



## The Dynamics and Impacts of Transhumance and Neo-Pastoralism on Biodiversity, Local Communities and Security: Congo Basin



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German Facilitation to the Congo Basin Forest Partnership


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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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Large migratory cattle herds are a widespread phenomenon in the Sahelian and, more recently, the Sudano-Sahelian zone of Africa. Despite its economic and social importance, this activity has various environmental consequences. This study was carried out to shed light on issues related to this activity and provide basic knowledge of various aspects relating to livestock rearing, neo-pastoralism and unsustainable transhumance. The study area covers the Sudano-Sahelian region of Africa – specifically, the area stretching from the northern fringes of the Congo Basin (Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Central African Republic) and the south-eastern part of the southern Lake Chad Basin, namely the Sudano-Guinean savanna mosaics. The methodology adopted was to collect data from various sources, including from key stakeholders and literature review.

The findings revealed that due to insecurity arising from armed groups and terrorism as well as the expansion of agriculture, pastoralists are often forced to move from their traditional pastures to the arable lands of the Sudano-Guinean areas of the southern Lake Chad Basin and the forests of the Congo Basin. Climate change has also aggravated this trend by intensifying/accelerating processes such as desertification, droughts and soil erosion, which further deplete land and water resources. The same is true of mobile 'neo-pastoralism', through which a new class of animal owners (mostly financially powerful and influential individuals from business and political spheres) is entering the increasingly profitable meat production sector.

To this end, an increasing volume of forest area is cleared and converted into pasture. In many cases, former traditional herders are recruited to manage and protect the herds. They are given a share of the herds and, if necessary, they use armed force to assert their usage claims against competing demands from other stakeholders.

The political process of supporting pastoralists has undergone a positive development in recent decades. The integration of pastoral communities into various local and sometimes national plans and strategies has been considered. For example, a mobile school system introduced by the Government of Chad was designed to provide educational services to the children of transhumant pastoralists. The Government of Cameroon has appointed the sons and daughters of nomadic pastoralists to positions where they are directly responsible for designing and implementing appropriate livestock development measures and promoting the empowerment of nomadic pastoralists. The Government of the Central African Republic has recognized the importance of pastoralists to the national economy by allocating land and appropriate veterinary services to pastoral communities. However, the policies do not go far enough (AU, 2014).

Transhumance corridors are increasingly exposed to various challenges arising from the control of land at the local level. For example, corridors have narrowed, primarily as a result of the expansion of cultivated surfaces and protected areas. Other challenges include obstructed and unsecured corridors, lack of control and security due to the weak representation of the state in some remote areas, absence of markings, and the general insecurity that pushes transhumant actors to change corridors.

Transhumance has impacts on several components of the biophysical environment, including protected areas. For instance, many protected areas are increasingly crossed by transhumant livestock despite the regulations in force in the countries. The national parks of Zakouma (Chad), Waza, Bouba Ndjidda, Bénoué (Cameroon) and others are periodically crossed by herders. There are other negative impacts on the biophysical environment. These include the silting up of watering areas, soil degradation (caused by a failure to respect load capacities), destruction of forests through the excessive cutting of woody plants and transmission of diseases from livestock to wild animals.

Various measures have been suggested to address the complexity of unsustainable pastoralism and its adverse effects. For example, it is recommended that the governments concerned cooperate intensively with the local traditional entities. Also, innovations in resource management, support to increase the productivity of traditional field crops, and support to local governance mechanisms recognized by the state and government could be promoted. In particular, sustainable pasture management measures are needed, including commonly agreed management plans for grazing rotations and herd size limits. The N'Djamena Declaration also emphasized issues of biodiversity and poaching. However, there are several gaps in the sub-region.

