

Herding on the Brink

Towards a Global Survey of Pastoral Communities and Conflict

An Occasional Working Paper from the IUCN Commission on Environmental, Economic and Social Policy

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All photos displayed are courtesy of the Support Program for the Pastoral Herding Sector in Niger ("PASEL" in French), established by Swiss Agency for Development Cooperation, or originals from Michele Nori.

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1. Introduction

The nomad-warrior. The words evoke images of Genghis Khan sweeping through Eurasia, and clashes across the Nile as pharaohs fought off invaders from the deserts to the West. This image has persisted throughout history, in the biblical battle between Cain and Abel, in the poeticised cattle-raids of the Tain, and even in present-day newscasts of Somali *shifto* raiding in northeastern Kenya. Violence between shepherd and farmer is as old as civilization itself. With such a history, is it merely coincidence that many of today's major conflicts are fought in pastoral regions - places such as Somalia, Afghanistan, Sudan and Palestine?

Extensive pastoral production takes place on some 25 percent of the world's land area, from the drylands of Africa (66 percent of the total continent land area) and the Arabian peninsula to the highlands of Asia and Latin America. It provides 10 percent of global meat production, and supports some 200 million pastoral households and herds of nearly a billion head of camel, cattle and smaller livestock (FAO, 2001). And yet, despite their vital role in food



production in marginal environments, migratory herding cultures find themselves in a seemingly-persistent state of crisis. Their herds are threatened by lengthy drought and emergent diseases. Their traditional raids have become more explosive due to the influx of guns and other modern weaponry. Their pastures and transit routes are shrinking in the face of spreading cultivation, nature conservation areas and hardening international borders. Their populations continue to rise, with rural and urban labour markets failing to absorb their youth. As a consequence, pastoral communities remain among the most politically and economically marginalized groups in many societies, rendering them susceptible to radicalisation and recruitment by insurgent groups and conflict entrepreneurs.

Violence and subsistence on the fringes of society are daily realities for pastoral groups. Yet the images of violent raids and of great herds converting grassland into desert obscure two vital truths. Firstly, raising livestock on marginal lands through seasonal migration is a uniquely efficient way to draw the maximum well-being out of areas such as mountains and drylands, which are unsuitable for other forms of agriculture. Secondly, while there are violent interactions within and between migratory herding communities and the settled agriculturalists with whom they interact, there is also a wide range of cooperative and synergistic relationships between these groups. Mutually dependent, their survival and prosperity depend on each other. As Blench (1996) indicates, the complex patterns of cooperation characterizing the multiple uses of many African wetlands would never have developed without initially conflictive relationships.

Yet with outside social, environmental, political and economic threats narrowing their options, the incidence and intensity of clashes within and between pastoral communities and their neighbours may be on the rise. This could have serious implications extending beyond local violence. Indeed, pastoral tensions are a common element in many of Africa's conflict areas, as seen in the Karamoja Cluster, the war-within-a-war between Nuer and Dinka in Southern Sudan, the Touareg rebellion in Niger, and the state collapse of Somalia. At a global scale, the

“vast expanses of unpopulated areas, instability, porous borders and corruption make [the Sahel region] an inviting playground for [international] terrorists”, according to the US State Department¹. The European Union is increasingly hardening its borders against migration from the countries of the southern Mediterranean and Sub-Saharan Africa. Indeed, from Somalia to Morocco to Albania, many pastoral communities are sending their sons and daughters to Europe in search of a more-peaceful and comfortable life².

Among the small group of experts focused on pastoral livelihoods, concern is growing over the challenges posed by conflict in these regions to development and poverty alleviation, and over the potential for sporadic and low-level pastoral violence to ignite into war and fuel migration at the national or regional level. Many pastoral communities have a history of successful armed opposition to state control. This makes a fertile ground for violence when combined with a large population of underemployed and marginalized youth. Surprisingly, however, little attention is being paid to pastoral conflict issues at the senior levels of development agencies.

Education, animal health services, small arms control activities and support for local dispute resolution processes have been the principal tools used to address some of the underlying sources of regional violence. Yet these efforts have been limited and ad hoc, without grounding in the lessons learned from other pastoral regions. This lack of learning and of priority makes existing pastoral initiatives inadequate to the urgent needs of affected communities, and while development agencies increasingly recognize their role in conflict prevention, they still lack appropriate analytical and intervention instruments.

The present study seeks to provide a foundation for broader efforts to tackle the challenge of pastoral development through the lens of conflict prevention, by:

- Defining pastoralism and describing the impacts of resource scarcity and inequity of access on the livelihoods and coping strategies of these communities;
- Examining the linkages between pastoralism and conflict, using a sustainable livelihoods-based conflict analysis to understand violence within and between pastoral groups and their surrounding communities;
- Drawing from this analysis and illustrative case examples some preliminary recommendations for analyzing and reducing conflicts in pastoral areas, and for prioritizing this issue appropriately within the broader context of development and international security; and
- Providing an appendix of tools and approaches with which development practitioners are addressing pastoral conflicts and working to prevent them.

The reduction of conflict should be a high priority for international development in pastoral regions. Unfortunately, this is not the case. The failure to tackle the root causes of pastoral violence is constraining development across Western and Eastern Africa, and in parts of the Mediterranean Basin, Central Asia and South America. In some instances violence is in danger of escalating regionally and further fuelling migration. Key to mitigating these conflicts is to recognize that pastoral livelihoods are a fundamental element of rural economies, and to find ways to integrate them into the formal economy while strengthening the capacity of these communities to adapt to changing environmental and social conditions.

¹ Pan Sahel Initiative. US Government Office of Counterterrorism. 7 Nov 2002. <http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/other/14987.htm> and U.S. seeks to block terrorists in Sahara. Washington Post, 13 Jan 2004. <http://www.washtimes.com/world/20040112-093725-6339r.htm>

² Refer to the recent Euro-Mediterranean workshop, Athens, March 2004.

2. Pastoralism

Pastoralism is a entire way of life, involving ecological, political, economic, cultural and social dimensions.
WSP (1998)

Pastoralism is the finely-honed symbiotic relationship between local ecology, domesticated livestock and people in resource-scarce and highly-variable regions, often at the threshold of human survival. It represents a complex form of natural resource management, involving the direct interaction between three systems in which pastoral people operate, i.e. the natural resource system, the resource users system and the larger geo-political system (Pratt et al, 1997). The specific and different interactions among these three aspects of pastoral life define for these communities their livelihood strategies, vulnerability levels and capacities to adapt to change and respond to shocks. In the section that follows these three systems are described along with their critical interactions, in order to set out the operational frame for further understanding conflict-related matters in pastoral areas.

2.1 Rangelands : The Natural Resource System

Pastoral groups inhabit drylands or highland areas where constraining soil, rainfall and temperature conditions provide limited effective and sustainable options for land use other than mobile livestock rearing.

Range resources are typically heterogeneous and dispersed, with their variance tied to seasonal patterns, time and erratic climatic conditions. Those who inhabit these arid regions must contend with a number of variables that regulate range productivity, among which rainfall patterns play a major role. Rains may fall abundantly in one region for decades, yet fail entirely and without warning in any given year. Similar dynamics characterize the highland



ranges of Central Asia and South America, where low temperatures and prolonged snow covers have a marked impact on land use. Other relevant bio-physical variables include soil quality, vegetation composition, fire events, and disease outbreaks (Behnke, 1992).

As such, the immediate environment strongly shapes the mix of livelihood strategies pastoral communities deploy. The diversity of these pastoral livelihood systems, which have developed throughout the world, can be classified according to the ecosystem in which they are found, the degree of climatic uncertainty they experience, and the related risks and shocks to which they are potentially subject (i.e. drought, snow, flood, frost).

Zone	Main Species	Status
Sub-Saharan Africa	Cattle, camel, sheep goats	Declining due to advancing agriculture
Mediterranean	Small ruminants	Declining due to enclosure and advancing agriculture
Near East and South-Central Asia	Small ruminants	Declining in some areas due to enclosure and advancing agriculture
India	Camel, cattle, sheep, goats	Declining due to advancing agriculture but peri-urban livestock production expanding
Central Asia	Yak, camel, horse, sheep, goats	Expanding following de-collectivisation
Circumpolar	Reindeer	Expanding following de-collectivisation in Siberia, but under pressure in Scandinavia
North America	Sheep, cattle	Declining with increased enclosure of land and alternative economic opportunities
Andes	Llama, alpaca	Contracting llama production due to expansion of road systems and European-model livestock production but expansion of alpaca wool production

Rangelands with productive and diverse natural vegetation represent the fundamental resource for pastoral livelihoods. Across such rangelands, different ecozones allow for seasonal grazing options, while differing vegetation strata provide for herd diversification (i.e. grazers vs. browsers). Additionally, wild rangelands rich in biodiversity provide plants for human food, wood, thatching, shade and medicine, and represent important elements of pastoral nutrition, health and general welfare. The interdependence of these arid lands with other external or adjacent ecosystems (such as wetlands) also shapes pastoral livelihoods, creating opportunities for resource extraction across several different and complementary ecological niches. Exchanges between livestock protein-rich products and cereal crops are relevant for the livelihood of more sedentary farming communities, who benefit from the environmental wealth of well-managed pastoral areas, as they provide for alternate food stocks which can be drawn upon in times of food crisis (i.e. edible nuts, roots).

Pastoralists themselves hold a deep knowledge of the complex ecological dynamics of their surroundings, and are often the best detectors of environmental change. Recognised as 'custodians of the commons' (Lane, 1998), they have helped maintain the rich range biodiversity of pastoral lands, from the Somali sub-region to the Tibetan plateau, both of which are filled with an impressive variety of animals and plants. This ecological wealth has translated into a wide variety of protected areas and national parks being located within pastoral areas, such as the Serengeti-Mara region of East Africa and the Three Riverheads area of China. This is not without cause for pastoral concern, however, as initiatives aimed at the protection and conservation of nature often result in local pastoral communities being deprived of access to critical resources.

