
- The implementation of the Guidelines shall be based on the principles of justice, social equity, gender equality and good governance in the management of natural resources.
- The implementation of the Guidelines shall be based on cooperation strengthening, regional solidarity and the shared ambition of achieving regional integration.

39- The present Guidelines aims to assist African States in improving their national policy, legislative and operational frameworks in a bid to ensure secure, peaceful and sustainable pastoralism. The States shall undertake, in the light of the present Guidelines, to review their national legislation, make the required adjustments or develop a national pastoral legislation in case they do not have one as yet.

B-Recommended implementation key measures

40- To facilitate the effective and prompt implementation of the Guidelines for the benefit of pastoral communities, the following measures are recommended:

- Disseminate information on the Guidelines, including in the major national languages of each country and through a wide range of written, audio and drawn tools;
- Build capacity for understanding and implementing the Guidelines;
- Critically review and update the existing national pastoral legislations in the light of the provisions contained in the present Guidelines, or draft new pastoral legislations as required;
- Monitor and evaluate and share experiences in the implementation of the Guidelines.

41- The States concerned by the present Guidelines shall give evidence of their political will to implement it. To this end, they should work towards the enforcement of the present guidelines, regional agreements on transhumance as well as national pastoral legislations.

The Regional Economic Communities are called upon to facilitate the sharing of experiences among the member States and identify and mobilize regional expertise in view of providing technical assistance to the States in the implementation of the Guidelines.

42- The States concerned, the Regional Economic Communities and development partners are requested to contribute to the identification of knowledge gaps in pastoralism and support for collaborative research programmes in the pastoral domain.

Conclusion

Pastoralism is both a production system and a lifestyle developed over many generations by pastoralist communities across Africa. As a production system, it has displayed remarkable capacity for adapting to its particularly harsh environment of arid and semi-arid lands. As a lifestyle, pastoralism has revealed its symbiosis with nature, its friendliness for livestock and capacity for negotiation and preservation of alliances among different but united communities, thus contributing to further strengthening the social fabric that leads to the creation of Nations.

It goes without saying that pastoralism is today entering an unprecedented turbulence zone. Population growth, rapid urban development, intrusion of new external actors in the land tenure domain are all factors that impact the pastoral activity. The tremendous and particularly rapid change observed does not give time to pastoralists to use all their adaptation and resilience capacities. Only the good will of public powers can help pastoral communities to adapt to their new environment. Findings from many recent research efforts have confirmed the positive role of pastoralism in the environment while asserting its significance as a contributor to development and food security.

One of the major areas where the will of Member States to enable secure, peaceful and sustainable pastoral development lies in the adoption of consensus-based guidelines that can guide the efforts of each of the Union's Member State while facilitating regional cooperation. The guidelines developed in the present report will not however contribute to improving the living conditions of African pastoralists unless they are actually implemented through operational plans and programmes.

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Annex I: The 4th Ordinary Session of The STC On Agriculture, Rural Development, Water and Environment (ARDWE), 13-17 December 2021

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**THE 4TH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE STC ON
AGRICULTURE, RURAL DEVELOPMENT, WATER
AND ENVIRONMENT (ARDWE), 13-17 DECEMBER 2021**

STC4/ARDWE/MIN

Original : English

**THE GUIDELINES FOR SECURING PASTORALISM AND PREVENTING CONFLICT IN AFRICA:
SECURE, PEACEFUL AND SUSTAINABLE PASTORALISM**

On the Report of the African Union Guidelines for Securing Pastoralism and Preventing Conflict in Africa: Secure, peaceful and sustainable pastoralism, the STC:⁵⁷

189. ENDORSED the AU Guidelines to secure pastoralism and prevent conflicts in Africa and calls upon Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and Member States (MS) to promote their use to inform regional instruments and national legislations;

190. REQUESTED the AU Commission to support RECs to develop and/or review their regional guidelines/protocols, facilitate experience sharing among themselves as well as among their member states, and identify and mobilize regional expertise in view of providing technical assistance to their states in implementing the guidelines/protocols.

191. ENCOURAGED the AU Member States and RECs to review their pastoral policies to ensure domestication of these guidelines;

192. REQUESTED the AUC, AUDA NEPAD and partners to strengthen pastoralism data systems at national and regional levels; and support peer learning

193. REQUESTED Member States, RECs, and African Union Commission (AUC) and development partners to capacitate pastoral associations and communities in support of sustainable and peaceful pastoral development, in complementarity with farming and other rural productive activities;

195. REQUESTED the AU Commission to disseminate popularize information on the guidelines, through development and dissemination of appropriate tools;

196. CALLED UPON Development partners to facilitate the AU Commission, RECs and Member States in making use of the above-mentioned guidelines, taking into consideration regional and national specificities

Annex II: Decisions of the Fortieth Ordinary Session of the Executive Council of the African Union 02-03 February 2022, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

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EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Fortieth Ordinary Session

02 - 03 February 2022

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia



EX.CL/Dec.1143-1167(XL)

Original : English

IV. THE 4TH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE STC ON AGRICULTURE, RURAL DEVELOPMENT, WATER AND ENVIRONMENT (ARDWE), 13-17 DECEMBER 2021

The Executive Council,

44. TAKES NOTE of the Report of the Fourth Specialized Technical Committee meeting on Agriculture, Rural Development Water and Environment held on 13-16 December 2021 and **ENDORSES** the recommendations therein;

45. COMMENDS the Ministers responsible for Agriculture, Rural Development, Water and Environment for the successful holding of the 4th STC on Agriculture, Rural Development, Water and Environment;

48. ALSO ENDORSES the following frameworks, guidelines and strategies to accelerate agricultural transformation Rural Development, Water and Environmental management:

x) Guidelines on Securing Pastoralism and Conflict Prevention in Africa: A Secure, Peaceful and Sustainable Pastoralism.



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Department of Rural Economy and Agriculture (DREA)

African Union Specialized Technical Office on Research and Development

2022-11

GUIDELINES TO SECURE PASTORALISM AND PREVENT CONFLICTS IN AFRICA : A secure, peaceful and sustainable pastoralism

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