This report makes recommendations on various political, security, diplomatic and operational aspects. These include:

- Structure local, cross-border and national transhumance platforms that can convey the expectations of stakeholders and support them in implementing these expectations;
- Review and reformulate, if necessary, the policy or strategy documents for developing the rural sector at country and regional levels;
- Normalize relations between marginalized pastoralist communities and thereby ease conflicts, identify and locate all marginalized groups in the various countries, regularize their stay and develop the infrastructure and means of production for these communities;
- Secure cross-border transhumance corridors by carrying out regular patrols during the transhumance period;
- The new transhumance threats require that the region's protected areas be managed and have sufficient technical and financial resources to address them. Their management must include all stakeholders and integrate emerging challenges (transhumance);
- Take into account neo-pastoralism within the framework of future land-use planning by developing pastoral areas for economic purposes;
- Set up and revitalize inter-community dialog mechanisms;
- Set up a regional network or platform of livestock breeders on the one hand and farmers on the other;
- Strengthen inter-regional collaboration between ECCAS countries and ECOWAS states to improve information and knowledge sharing for mutual capacity building, regional dialog, and coordination of actions, especially across borders in areas such as the Lake Chad Basin.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

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AU .....	<i>Africa Union</i>
CAP .....	<i>Common Agricultural Policy</i>
CAR .....	<i>The Central African Republic</i>
CBD .....	<i>Convention on Biological Diversity</i>
CBFP .....	<i>Congo Basin Forest Partnership</i>
CEFDHAC .....	<i>Conference on Central African Moist Forest Ecosystems</i>
COMIFAC .....	<i>Commission of Central African Forests</i>
COPAX .....	<i>Council for Peace and Security in Central Africa</i>
DRC .....	<i>The Democratic Republic of the Congo</i>
DTS .....	<i>Devolved Technical Services</i>
ECCAS .....	<i>Economic Community of Central African States</i>
ECOWAS .....	<i>Economic Community of West African States</i>
FAO .....	<i>Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations</i>
ICG .....	<i>International Crisis Group</i>
IOM .....	<i>International Organization for Migration</i>
IS .....	<i>Islamic State</i>
GDP .....	<i>Gross Domestic Product</i>
GIZ .....	<i>German Agency for International Cooperation</i>
LRA .....	<i>Lord's Resistance Army</i>
MINEPIA .....	<i>Ministry of Livestock, Fisheries and Animal Industries</i>
MIS .....	<i>Market Information Systems</i>
NICT .....	<i>New Information and Communications Technologies</i>
NGO .....	<i>Non-Governmental Organization</i>
OFAC .....	<i>Central Africa Forest Observatory</i>
PA .....	<i>Protected Area</i>
PIT .....	<i>Pastoral Information Techniques</i>
PO .....	<i>Pastoral Organization</i>
PRIASAN ..	<i>Regional Programme for Agricultural Investment, Food and Nutrition Security</i>
PRODEL .....	<i>Livestock Development Project</i>
SALW .....	<i>Small Arms and Light Weapons</i>
SAP .....	<i>Strategic Action Plan</i>
TTT .....	<i>Transhumance Tracking Tool</i>
UNHCR .....	<i>Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees</i>
UICN .....	<i>International Union for Conservation of Nature</i>

# 1 INTRODUCTION

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## 1.1 Background and rationale

The flow of transhumant animals from the Sahel to the equatorial zone is constantly increasing, resulting in all kinds of trafficking, insecurity and conflicts. These conflicts have negative socio-economic impacts, pose threats, intensify pressures and have alarming consequences for wildlife conservation. Moreover, they significantly undermine the preservation of Central Africa's rich biodiversity, the protection of forest ecosystems and the harmonious development of local and indigenous communities.