Box 2.1a Increasing Claims and Declining Territory in Mongolia: A Recipe for Conflict

The collapse of the Mongolian command economy in the early 1990s increased the number of families relying on herding, driven by a massive urban to rural migration by people in search of means for subsistence (Mearns, 2004). Many of those returning to pastoral livelihoods were ignorant of traditional practices for range stewardship (i.e. reservation of separate seasonal pastures), and were competing with those who had remained on the rangelands throughout the collectivization. The second half of the decade

saw a new regime for management of the rangelands, based on individual ownership of land that rendered many forms of herd mobility illegal (Fernandez-Gimenez & Batbuyan, 2004). Lack of access to markets, public services and transportation further concentrated herds on the periphery of urban centers, deepening overuse of these pastoral zones. The increase in pastoral population and implementation of a new legal system for the management of the rangelands have amplified competition and conflict over land and water use, in particular over movement of livestock between winter and summer camps not included in campsite possession contracts.

The re-allocation of property rights has increased the occurrence of conflict, as poorer herders who were overlooked during campsite distribution are forced to 'squat' on any land they can find (ibid), illegally trespassing on the lands of other herders. The government initiative to privatize the land also failed to respect traditional allocation of summer and winter pastures, or to put workable alternative mechanisms in place (Bedunah & Schmidt, 2004). Placing a further constraint on pastoral production was the government commitment to place 30% of Mongolia's land under protected status by 2030. Depending on the degree of enforcement, the increase in protected areas could close off many traditional winter and spring camps as well as water sources. The decreasing availability of resources and growing concentration of different groups in limited space is already leading to increases in resource and social tensions and competition (Mearns, 2004). In order to reduce competition, the Land Law should allocate large tracts of land to pastoral organizations, allowing for herder mobility and empowerment of herders' communities.

Dryland ecosystems are extremely vulnerable to over-exploitation and inappropriate land use (UNCCD, 1994). Pastoral societies are critically exposed to ecosystem change, which can increase their vulnerability, affect their capital stocks, hinder coping strategies, decrease the productive performance of livestock, and generate tensions with other herder and host farmer communities. Natural resource degradation may be the cause as well as the effect of social change, and will negatively affect the productivity and sustainability of pastoral livelihoods.

2.2 Pastoralists : The Resource Use System

Non-equilibrium agro-ecological dynamics play a strong role in shaping pastoral socio-economic livelihood patterns and the related institutional setting, as they are characterized by high variability levels of spatial and seasonal resource endowment and by recurrent risk exposure. Pastoral livelihood systems therefore traditionally account not only for the limited and variable nature of resources, but also for the unpredictability of their supply. As a result, pastoral communities are structurally faced with two interrelated challenges:

1. To make use of range resources that vary through space and time; and
2. To account for the risk of climatic extremes and related production loss.

Pastoral management responses to resource use challenges can be found in Table 2.2a.

Table 2.2a – Pastoral environments and livelihood strategies	
Range agro-ecology	Pastoral socio-economics
<i>Resource pattern:</i>	<i>Resource management:</i>
Spatially heterogeneous	Mobile livestock keeping
Highly seasonality	Communal tenure rights
Differing through time	Flexibility and reciprocity
Unpredictable climatic patterns	Contingency responses

In order to address these extreme agro-ecological features, pastoralists build their lives around satisfying the needs of their livestock, following rainfall and fodder over vast distances and across national borders, often covering thousands of kilometres in a single year. As fodder

production in pasturelands varies considerably from one year to the next, and from one region to another, herds need to be mobile to adapt to changes in the amount of available vegetation and carrying capacity.

Ruminants are the vital 'technology' of pastoral communities, as they provide the link between range resources and pastoral livelihoods by converting widely-dispersed biomass into protein and other products. Food is not only produced by these animals, but is also stored and moved across space and through seasons by the livestock. Herd composition often includes large and small ruminants - grazers and/or browsers, depending on agro-ecological as well as socio-economic factors (e.g. labour). Herd diversification allows pastoral communities to cope with the variable and widely-dispersed presence of natural resources in these marginal areas, reducing risk while optimizing productivity. Mobility and divisibility of livestock are important to ensure minimizing risk exposure while optimizing the productivity of available resources.

Pastoral **mobility** requires movement over different scales depending on variable temporal and spatial range production patterns. It depends on the presence of temporarily utilized lands, knowledge of ecosystem productivity potentials (and constraints), and capacities to negotiate or enforce access to these resources. It therefore critically hinges upon technical as well as socio-political factors:

- **Knowledge** – In-depth pastoral knowledge of complex rangeland agro-ecological dynamics is critical in detecting resource availability to ensure livelihood strategies and coping mechanisms accordingly. This knowledge includes understanding erratic climatic patterns and familiarity with patchy range resources. Water availability is often the limiting factor in pasture utilisation, whilst wild fruits and nuts, medicinal plants, and salty areas provide important supplemental food resources for pastoralists.
- **Access** – The political ecology of herding involves social capital and negotiating capacities. Through principles of flexibility and reciprocity, these factors play a critical role in ensuring access to different range resources in times of need, and provide for critical options of dispute resolution during periods of stress and other forms of shock. Accessing resources and services of neighboring communities is therefore a vital element for pastoralists.

The resource tenure system therefore needs to be flexible enough to provide necessary room for an array of negotiations and arrangements among different groups and levels, depending on needs and on resources availability. In order to account for these factors, pastoral tenure systems - often defined as communal – imply a degree of complexity that accounts for differentiated and often overlapping rights:

- over different resources whose relevance might change through seasons (dry and wet pastures, water points, forest zones, river banks, transhumance routes, cropping areas, etc...); and
- those related to different user groups (individual household, residential communities, clan groupings, ethnic confederation, etc...).

Box 2.2a Living in Crisis: The Dana Declaration on Mobile Peoples, 2002

(...) The linked pressures of human population dynamics, unsustainable consumption patterns, climate change and global and national economic forces threaten both the conservation of biological resources and the livelihoods of many indigenous and traditional peoples. In particular, mobile peoples now find themselves constrained by forces beyond their control, which put them at a special disadvantage. Mobile peoples are discriminated against. Their rights, including rights of access to natural resources, are often

denied and conventional conservation practices insufficiently address their concerns. These factors, together with the pace of global change, undermine their lifestyles, reduce their ability to live in balance with nature and threaten their very existence as distinct peoples.

Pastoral and agro-pastoral communities differ from other rural groups due to the specific relevance of livestock products and income to their livelihoods. Unlike breeders or livestock-keeping farmers, pastoral herds move through places and seasons, and feed from natural forage rather than cultivated fodder and pastures. Pastoral and agro-pastoral groups are often classified according to the composition of their livestock assets (herd/flock), their mobility patterns, their social organization, and their market integration.

The composition of herds and flocks defines pastoral communities and their livelihoods strategies. Choosing which animals to keep depends on a combination of ecological factors, socio-cultural values and market options. Livestock are not only a saleable asset, but provide income and food in the form of meat, milk, labour, and hides and skins, as well as conveying social status on their owners and playing a major role in establishing and developing social assets. By combining diverse and complementary animal species (small and large non-ruminants, browsers and grazers, etc.) pastoralists are able to convert rangeland vegetation into mobile stocks of protein, reduce risks and diversify their income – satisfying both their material and social needs.

Mobility is closely intertwined with access to and management of key rangeland resources, primarily pastures and water. Seasonal movements are essential for pastoralists, as rainfall and temperature result in marked spatial and temporal variations in grazing resources. Mobility patterns range from pure nomadism (opportunistic, no fixed base), through various forms of transhumance (set migratory routes on seasonal basis) and levels of agro-pastoralism (attachment to seasonal crop production), to more sedentarised patterns (ranching), each demanding different involvement from household and herd members. In contrast to pastoralists, agro-pastoralists occupy areas where the human population is moderately dense and their livestock normally spend the night in the vicinity of the household's permanent residence. Conversely, pastoralists occupy areas where the human density is low, and will either frequently move their residences, or spend nights at a considerable distance from their homes with all or part of their herds (Sandford & Habtu, 2000:1).

Social organization and natural resource management closely interact in pastoral communities. Where resources are scarce and diffuse, exploitation takes place over a larger area, and governance structures and processes relate accordingly. Examples from northern and southern sub-Saharan areas illustrate that the social organization structures that accompany the shift from nomadic herding to rainfed agricultural systems vary with the degree of aridity, as authority and hierarchical structures get tighter as resources become more abundant and geographically-concentrated (Denéve, 1995; Swift, 1996). Pastoral groups are normally led by councils of elders who have the skills and wisdom to 'rule' their community and its resources. Such systems are not traditionally open to change and innovation. But change is forcing itself upon these communities, as customary decision-making mechanisms are challenged by political, economic and social shifts.

The **market integration** of pastoral economies increasingly represents a determining factor for their welfare in many regions. Favourable rates of exchange for pastoral goods in relation to other staples has allowed for consistent population growth on rangelands (Helland, 2000), by increasing substitution rates between the direct utilisation of animal products and the consumption of cereals exchanged through markets. Market integration of pastoral economies

varies substantially around the globe, and plays a relevant role in defining the vulnerability and the marginalisation of herding communities.

2.3 Society : The Geo-Political System

Though pastoral groups live throughout the world, they share a common difficulty interacting with the wider societal frame. This includes their relationships with the State and its structures, neighbouring land users, market forces and with the international development community. Such interactions make up their geo-political system.

With the exception of few countries (Somalia, Mongolia, Mauritania and Chad, among others), pastoralists typically represent a minority within national populations, with political borders often drawn through their traditional territories. Inhabiting such frontier lands (Galaty et Al., 1994), pastoral groups have become prone to:

- remoteness from the 'center' of a state/nation;
- segmentation and minoritization within national borders; and
- the jurisdictional and inter-state problems deriving from land partition.

Herding groups are usually adversely affected by the demarcation of national borders (for examples, see the Saharawi people in the western Sahara Desert and the Bedouin communities of the Near East). Inter-state conflicts can involve pastoral lands and people due to their frontier location, while high rates of unemployed pastoral youth add to the threat through their susceptibility to militia recruitment. As an exemplary case, it is reported that in the latest confrontation between the Ethiopian army and its militia, approximately 70% of the Eritrean national herd had been raided, at the expense of bordering pastoral groups (DfID, 2000). Problems may also derive from conflict-related refugee movements, which often pass through, locate upon and make intense use of fragile and contested rangelands.

Similarly stemming from their marginalisation, pastoralists experience great difficulty articulating or representing their interests in **national political** contexts and governance structures. State authorities have often clashed with the interests and the practices of pastoral groups, clashes which have at times flared into open conflict. Major areas of dispute range from land use to agriculture policy, from the arrangement of international borders to fiscal measures, from state control to social organization. There is also a problem of political unity and representation within pastoral groups themselves. "When a herder is elected to represent his community, he stops being a herder", states Younis Daoud, Peul representative at the PCI Global Pastoralists Gathering of 2005.

The tension between imported concepts and local tradition has frequently resulted in the degradation of the ecological and socio-economic fabric for many pastoral communities, while friction between local and central governance levels have often led to longstanding conflictive relationships between pastoral communities and state structures. Because they were thought inefficient, authorities have systematically ignored pastoralists' customary resource management practices. Basic development initiatives such as land tenure reform, the hardening of national boundaries, and the implementation of water development schemes have often been the cause of increased disputes in pastoral areas as imported concepts and techniques have clashed with traditional pastoral practices.

In colonial times, authorities were more often interested in seizing pastoral lands and livestock than in improving their livelihoods, and sought to control and tax their new subjects while moving them off of prime arable lands. Group differences and contrasts were often instrumentalized by colonial administrations through 'divide and rule' strategies used to control

pastoralists and their resources. In most post-colonial states, colonial pastoral policies of neglect or of forced integration have continued to further marginalize these groups, often with international financial support.

Box 2.3a Land reforms on the Tibetan plateau

The institutional environment of Tibetan herders offers an eloquent example of how policy trends can adversely affect pastoral societies. Traditional Tibetan land tenure and herd management systems were placed under siege in the 1950s when Mao Zedong's army entered the country and subjected it to Chinese rule. The Collectivization period (*Gonshe*) that followed provoked great changes to Tibetan herder societies because while land management had traditionally been communal, livestock were in fact household property. In the early 1980s, as part of the loosening of the communist economy, herds were de-collectivized under the Household Responsibility System, making them individual property once more. Ten years later, seasonal grazing lands were also allocated on individual basis, once again throwing pastoral systems into turmoil.

The marginalisation of pastoral interests in national policies is common. States have favoured urban and fixed rural populations, with agricultural and food policies often designed to address the needs of urban and village consumers, distorting markets through subsidies, barriers and taxation. Land tenure arrangements traditionally support farmers, settled agriculture and intensive land use. Such structures serve to curtail herders' mobility and access to vital resources.

National efforts aimed at 'modernising' pastoralists often failed to understand and appreciate the fundamentals of pastoralism, and as such have exacerbated - rather than ameliorated - the deterioration of environmental, economic and social conditions for pastoral communities. This was not always by chance, as the overall objective of these efforts - often implemented with the support by development agencies - was to control pastoral communities (through sedentarisation and villagisation schemes), and gain access to their assets (land, livestock and labour) through nationalization or privatization of land tenure.

Pastoral marginalization is also the result of global processes, involving structural adjustment, policy modernization and economic liberalisation, which have outpaced and eroded the capacity of the State government. Pastoralists' low population density, remoteness and political marginality make their programs the early targets for Structural Adjustment Programs, wherein public expenditure curtailment forces the scaling-down of public services. Administrative experience in North Africa, Central Asia and the Middle East further validate the difficulties and strong resistance that mobile herding populations can generate in response to externally imposed political structures, resource disenfranchisement and forced settlement efforts. In the past 20 years, several political resistance movements have emerged linked to pastoral areas. These include (Little, 2003):

- In Africa: Algeria, Ethiopia, Kenya, Mali, Somali, Sudan, Uganda
- In Asia: Afghanistan, China, Iraq, Israel, Pakistan, Turkey, and Yemen

Many current participatory and decentralisation policies are aimed at rebalancing power structures in favour of local pastoral communities. However, these often create further divisions on existing territories, allowing for 'land grabs' by local government officials (IIED, 2003). In such contests over land, local politicians might well profit from the political vacuum to secure their interests, through dividing marginalized groups and pushing for their personal agendas. This was seen in Kenya, where violence was used to gain political support for elections in the northeast of the country, and in Ethiopia, where clashes followed the drafting of the Federal Constitution.

Even where pastoral needs have been a priority, delivering the support they require has often been impeded by their mobile, remote and dispersed nature. The development of infrastructure, services and technologies appropriate to pastoral livelihoods has proven difficult, costly and often unmanageable. Recently, governments as well as international development agencies have retreated from pastoral areas. With time, the 'disaster and emergency' discourse has been replacing that of 'modernization through sedentarization'. Rather than proactive engagement aimed at addressing structural problems, assistance efforts have become reactive, emerging only when the scale of drought, famine and lack of security becomes too large to ignore (Helland, 2000). In such instances, army interventions, refugee camp establishment and food aid are among the leading forms of support.

Market forces are also relevant in this picture, as the food security and socio-economic prospects for pastoral societies are increasingly shaped by global markets. Growing population rates coupled by increasing urbanization and affluence spur market demand for animal protein, (referred to as 'the Livestock Revolution'- see Delgado et Al., 1999). As producers of meat, this helps to embed pastoral groups within the global economy, even as it spurs elite competition for rangeland resources at the expense of poorer pastoral groups and strata.



Generally favourable terms of trade between pastoral and non-pastoral products are in fact vital for herders' development, as the commoditisation and sale of livestock products can ease the imbalance between variable pastoral production and household food needs (Dietz et Al., 2001). However, in reality pastoralists struggle to reap adequate compensation for their products and services. Market mechanisms simply do not offer adequate compensation for pastoral products in times of need, when livestock conditions and prices deteriorate in face of growing costs for needed staple purchases, as is seen during the long dry season and periods of drought,.

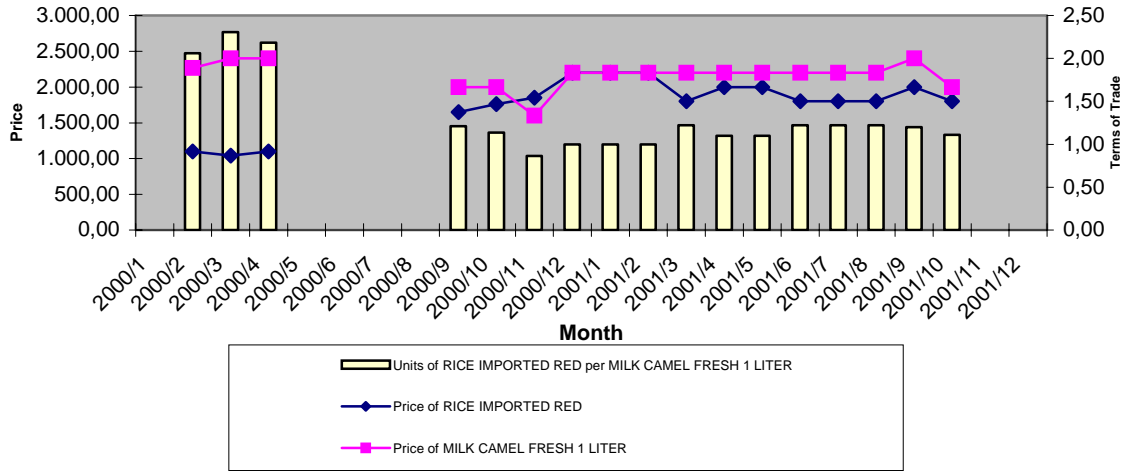
Box 2.3b Studies Show Pastoral Communities Lose Out in Market Exchanges

Exchanges between pastoral and non-pastoral groups have been instrumental in satisfying the food needs of growing pastoral populations for years, through barter and exchange mechanisms for starch-based staples such as cereal grains or flour (refer to Swift, 1986 for meat & Kerven, 1987 for milk products in the African case). Theoretically, the caloric terms of trade are very favourable for pastoral producers, as by weight the energy content (in calories) of the cereals pastoralists acquire is greater than that of the animal products they sell³. Market terms of trade between pastoral and non-pastoral products are therefore a critical indicator of prosperity for a pastoral community.

While these terms of trade are generally favourable for pastoral producers, they tend to turn against them during times of crisis, such as a drought, disease, conflict or market closure (refer to Dietz, 2001; Little, 2003). As an example, during the year 2000 pastoralists' purchasing power in Northern Somalia was cut to one third of its 1999 value, due to drought conditions that compounded an already critical situation created by a livestock ban imposed by Arab countries.

³ As an indicative example, camel milk contains about 700 cal/kg, while traditionally exchanged cereals such as rice and wheat contain about 3.300-3.500 cal/kg (Nori, 2003).

Picture 2 - Terms of Trade between Pastoral and Imported Products
(Hargeisa market, Somaliland 2000/2001) – source: FEWS



Pastoral estimates of livestock value are not necessarily compatible with a monetarised economy since to these groups, cattle hold social and cultural value beyond that embodied in an international market price. Moreover, pastoralists are not able to control the exchange value of their livestock or products, which is set by the wider economy within which they operate (Kerven, 1992). The growing market integration of pastoral economies carries risk as it leads to the reshaping of nutritional patterns and migration routes, potentially changing the structure and functioning of pastoral societies. Increasingly, market-based relationships are challenging traditional systems of pastoral resource management and social support, as access to basic resources such as land, water, labour and veterinary services are increasingly preconditioned by monetary payments rather than traditional reciprocity exchanges. These processes create space for exploitation and social differentiation, generating stress in the local social fabric and potentially driving violence (refer to Little, 2003 for the Somali case).

2.4 Pastoral Vulnerability

In conclusion, pastoral vulnerability is shaped by ecological, economic and political forces at local, regional and global levels. The increasing encroachment of external actors, interests and pressures on rangelands often results in processes that undermine the viability and sustainability of pastoral livelihoods, as they constrain their capacity to cope with the variability and the uncertainty of the bio-physical environment they depend upon. The transforming forces and processes of cultural, institutional and economic integration, when combined with emerging trends such as increasing population density, HIV/AIDS, urban expansion and environmental degradation, may trigger insecurity and conflict within pastoral communities. The resources which these groups control (livestock) and do not control (land, markets, politics) subsequently have a large impact on their welfare choices and their interactions with society at large – and the chances of such interactions turning violent.

3. Pastoralism and Conflict

Pastoral development is often as much concerned with the management of conflict between competing interests as it is with physical or economic improvement
(Prior, 1994)

As Section 2 has shown, pastoral societies today face great challenges to their way of life, challenges which threaten impoverishment, marginalization and a loss of freedom, and which contribute to feelings of insecurity and to tensions within and between pastoral groups and their neighbouring communities (Fratkin, 1997). The relationship between pastoral communities and violence is not a new one. As a result of the threats to livelihood viability mentioned above, and coupled with the impact of new technologies (small arms, motorised transportation, long-distance communication) and international linkages, this relationship is taking on new and potentially dangerous characteristics, with implications for global security.

In this section, the dynamic relationship between migratory herding communities and violence will be examined, followed by a tentative classification of the diverse influences underlying conflict. It will conclude by looking at the damaging effects increased violence is having on these marginalised populations.

3.1 Pastoralists, Insecurity and Conflict

... land belongs to a vast family of which many are dead, few are living and countless members are still unborn
Nigerian herder (in Lane, 1998)

Experience attests that certain level of conflict is endemic to many pastoral areas. Recent studies show that tensions, competition and conflict around natural resources are prevalent in these lands (Kratli and Swift, 1999), and it is likely that with more people competing for fewer resources, this could fuel conflict. (Blench, 1996). On a general basis security issues for pastoralists include (Galaty et Al., 1994):

- *Land security* bears on rights to resources;
- *Political security* bears on conflict, violence and civil order;
- *Food security* bears on agrarian productivity and rural markets; and
- *Environmental security* bears on resource management.

These insecurities are manifest in many ways in contemporary pastoral societies. While access to and sustainability of range resources is the critical basis for pastoral livelihood strategies, population pressures, climate change, industrialization and globalization are among the key forces threatening and potentially undermining them, increasing their level of vulnerability and constraining their options for coping with change. Natural resource governance and political insecurity are therefore crucial issues in understanding pastoral communities.

Changes to **land access** are among the greatest challenges currently facing many pastoral societies (de Haan & Gautier, 1999). Pastoral land tenure and management systems are increasingly challenged by encroaching interests, which span from the advance of the agricultural frontier, to oil and mineral extraction, tourism-driven conservation policies, and Western notions of private property and resource ownership. Changes in land tenure induced by central governments and related uncertainties about resource access have been a major source of deprivation, vulnerability and insecurity in pastoral areas. Based on the supposed inefficiency and irrationality of pastoral resource management (refer to Hardin's 'Tragedy of the Commons'

approach theorized in 1968) governments have often applied to rangelands tenure systems that were conceived for different environments (e.g. Western Europe, Soviet Union), spanning from centralization of state property to comprehensive privatization. Experience has shown that this approach provided a rationalization for World Bank programs calling for sweeping privatization of land and the commercialization of livestock production (Fratkin 1997: 241).

In some countries dominated by agricultural systems, the concept of 'mise en valeur' was introduced in colonial times, where land that was not put into agricultural production by current owners within a certain number of years would be forfeit to anyone who planted crops there. This law meant that grazing lands and migratory corridors could be foreclosed without notice to pastoral groups. Conversely, many Soviet states prior to the dissolution of the USSR sought first to rapidly monopolize land rights, and then following the 1991 collapse attempted to liberalize lands quickly into individual/private tenure systems within a market framework. Both systems are imported concepts, substantially different from the customary pastoral land management cycles of short-term intensive use followed by months or years of inactivity.



Box 3.1a Encroaching Interests and the Exclusion of Pastoral Land Users

Alternative land users, often supported by governmental policies or international investments, are evicting pastoral communities from areas critical to their production and subsistence systems. Instances where highly productive rangelands have been reallocated for farming, irrigation, ranching, nature conservation, tourism or urban development are widespread. As an example, in Mauritania irrigation schemes and improved crop breeds have supported agriculture encroachment upon resource areas critical to pastoralists, leading to a northward shift of the arable farming boundary by more than 500 kilometres (GTZ, 2003). Similar cases can be drawn from the other side of the continent (e.g. irrigation schemes from Awassa river in Ethiopian Afar zones) and from Asia (e.g. India). This has often limited crop productivity and diminished animal production, exacerbating rather than resolving food shortages during periods of drought. And with restricted access to traditional migratory routes, the biodiversity and land stewardship advantages of pastoralism are lost – deepening the risks of environmental degradation.

Rising pressure on rich-but-fragile pastoral environments from growing populations and encroaching interests has contributed to declining mobility and degrading quality and productivity of rangelands. This is particularly the case in the semi-arid zone, where resources are especially valuable, since resource pressures are at their most intense in such areas with competition between agricultural and pastoral uses of land (Scoones, 1994: 26). When resources are short and populations live on the edge, minor deficits in rainfall or pasture may generate major conflict (Blench, 1996)

The land tenure matter is therefore a relevant one spurring pastoral vulnerability. It is particularly prominent in Sub-Saharan Africa, where there exists a rising wave of landlessness, insecure tenancy, eviction and violent conflicts. In Central Asia, a wave of land privatization reforms is currently shifting land rights from pastoral cooperatives to wealthy individuals and groups. Within this growing insecurity to resource access and to mobility options lies the potential for violence.

With many different and intertwined forces potentially driving the emergence of violent conflict, it is arguable whether natural resource scarcities play a major role in inspiring and fuelling conflicts in marginal environments such as the Sahel (see Homer-Dixon, 1995). A 'resource scarcity approach' to understanding conflict can de-emphasize the socio-economic and political factors that are crucial to understanding contested use and control of resources and the creation of insecurity (Lind, 2003). Processes resulting from increasing demands and encroaching interests on rangelands lead to changes in **power and control structures**, as they weaken customary allocation mechanisms and remould property rights regimes. Conflict is in fact always about resources, but these might be either material ones or non-material ones, such as identity, control, and power.

Swift (1994: 161) observes that most types of customary tenure institutions have undergone considerable transformation in the twentieth century, generally in the direction of weakening of customary controls as a result of increased state control, an increase in market relations, and an increase in population pressure on resources. As external interests encroach onto rangelands, change is pressing upon pastoral communities, and customary decision-making mechanisms are increasingly challenged by evolving political, economic, social, generational and gender spheres:

- *Globalising processes*, involving structural adjustments, policy modernization, religious movements and economic liberalisation, are constantly eroding the role of nation-state governments. This provides options for pastoral groups – and for their resource competitors - to capitalise upon this fresh room for manoeuvre.
- Globalisation also fuels *social stratification*, a problem which is finding its way into once egalitarian pastoral societies. In the Horn of Africa and now Central Asia, wealth polarisation and absentee ownership are a growing phenomenon, allowing new social elites to challenge the elder institutions and usurp their leadership, power and authority.
- *Youth*, often caught between high employment rates and few options for alternative livelihoods, are seeking a way to challenge traditional power structures. The use of weapons and violence is one unfortunate avenue through which the demographic group attempts to do so. Commercial raiding, banditry and enrolment in insurgent movements are seen as the means to achieve economic independence and social recognition.
- The strengthened *role of women* in conflict and post-conflict societies is also challenging customary power structures, triggering comprehensive changes in the whole socio-economic system. Women are developing into new social, economic and political actors with both valuable and detrimental contributions to make in conflict situations – either as combatants or as peace-builders.

Box 3.1b Gender and conflict in Somalia: an opportunity for empowerment

The impact of the war on traditional family structures and roles has created room for processes that critically challenged Somali society. While the conflict increased the vulnerability of Somali women to poverty and ostracism – as women (and children) are often the primary victims of the conflict - it has also provided many with opportunities to free themselves from oppressive family relationships and to establish themselves as economic, social and political actors. Many women had to support their children and relatives, as the civil war destroyed earlier livelihoods and men were called away for militia duty. From livestock keeping to market exchanges and peace committees, many Somali women found themselves taking on roles and responsibilities traditionally held by men as a result of the civil war.

(excerpt from Nori, M. 2003)

Issues of local governance are therefore at a stake as conflict emerges when unresolved disagreements and competing claims to resources lead to tensions and confrontations. Local factors that could fuel the escalating process include:

- Corruption and patronage;
- Failure to monopolize violence resulting in widespread presence of small arms;
- Large numbers of unemployed youth;
- Absence of clearly defined and agreed property rights;
- Absence of legitimate mechanisms for non-violent dispute resolution;
- Lack of effective leadership and political authority;
- Weakening of social safety nets; and
- Oppression of minority groups by dominant majority.

Although the scale and the relevance of these processes is global, regional differentiations are important to define the degree and the specificity of the different factors that interact and intertwine in conflict situations. This increases the complexity of the local picture, especially from outsiders' view. This complexity becomes apparent in a study by Blench (1996), which contrasts conflict-related matters in the North Equatorial and East & South regions of Africa in order to analyze the relevance of different factors, such as livelihood systems, ethnic differentiation and mobility patterns, to conflict.

Table 3.1a - Key contrasts between North Equatorial and Eastern-Southern Africa

Northern Equatorial		East & South
Yes	Occupationally specialized pastoralists	No
All	Species herded	Cattle
Yes	Long-distance transhumance	No
Yes	Ethnic differentiation with farmers	No
Yes	Religious differentiation with farmers	No
No	Resource competition with hunter-gatherers	Yes
Yes	Economic dependence of sales of dairy products	No
Yes	Nutritional dependence of herds on cereals	No

(Blench, 1996)

3.2 Pastoral Conflicts – A Sustainable Livelihoods Perspective

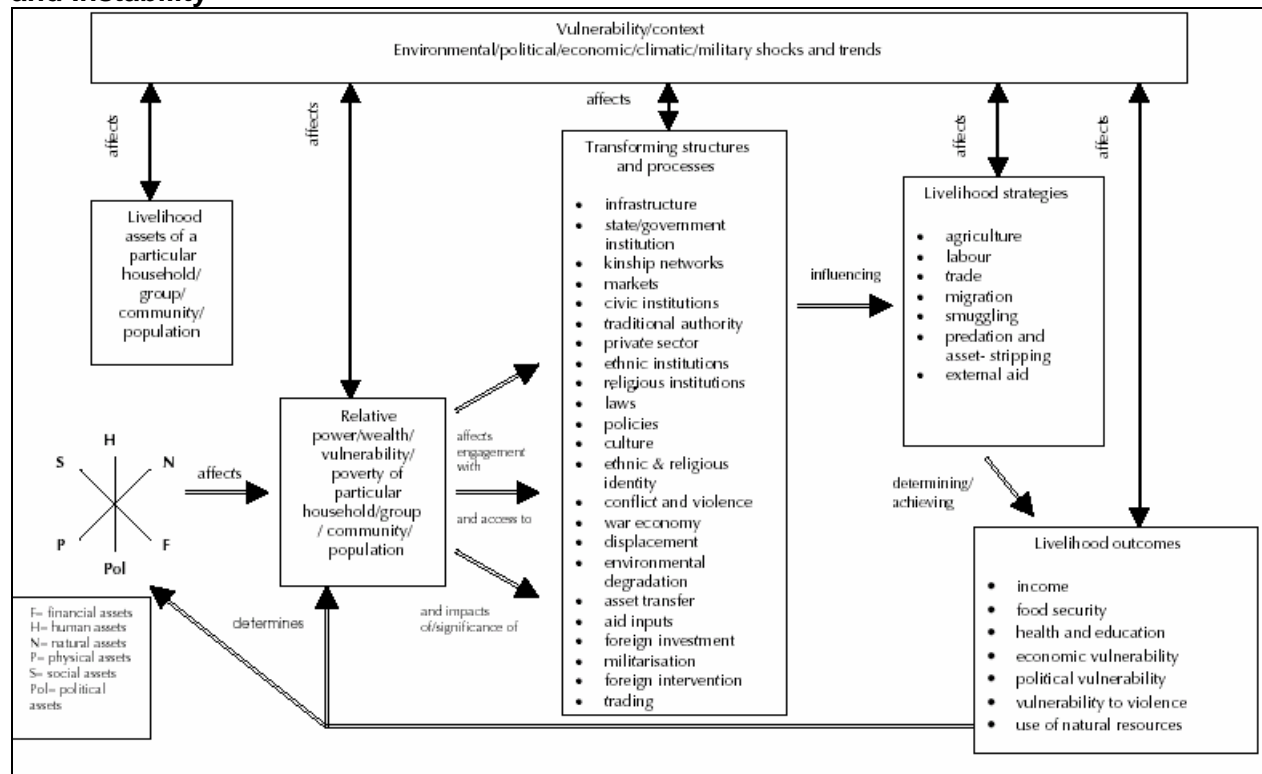
*When the herd dies, so does the village
(VSF Europe)*

Given the critical reliance of pastoral livelihoods upon natural resource access and conditions, and the relevance of transforming structures and processes, a **sustainable livelihoods perspective** offers useful insight into the emergence of violence as a consequence of interactions within and between pastoral communities and other land users and economic interests. Livelihoods are “the capabilities, assets (including both social and material assets) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future while not undermining the natural resource base” (Carney, 1999).

Traditional pastoral strategies for coping with described critical trends and shocks while striving to maintain their livelihoods include trying to reduce their resource use, migrating, seizing other resources, innovating, or trading with others. A wide range of cooperative and synergistic relationships exist between pastoralists and other groups, and the exchanges of goods, skills and services which arise from these agrarian and urban relationships are crucial to the food security of the diverse groups. As coping strategies often involve neighbouring communities,

these interactions might threaten to explode into violent conflict should the tensions they create go unresolved. Seen from this perspective, pastoral livelihoods can be threatened by increased scarcity of fundamental resources (pastures, water, migratory routes), and by loss of animal, human and social capacities to transform these resources into well-being.

Figure 3.2a A Sustainable Livelihoods Framework for Analyzing Situations of Conflict and Instability



(from Collinson, 2003).

Based on the definition of pastoralism provided in chapter 2, the classification of threats to the various forms of capital critical to sustainable livelihoods presented below can help to strengthen well-being, reduce tensions and contribute to conflict resolution. Livestock is the pastoralist's fundamental means for the production, storage, transfer and transport of food, wealth and other services. As such, it is fundamental to each form of pastoral livelihood capital, and any threat to livestock – such as lack of feed or water, raiding, price variation, and disease - is therefore a direct threat to pastoral livelihoods.

Threats to Natural Capital – Any limitation to accessing specific natural resources or migratory routes represents a major threat to pastoralists, together with the degradation of soil, water and plant resources. These might be the result of excessive pastoral use (overgrazing) or the consequence of external encroachment, others' utilization or State policy and law (e.g. land privatization). Key sources of natural capital include:

- *Rangelands*, the resource base of pastoral systems. Its productivity depends to a great extent on rainfall patterns as well as the composition and diversity of natural forage vegetation (which leads, for example, to efforts to limit the less-nutritious invasive plant species 'Sida Vert' in West Africa).
- *Water sources*, both underground wells and superficial sources, which are the basis for the survival of people and livestock. Water rights often regulate land rights during the dry

season. Threats include lack of access to water, drought, falling water table, increasing animal and human populations, contamination, and salinization.

- *Wild fruits and other range products* (fuelwood, gums, resins, salt) are also critical, especially as coping mechanisms for pastoralists and more sedentary groups, and as such threats to their access might generate tensions.

Increasing scarcity is the product of a limited or declining supply of natural resources (as a result of depletion, degradation or natural decline), of rising demand for them and of unequal distribution of such key resources (Homer Dixon, 1999). A rapid loss of wellbeing can result from a failure to ensure sustainable and equitable resource use; over-consumption of resources in support of particular livelihoods; or from the impacts of a sudden shock such as war, (animal or human) disease, or policy changes to the mechanisms needed for resource transformation. If unchecked, this can have severe consequences, including impoverishment, out-migration, dynamic power shifts and, in extremis, violence (Schwartz and Singh, 1999).

Threats to Financial Capital – Livestock represents the overwhelmingly most important form of financial capital for pastoralists, both in terms of stock and flows. It is the primary source of pastoral income, saving, loan, gift, investments and insurance. Forms of social capital assist in sharing, buffering and minimizing risks related to this single-asset economic system under such uncertain conditions. Threats to the herd or to the clan are therefore serious blows to pastoral financial capital. Variations in market prices and problems in accessing remittance income and market-based opportunities also represent major financial threats. Lack of access to other sources of income – such as government employment – can also be perceived as evidence of injustice, as the Touareg rebellion in the 1990s attested.



Threats to Physical Capital – Pastoral communities often have limited access to and ownership of physical capital, especially compared to more settled communities, as a result of their mobility and of their economic and political marginalisation. Obstacles to accessing critical infrastructure and facilities for water, communications, movement, transportation, grazing, and exchange opportunities with markets or urban environments may be important concerns. These assets are in fact vital in ensuring the integration of remote ranges to other areas which provide for alternative and complementary resources (e.g. health care, market exchanges, cereals, water), especially during critical times

Threats to Human Capital – The loss of traditional knowledge or custom due to violence, displacement, HIV-AIDS⁴, urbanization, cultural incorporation or migration can deal a serious blow to the skills transfer between older and younger generations, and might also affect the functioning of other social mechanisms. Variations in prices of critical staples might have repercussions on pastoralists' nutritional and health status, especially that of children. An absence of appropriate health and educational services represents a threat to the human capital of current and future pastoral generations.

⁴ Refer to Morton J., 2003. Conceptualising The Links Between Hiv/Aids And Pastoralist Livelihoods. Natural Resources Institute, University of Greenwich

Threats to Social Capital – As already stated (in section 2.2) social capital is traditionally strong and important among pastoralists, in that it minimises risk, enables common resource management and provides safety nets in times of crisis. Tensions may nevertheless emerge in pastoral societies over leadership and succession, generational and gender struggles, etc. or through external drivers (such as market integration, state regulation, privatization processes, etc...). These may result in a breakdown of traditional social structures based on trust, reciprocity and exchanges, common rules and support networks, and may generate problems in accessing natural (ranges) or social (safety nets) resources. The dilution, distortion or erosion of traditional institutions, often overridden by imposed or inadequately developed institutions, can lead to contested resource claims (Anand, 2003). The fraying of tradition results in an overall weakening of effective traditional resource management as well as the social support systems, which have sustained pastoral societies for centuries. Longstanding clan or ethnic divisions are also open to manipulation, and tension can result from progressive exclusion of certain groups from key resources⁵.

Threats to Political Capital – While a traditionally relevant feature among pastoralists, a distinction needs to be made between the diverse forms of socio-political capital. On the basis of Woodcock and Narayan definition (2000), pastoral groups show strong internal ties (binding relationships among members of a same sub-clan), while their bridging and networking capacities (linking to external groups or forces in the wider societal frame) are often weaker, leading to their traditional marginalized status. With the socio-political environment largely determining access to and control of natural resources, the political marginalisation of pastoralists can lead to land, food and environmental insecurity, as land access and mobility are restricted by the state, other users and environmental degradation.

Each of these forms of capital is affected by issues of power and politics, and the threats are not mutually exclusive to one form of capital – a threat to natural capital can also represent a threat to financial capital, for example. While these are underlying threats, they can be politicized or exacerbated when combined with historical, cultural or ethnic differences. **Managing resource scarcity and variability, negotiating their access and resolving disputes over their management are central to sustainable pastoral livelihoods and should represent key components of development interventions in pastoral communities.**

Box 3.2a Resource Scarcity and Access Rights in the Darfur Conflict

Resource access in pastoral areas is a critical element in understanding the 2004-5 crisis in Darfur, which has displaced an estimated 2 million persons, while leaving some 70,000 dead. It was driven partly by desert encroachment, and by the inaccessibility of southern Sudanese pastures due to war, which together have forced nomadic herder communities into farming areas and into conflict with settled agrarian groups. The region was also subjected to several cycles of drought, which diminished herds and destroyed crops, accelerating migration from rural to urban centres. Government response was inadequate both to crisis needs, and to longer term concerns, reportedly offering little to benefit farmers and herders in terms of re-settlement, pastures, and the transport of their produce to local and national markets. Reform of land rights in the 1970s to encourage agricultural export production further undermined livelihoods by creating structural land scarcities. This explosive combination of diminishing livelihoods, governance failures, and continued conflict elsewhere in the country helped to stoke violence.

(from Egemi & Pantuliano, 2004).

⁵ This typology by Baechler/ENCOP includes as well ‘areas with river basins subdivided by state boundaries’,. Lietzmann, K. and Vest, G. (eds.) Environment and Security in an International Context. Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society/NATO, March 1999:110-111.

3.3 Effects of conflict and insecurity on pastoral livelihoods

When elephants fight, it is the grass that pays more.
Masaai saying

The direct and indirect effects of conflict and insecurity are among the most important factors contributing to the vulnerability of pastoral groups in many areas of the world, hindering their development. These compound and exacerbate other negative elements, such as recurrent climatic extremes, socio-political marginalisation, fragile environments and unfair market conditions. Conflict situations are negative in both the short and long terms, since violence generates displacement, suffering and death of the most vulnerable, while reversing development processes and undermining trust. It must be nevertheless emphasized that if the conflict does not directly relate to resource access, agreements can be found to allow for utilisation of pasture and water by groups from the opposite sides. Reciprocal rights in difficult times are in fact recognised as vital among pastoralists.

Table 3.3a - Impacts of Conflict on Pastoral Development Prospects

- Direct Impacts	- Indirect Impacts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Loss of productive assets (deaths and livestock raiding), - Hinder access to resources (pasture, water, markets, social networks), - Generalised looting, - Limit mobility (especially for women), and overall herding and exchange activities, - Impoverishment and destitution (particularly women and children). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Roll back economic development, - Disrupt resource management and social networks, - Hinder market exchanges, - Increase patterns of feminization of pastoral roles - due to displacement, death or divorce rates, - Disincentive for service delivery, assistance efforts as well as economic investments (animal/public health services, education, etc.) - Refugee flows increasing pressure on resources, - Decrease options for collaboration and exchanges (e.g. inter-marriages) - Rise in raiding, banditry and overall insecurity, and escalating revenge attacks.

The links between conflict and natural resources are diverse and sometimes contradictory. Highly valued by all sides, their preservation or exploitation will depend upon contested access rights. As a result the **environmental effects of conflict** vary from one situation to another. Although it is widely believed that conflict leads to environmental degradation, mainly through the undermining of traditional resource management systems, some areas become buffers to direct interaction and as such are not accessed by any faction during the conflict, regenerating during the period of tension. Chronic insecurity from livestock raiding has the effect of deterring herders from exploiting pastures that are not easily defensible in some areas (Blench, 1996). In other instances, insecurity has discouraged the development of water management infrastructure, such as dams, maintaining pristine areas. It can therefore be seen that conflict can have a range of effects on pastoral livelihood strategies through the varying environmental impacts it can create.

4. Sustainable Intervention

Conflict is often the best-known but least understood feature of pastoral communities.
IBAR/CAPE

Development actors have had little success meeting the needs of the world's pastoral communities in respect to poverty alleviation. Many donors have pulled out of development projects, citing escalating costs and personal dangers. Development professionals have died while trying to improve pastoral areas plagued by conflict, whether in Somalia, Sudan or Turkana. The complexity and mobility of these groups only add to the challenges faced by the aid sector – transactions costs continually rise, and measurable outcomes are disappointing.

4.1 A History of Failures

While pastoral areas have always been high in interest for political, economic and ecological reasons, local livelihoods have been an area of fluctuating concern for the national and international communities. In the past, considerable investments have in fact been made in pastoral areas with relatively little success when measured against the stated aim (Waters-Bayer & Bayer, 1994). Most interventions in the past resulted in dramatic failure, which discouraged further initiatives. Daunted by the complexities of the pastoral question, by the difficulties of finding appropriate ways of intervening, and by the modest populations involved relative to broader society, the international development agencies are becoming less and less involved in pastoral regions (Thebaud & Batterbury, 2001). As a result, pastoral development investment declines every year (FAO, 2001).



Large investments in pastoral areas have typically focused on **technical innovations** aimed at increasing productivity and extracting the 'pastoral surplus' (i.e. the market benefits of livestock rearing). Such interventions have achieved disappointingly poor results, and often created conditions that contributed to degrade, rather than improve, pastoral livelihoods. While investing in poor people and less-favoured areas sounds a promising slogan for the future, few effective options are presently available (Ruben et al., 2003).

In sub-Saharan Africa the record of past technical investments attest to the shortcomings of this approach:

- *Water development* has often proved unmanageable and has been seen to undermine traditional pastoral land use systems, enhancing conditions for detrimental environmental degradation and conflict conditions.
- *Dryland agriculture* in marginal areas has often increased food insecurity trends, as it limits mobility and diverts labour inputs into unreliable 'hit or miss' cropping patterns.
- *Basic services provision* (education, health) has often proved inadequate to the dispersed nature, remoteness and mobility of pastoral communities. Initiatives to promote

sedentarization to enhance service delivery have rarely generated sustainable livelihood patterns.

- *Ranching systems*, supplementary feeding strategies, fattening schemes and dairy centers have often been inefficient and unsustainable in pastoral contexts.
- *Genetic improvements* have often failed to address the bio-physical constraints and socio-economic needs of herding societies and have contributed to the erosion local breeds, which are often the best suited to local environments.
- *Animal health* is often referred as to the area that has provided more consistent contribution to improving pastoral production, but related services prove very difficult and costly to maintain and extend. Community-based systems are increasingly being developed to enhance outreach and sustainability of animal health services.

Box 4.1a Water Development Projects: Unintended Negative Social Impacts

An intuitive development response to survival needs in arid lands is the expansion of water access points, through the construction of water catchments, wells and boreholes. But well-meaning water resource development projects in pastoral areas can wreak unintentional harm upon herder communities, by increasing herd density on pastures and by reshaping seasonal use patterns. Water projects have in many cases unintentionally destabilized social relationships, disregarding the local distribution of access rights and responsibilities for management of resources, thereby undermining mutual assistance networks and other means of averting risk (Helland, 2000). In areas of conflict, water schemes have often been a target of looting and destruction (Little, 2003). In order to avoid the rise of conflictive situations related to shift in resource management, pastoral communities must therefore be closely involved in decision-making processes over water development programmes, and in their maintenance and management.

On the **research side**, despite the large literature on pastoralists first developed by anthropologists (Evans-Pritchard, Gulliver, Lewis, Dupire, Dyson-Hudson, Spencer – among others for the African continent) and then economists (when it became the investing ground of development agencies), recent understandings and appreciations of pastoral capacities to effectively administer and manage marginal ecosystems and complex social relations were developed by natural scientists through the New Range Ecology (Behnke, 1992; Behnke & Scoones, 1992; Scoones, 1994; Ellis, 1994). While the development of this approach has shed fresh light over the effectiveness of pastoral resource management and its economic and environmental implications, it has yet not penetrated national policymaking. According to Scoones (1999), it is now time for socio-economic scientists to launch interdisciplinary efforts to deepen understanding, reverse misunderstanding and develops means for providing adequate support to pastoral groups.

Box 4.1b The New Range ecology approach

New Range ecologists showed that arid and semiarid environments are inherently unstable, as climate variability is so high and unpredictable that it represents the primary driver of complex ecosystem dynamics (Scoones, 1994; Ellis, 1994); livestock and vegetation do not control each other, and external shocks (e.g. drought) rather than endogenous processes (e.g. low calving rates caused by malnutrition) determine livestock numbers and the state of vegetation (Sandford, 1994). Change in such non-equilibrium environments does not occur gradually, does not follow successional models, and does not show the classical feedback regulatory mechanisms. In this perspective, drought and desertification trends are more the result of long-term climatic oscillations/patterns rather than of detrimental land use patterns/human activities, and the concept of 'carrying capacity' fails to recognize the variability and patchiness of arid lands ecology (Behnke 1994, Behnke & Scoones 1992, Behnke et al 1993, Cougheour et al. 1985, Ellis & Swift 1988, Homewood & Rodgers 1991).

As Warren (1995) has stated, the malign nexus of colonial governance, scientific homogenisation and simplistic economic theories about the use of pastoral rangelands have greatly affected pastoral communities worldwide. New paradigms for development assistance in pastoral environments must be found, which build upon the complexity of rangeland management and pastoral livelihood systems. Sustainable rangelands management can reduce poverty, enhance food security, and improve the socio-economic conditions and political representation of pastoral communities. Failing to achieve this might carry unbearable costs. It is in this context that pastoral conflict and insecurity must be tackled, as they represent a major threat to sustainability and poverty alleviation.

4.2 Improving Analysis: What are Pastoral Conflict Drivers?

In pastoral settings where violence is present, a **sustainable livelihoods-based conflict analysis** (integrating the Sustainable Livelihoods model presented in Section 3.2 within a standard conflict analysis template) can help discern conflict drivers and community coping strategies, and identify entry points for development programming. Key areas on which to focus analysis include:

1. **Agro-ecological conditions and livelihoods strategies:** Identify key resources, focal points, drivers of resource loss, and limiting environmental factors (water, pastures, migratory corridors) for pastoral development, as well as sources of degradation and scarcity, and annual cycles of resource stress (e.g. rainfall patterns, water sources, seasonal food gaps). Develop an understanding of the mix of livelihoods practiced and the diverse groups involved in multiple use systems, and how these vary seasonally and annually due to environmental, economic and political conditions (e.g. herd composition, migratory routes, pasturelands used, etc.) It is also important to understand the coping strategies practiced in times of crisis. What happens when drought or other crisis strikes? What geographic locations, natural resources, kinship ties and other mechanisms do communities rely upon to see themselves through crisis?
2. **Context-specific socio-economic, political and cultural issues:** Seek to understand the diversity and interconnectedness of local societies and the specific relationships amongst them (e.g. competing and complementary livelihood strategies, land use activities, ethnicities, fault lines, generational gaps, pending tensions, decision-making structures, customary and formal resource access rights, reciprocity and exchange). Socio-cultural understanding must be based upon the fact that pastoral rights and duties, from access rights to those governing conduct, are usually set on a collective rather than individual basis. Market studies will be useful in understanding the degree to which herders are compensated for the sale of their products, through identification of price trends, timing of sales, etc. Political power analysis will help in understanding the capability of pastoral groups to represent their interests in wider societal arenas impacting them – the market, state, scientific community and development agencies. Historical investigations should inform project design based on group perceptions and trends of a given situation. Additionally, it may be worthwhile to complement this overall picture with local case studies of particularly violent flare-ups of tension between groups. Particular attention should be paid to traditional raiding practices, and to challenges posed by the influx of modern weaponry, religion, remittance flows, local politics, etc. This analysis may help development programmes aimed at provision of services or at introduction of novel techniques or technologies to avoid exacerbating tensions.
3. **Local customary structures, contracts and arrangements aimed to prevent, manage or resolve conflicts:** These include the (at times competing and partisan) roles of

traditional chiefs, elders, women, local administrators, the judiciary, etc. Important peace-building mechanisms in different time frames, from gifts and animal exchanges to cross-group marriages, should be understood as well. It is important to assess the impact of changes in context on the effectiveness of these dispute resolution mechanisms (e.g. changes in small arms availability, gender roles, water points, movements of displaced peoples, sedentarization and urbanization, rising market integration, etc...). Any sustainable initiative to prevent and avoid disputes and conflict must necessarily reinforce and rely upon local structures and processes.

4. **Mapping the impact scenarios of possible development trajectories.** This requires a clear understanding of the different stakeholders' objectives, resources characterization and management options. Use of role games and modeling could be of use to visualize possible outcomes, raise awareness of locals' view and stimulate discussion and negotiations and decision-making levels. CIRAD's experience ([//cormas.cirad.fr](http://cormas.cirad.fr)) and the establishing research working group on Competing Claims could provide with useful examples and insights with these respects. It should be acknowledged that development programmes seeking to introduce new services - such as third party conflict resolution facilities, health clinics, or water management teams - have had little success in being perceived as impartial and equitable. Those that do gain community trust have demonstrated little long-term sustainability without continued external support.

4.3 Identifying Entry Points: What should Development Actors do in Pastoral Regions?

Working and investing in pastoral areas requires long-term engagement and multi-disciplinary planning. Development and humanitarian programmes which do not exercise due care are more likely to threaten the sustainability of pastoral livelihoods than to strengthen them. Recognizing that the context of each intervention is unique and embedded in local socio-cultural realities, development programmes should hinge upon built-in participation and flexibility to ensure their impact and deploy a mix of the following strategies in attempting to prevent and resolve pastoral conflicts:

1. **Restore or ensure access to resources** critical to the livelihoods of pastoralists as well as to their neighbouring communities: Resource access rights – to pastures, migratory corridors and water - are often interlinked and are vital to pastoral survival. Halting forest cover degradation, reversing soil erosion, strengthening well management practices, and improving pastures through co-management programs are among the means available to strengthen the pastoral resource base. (See Appendix 1 - Systematizing Pastoral Land Use Rights: Code Pastorale)
2. **Enhance the efficiency and productivity of existing livelihoods** through the provision of animal health services, innovative techniques for production, preservation and storage (e.g. dairy processing, dry meat schemes, granaries), and exchange (e.g. market access - see below). These are effective ways to decrease the vulnerability of pastoralists, as they allow for better use of natural resources by lowering the impact of seasonality and in so doing reduce threats to pastoral livelihoods (e.g. the hunger gap).
3. **Broaden available livelihoods options** to absorb surplus labour, diversify income streams, and reduce exposure to shocks. Alternative livelihood sources based on the protection and collection of natural products (wild fruits, gums, resins – but also fish and seafood, as in Somalia), on inclusion of poultry, or on urban-based income-generation (seasonal town

labour, petty trade, etc...) are also drawn upon to reduce natural resource burdens. Financial assets – such as community micro-credit schemes and remittance income support - are useful means to promote diversification. Schemes that rely upon semi-sedentarization and increased reliance on seasonal farming should be carefully assessed beforehand, as both increased variability of production, and accelerated resource degradation have often resulted.

4. **Reinforce synergistic relationships** within pastoral groups and with other land users (farmers, urban, ...) to foster interdependence and communication. Enhancement of crop-livestock interactions such as the 'manure contract' between herder and farmer communities, increased trade of goods and services, intermarriage and other exchanges can help to strengthen positive relationships between groups and facilitate joint coping strategies and peaceful dispute resolution in times of crisis. Co-management of development projects (getting stakeholders from diverse groups working together), enhancing communication opportunities (e.g. through radio networks, and transportation routes), and establishing shared public and animal health services are specific examples.
5. **Strengthen the capacity of communities to cope with ecological shocks.** In a conflict-sensitive manner, restore those 'common resource pools' drawn upon by communities in times of scarcity or disaster (forests, pastures, wells, etc...). Strategies for adapting to drought – the main environmental threat to pastoralists - are numerous. In Rajasthan (India) the government recognises and has to an extent formalised protected areas for contingency pastoral grazing. In the Sahel, farmers and herders turn to common-property pastures and undeveloped forest areas to forage for nuts, roots and other means to meet their dietary needs when their principal livelihood is insufficiently productive. In Somalia, 'emergency wells' have been drilled whose access is limited to times of critical environmental stress.
6. **Strengthen the institutional ability to respond to environmental stresses.** National and international agencies involved in a pastoral area should draft appropriate strategies to deal with specific crisis and shocks, in order to prevent the deterioration of livelihood conditions and the subsequent rise in insecurity. Relevant approaches for crisis response include contingency funds and planning; emergency water, medical and food supplies and their distribution networks; and effective transportation and communication networks (e.g. radio, mobile telephone). Market-based solutions are also relevant to tackle emergency situations (e.g. preventive herd reduction schemes in times of drought).
7. **Reinforce traditional and administrative mechanisms for non-violent dispute resolution**, seeking to maximize opportunities for 'win-win' interest-based negotiation between groups. Where traditional leadership and decision-making structures are effective at the local level, their relevance and resilience should be recognized and supported. In Somaliland, customary mechanisms of conflict resolution have survived through situations of open warfare and have helped in rebuilding the local society in the aftermath of strife. ...). One important element is building upon 'local knowledge' while strengthening formal recognition of pastoral communities' traditional resource use and access rights (See Appendix 1 - Women and Pastoral Peace-Building: IIED/Jam Sahel, and Strengthening Pastoral Capacities: IIED).
8. **Provide for an enabling regulatory environment** to reconcile traditional and modern decision-making structures and governance processes, and to enable local/traditional structures to function effectively while integrated into the wider frame. The experience of the 'Code Pastoral' in West Africa is relevant in this respect, as it formalises and respects traditional herder-farmer negotiation mechanisms (on access to grazing resource and

migratory routes) as well as leaves room for the government to decide upon the timing of pastoral moves, so to include and respect the different interests at stake. (See Appendix 1 – the Code Pastoral Experience and also refer to the PASEL activities).

9. **Strengthen access to and fairness of market mechanisms. Better access to formal markets** can help to integrate pastoral communities into broader economic relationships, while reducing their vulnerability to shocks, crises and seasonal problems. Improved options for safe processing, storage and transportation of pastoral products paralleled by enhanced information and communication facilities, as well as support in timing of market sales, are effective ways to develop more equitable economic relationships. Market-based de-stocking strategies as a contingency plan to face climatic extremes are on the rise in some regions.
10. **Foster regional approaches and harmonization of treatment across borders.** The migratory nature of pastoralism collides with international borders, as rangelands are often frontier lands and herd movements and trade often cross geo-political demarcations. For this reason, legal harmonization and special rights of passage need to be negotiated at the regional level, and monitoring mechanisms put into place to ensure equitable treatment. AU-IBAR has been extensively working on these matters, with a specific concern for the Karamoja cluster. This issue might be of special concern for pastoral communities in Central Asia, where the collapse of the Soviet Union has spawned a hardening of frontiers and social divisions, which hamper pastoral mobility and resource access.

4.4 Moving Forward

Initiatives aimed at pastoral conflict prevention cannot focus solely on technical solutions. Such responses will offer little to pastoral communities as long as they remain politically, socially and economically marginalized. Positive experience in conflict prevention and resolution programming suggest that the more successful peace-building interventions by humanitarian agencies are those, which meld both technical and social components and focus on activities that spur wider processes of social change (Spencer, 1998). Improvements in pastoral livelihoods will come through a new societal attitude and an enabling environment for pastoralists to integrate and participate in wider society.

The nature of the problem is multi-faceted and involves a variety of actors and interests. For this reason, means to tackle conflict in pastoral areas must deploy a multi-dimensional and holistic approach. Customary institutions, state agencies, local, national and regional authorities, non-governmental and community-based organizations, international donors, research institutes, market agents, private entrepreneurs and local leaders and groups all have a role to play. The need for enhanced dialogue and negotiating opportunities among the different interests must be emphasized. The integration of pastoralists into the wider societal frame is an unavoidable and necessary step towards their sustainable development, and must be facilitated by governments and development actors. Four areas of development intervention offer particular promise in empowering pastoral communities with a view towards conflict-resolution and peace-building:

1. **Strengthen trade networks:** The extension of commerce into pastoral areas may support peace by bringing groups together and demonstrating the mutual benefits that arise from trade, while responding to some of the economic pressures that can fuel conflict. Extensive pastoral trade networks often link areas with diverse production systems, where protein-rich pastoral products are exchanged with other staples (e.g. the Somali rangelands to the coast and then to Arab countries; Sahelian countries to those with a coastal economy - Ghana, Ivory Coast, etc., the Tibetan plateau with lowland China). The potential for such trade-

related opportunities to establish collaborative relationships has seldom been integrated into programme design.

- 2. Engage women in peace-building:** Women must be active voices in conflict-resolution and peace-building activities among pastoral communities. Their ambiguous (WSP, 2000) kinship ties, their primarily non-combatant status, and their vulnerability as individuals, mothers and wives, can enable them to enlist the support of the elites, warriors, elders and the government in resolving conflict in ways that might not be open to other actors. Moreover, during post-conflict reconstruction, whether in groups or individually, formally or informally, pastoral women can contribute significantly to reconciliation efforts, to the revival of local economies and to the rebuilding of essential local services and networks. The challenge lies in working with pastoral women to emphasize these powerful informal and formal roles in effective and positive ways. (See Appendix 1 - Women and Pastoral Peace-building: AU/IBAR).
- 3. Work through civil society.** Civil society organizations can play a crucial role in peace-building and conflict resolution initiatives, in establishing a political voice for pastoral groups, and in sharing experience between regions. In Kenya, local NGOs have helped mediate conflict resolution processes between pastoralist groups and with farmers – often supported by international NGOs (e.g. ITDG, Oxfam UK). National and regional pastoral associations play a crucial role in the political empowerment of these communities. The 'Association pour la Redynamisation de l'Elevage au Niger' (AREN), for example, was established in 1990 to represent Nigerien pastoral communities in local, national and international debates, and defend their rights. It has focused primarily on resolving territorial disputes between herders and farmers, and on building a shared voice for pastoral groups. When working through civil society groups, there is a need to recognize their resource limitations and their dependency on specific individuals for leadership.
- 4. Strengthen political capital -** Traditional authority structures are often capable of managing disputes and interests at the local level within and between groups with longstanding ties, but it often fails in dealing with the wider political framework and interactions with external groups or forces (the difference between binding and bridging and networking forms of social capitals - Refer to Woodcock and Narayan, 2000). Stress can emerge, for example, when engaging in formal market interactions, when private land holders affect migratory routes or when State legislation changes resource access rights (e.g. transforming pastoral areas into national parks). Long-term peace-building strategies for pastoral groups require their empowerment through development of 'political capital' at the national, regional and global levels. The Pastoralist Communication Initiative (PCI) in Ethiopia recently organised a Global Pastoralist Gathering, bringing herder groups from around the world together to identify common challenges and solutions. (See Appendix 1 – Strengthening Pastoral Capacities: Pastoralist Communication Initiative).

4.5 Conclusions

Violence in pastoral areas should be an issue of global concern. The vast areas involved, the availability of small arms, the historic ethnic rivalries, all contribute to a situation where – if further pressure is applied – conflagration can result. Such pressure is evident in many regions, whether through a changing climate, rapid population growth, sudden economic decline, and conflict in neighbouring states.

For too long, the potential for pastoral areas to become a source of broader crisis has been given little attention. The failure to tackle the root causes of pastoral violence is constraining development across Sub-Saharan Africa, and in parts of West and Central Asia and South America. It threatens in some instances to escalate to the regional level.

Key to managing and mitigating these conflicts is the recognition of pastoral livelihoods as a fundamental ingredient to sustainably manage marginal lands, and to find ways to integrate these groups into the wider society while strengthening their capacity to adapt to changing conditions. In the last decade, interest has renewed in pastoral livestock development, triggered by innovative research and by the commitment to these communities of dedicated and experienced field professionals. A new generation of emerging pastoral projects shares many common characteristics:

- Acknowledges pastoralists as capable environmental custodians and managers;
- Allows for patterns of mobility and livelihood diversification;
- Includes the systematic participation of pastoral communities;
- Enhances access to and options for extended information and communication;
- Improves representation of pastoral interests vis-à-vis external agents (other land users, government bodies, market agents, civil society, etc.); and
- Stresses the development of pastoral markets.

Preventing conflict and state failure in arid regions calls for a new approach to pastoral communities that integrate their complex and highly-adaptive livelihood systems into regional economic systems while bringing their voice into political structures. We have sketched some of the lessons from our reading of research and our experience in working with these communities. We hope this can serve as a basis for dialogue and continued learning.



Appendix 1

Tools and Approaches

Preventing Resource Scarcity Conflicts

Swiss Agency for Development Cooperation - PASEL

◆ The Support Program for the Pastoral Herding Sector in Niger (“PASEL” in French) was established by Swiss Development Cooperation to reduce the incidence and intensity of conflicts between pastoralists and agriculturalists in the vicinity of key transhumant routes. These traditional North-South migration routes are under siege by a confluence of forces – rising agrarian population; the political marginalisation of pastoral communities; and a changing climate that may be increasing propensity for drought.

PASEL has been effective in reducing violence by integrating all relevant levels of government and traditional authorities within a hierarchy of progressively more senior dispute resolution processes; by demonstrating win-win benefits for both bordering communities and pastoral users in the preservation of the transhumant corridors; by clearly marking the resulting borders; and by working with community leaders and administrative authorities to ensure that when disputes emerge that they are resolved transparently and equitably. On this basis, incidence of violence has been reduced and the project model has been adopted more broadly in the region by other donors and NGOs.

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Women and Pastoral Peace-building

AU/IBAR “Women’s Peace Crusade” in the Karamojong Cluster

◆ The traditional social institution of the *alokita* (‘a group of women united for a purpose’) was revived through Women’s Peace Crusade. The Women’s Peace Crusade brings women’s informal roles of persuasion and influence on male leaders into the public sphere. The Crusade enables women to act as ambassadors of peace, bearing messages through songs, poems, dances and speeches performed for neighbouring communities. The Crusade travels along the length of a border area between two communities in conflict and involves key stakeholders from the different sides. These Crusades have helped initiate dialogue and provide opportunities to create a common bond among different conflicting groups.

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IIED/Jam Sahel “Enhancing Local Capacity to Manage Conflicts”

◆ To strengthen the capacity of local communities to manage conflict, the IIED/Jam Sahel programme undertook a gender-sensitive participatory approach to facilitate complementary male and female natural resource conflict management capacities. In the programme, community groups conduct a gender analysis of natural resource conflicts and conflict management practices, followed by the formulation of strategies to respond. Awareness and acceptance of these strategies is then promoted throughout the region, with the process and outcomes continually monitored and evaluated. By improving women’s confidence, awareness and participation in the peace process surrounding NR conflicts, more possibilities for conflict resolution are available and broader social change in other areas of gender concern are promoted.

Ced Hesse, Director

Drylands Programme, International Institute for Environment and Development

Strengthening Pastoral Political Capital

IIED – Reinforcement of Pastoral Civil Society project

◆ The IIED Drylands Programme is developing a training programme in partnership with pastoral civil society groups to help pastoral communities identify the value of their livelihood system to broader society, and to use this in negotiation with authorities.

With the project design stage complete, IIED is currently training locally-trusted civil society actors to act as community trainers, starting with teachers and veterinary doctors in Niger and Senegal. To be offered in both French and Pulaar, the training programme will seek to improve representation of pastoral interests in government policy on land rights, in decentralisation, and in information sharing between communities to reduce the likelihood of violence. Once complete, it is hoped that pastoral civil society will have the tools to go into pastoral communities and teach them how to negotiate to meet their interests on the basis of more equitable knowledge – without having to resort to violence.

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UN-OCHA/IDS Horn of Africa Pastoral Communication Initiative

◆ The Horn of Africa Pastoralist Communication Initiative (PCI) is an independent facilitation unit that seeks to develop receptive reaction to pastoralist voices and effective articulation of pastoralist interests, innovations and ideas at the global level. It believes that effective communication between pastoralists, government and international organizations is key to forming policies and programmes that will work for the livestock sector and thus reduce poverty in rural areas. This is done through working with citizens' representatives (MP's, traditional leaders, women's leaders etc) and with institutional champions (such as senior parliamentary, ministerial and donor officials).

PCI works with four main groups of actors in the pastoralist development arena in:

- 1) Supporting pastoralist community voice in development and policy through facilitation of learning and communication with local, regional and national governments, UN agencies, NGOs and donors.
- 2) Supporting pastoralist parliamentarians in the fulfilment of their representative and policy functions through facilitation of learning and communication with their constituencies and with executive arms of government, UN and donor agencies.
- 3) Assisting government, donors, UN agencies and the World Bank/IFAD and NGOs to develop pastoralist-friendly policy through facilitation of communication with pastoralists and their representatives.
- 4) Providing and building academic learning and knowledge on issues of participation, representation, development policy and pastoralist development through PCI's implementing partner, the Institute of Development Studies.

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World Initiative for Sustainable Pastoralism

The "World Initiative for Sustainable Pastoralism" (WISP) is an initiative being spearheaded by UNDP, in collaboration with a consortium of players working on pastoral development including: IFAD IUCN, FAO, DFID, World Bank, USAID, IIED, OXFAM, and many other INGOs. WISP is designed to work in a consultative manner and through partnerships across the world where

pastoralism is a key issue, to build a momentum for greater recognition of the need for sustainable pastoral development. It aims to bring together pastoralists and knowledge on pastoralism from all over the world and work to dispel myths undermining pastoralists. WISP will ensure that appropriate policies and support systems are established for the self-evolution of pastoralists towards an economically, socially and ecologically sustainable livelihood system.

WISP recognizes that access to land is probably the most important right for pastoralists, and most conflicts are caused by sedentary rural populations, the private sector and governments who encroach on onto land that is traditionally owned and used by pastoralists.

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Reinforcing traditional and administrative mechanisms for non-violent dispute resolution

Oxfam - Wajir Peace and Development Committee, Kenya

◆ Working in the violence-prone pastoral area of Wajir, NE Kenya, Oxfam has sought to mitigate conflict generated by 1) competition over grazing between diverse groups and 2) water-related investments that have exacerbated rather than reduced such conflict. Local religious leaders, MPs, elders, and women have mobilised for peace in response to recent confrontations. Oxfam has supported these individual and group efforts by facilitating the organizational process - with small financial inputs but major moral support - that eventually produced the Wajir Peace and Development Committee (WPDC), in 1995. The WPDC includes the district administration, the security forces and a wide cross-section of groups within society, from those that originated the process to local businessmen. The WPDC is today part of the Government of Kenya's District Development Committee. This approach has proven to be an effective strategy for supporting the development of a systematic and institutionalized community-led mechanism for managing conflict. Through the WPDC, customary practices and formal institutions can complement and reinforce each other.

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Systematizing pastoral land use rights

Organisation de Développement des Zones Arides - Code Pastorale Experience in Mauritania

◆ Some countries have sought to implement a pastoral code that would systematize pastoral land use rights within a system of legal protection. The West African countries of Mauritania, Niger, and Mali have each established a 'Code Pastorale'. This Code seeks to regulate traditional forms of open access to rangeland resources while also taking into account modern legislative measures to protect individual and group-specific land rights. In the example of Mauritania, the Code stipulates that local conventions regarding land use are to be negotiated between all land users: sedentary farmers, local government bodies, and nomadic herders. Options for mobility are to be conserved, and wetland access is guaranteed for pastoral users.

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