There is a dire need to act to avoid major civil and armed conflicts in the north of the Congo Basin. This situation has become a priority for those who are regularly exposed to cross-border transhumance conflicts. In addition, it reflects geopolitical developments: the gradual crumbling of the Chadian, South Sudanese and Sudanese states, which has led to a migration of pastoral communities from the central Sahel to the Congolese forest (PND, 2018). Transnational transhumance is not a new phenomenon in Central Africa. Pastoralist groups from Sudan, Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda have been present in the high-altitude wetlands of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) since the mid-18th century (African Union, 2010). Sudanese-Sahelian pastoralists have been moving in and out of the Central African Republic (CAR) since the early 20th century (IOM, 2014). However, the recent intensification of livestock migration southwards in search of grazing resources has reorganized regional land use and opened a new settlement border. This migration has exacerbated the current problematic coexistence of mobile pastoralists and local farmers and raised new concerns regarding the landscape's protected areas system (Luizza, 2017).

Pastoralist penetration, which has been increasing for several years in Central Africa, generates conflicts that are both frequent and ignored in a rural world where the state's presence is fragile (ICG, 2014). These conflicts are escalating due to the combined effect of several factors: growing insecurity; climate change, which is pushing pastoralists further south; the destruction of traditional transhumance corridors, particularly across borders; the expansion of cultivation; and an increase in livestock numbers, which are leading to heightened competition over natural resources.

Although pastoral mobility and pastoralism in general have resulted in strong social ties and economic complementarities between several communities, they also generate conflicts that are preserved in the collective oral memory and have led to new threats to the conservation of biodiversity on the fringes of and within some protected areas. Faced with new challenges in managing protected areas, conservation institutions are increasingly mainstreaming pastoralism and transhumance in the management plans of protected areas. In the Sahelian and Sudanian zones, protected areas are increasingly being invaded by herds of transhumant cattle and local pastoralists. As such, conservators can no longer ignore the problems relating to transhumance and the dynamics of pastoralism. These concerns have affected the protected areas of Chad and the far-north region of Cameroon for some time. Today, they also affect other protected areas located further south, namely the national parks of Bouba Ndjida, Benoué and Faro in Cameroon; the North-East protected area complex and the Chinko zone in CAR; and the Garamba and Bili-Uélé parks in DRC (Huchon et al. 2021 EdAP, in publication).



In Central Africa, particularly in Chad, Cameroon and CAR, pastoralism plays a significant role in livestock production. The contribution of livestock to the gross domestic product (GDP) in these countries is estimated at 27% in Chad, 13% in Cameroon and 9% in CAR (African Union, 2013). The level of poverty in pastoral communities remains above the average level of 44%. Intra-regional trade in both livestock and animal products characterizes this region, and all three countries can export to the Republic of Congo, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea and Sao Tome and Principe. However, large price differences have been observed, ranging from 32% between Cameroon and Gabon to 118% between Chad and Equatorial Guinea. Despite the high purchasing power in oil-producing countries (e.g., the Republic of Congo, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea and Sao Tome and Principe), their capacity to import animal products from Chad, Cameroon and CAR is limited due to their small populations. For this reason, Chad sells most of its overbred cattle to Nigeria, a highly populated country with a much larger market.

In several Central African countries, pastoralism is an important socio-economic activity for many communities and contributes significantly to the countries' economies. In recent years, pastoral conflicts in the sub-region have intensified due to a combination of factors, including instability and armed conflict in some areas, the effects of climate change, neglect and disappearance of traditional transhumance corridors, expansion of cultivated areas, and increase in livestock numbers. These factors have contributed to cross-border crime, including the illicit circulation of arms, which threatens regional stability. Pastoral and transhumance-related conflicts and particularly insecurity have a disproportionate effect on women and children.

Concerned by these new security threats, the Council for Peace and Security in Central Africa, at its fifth ordinary session held in Libreville (Gabon) in March 2018, requested the Secretariat General of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) to initiate a reflection with a view to drafting a convention on pastoralism and transhumance in Central Africa.

At the political level, the African Union's Economic Commission has initiated a proposal to develop a policy on transhumance and pastoralism in Africa. In 2019, the N'Djamena conference included this issue in the political agenda of Central African regional institutions. However, linking transhumance, poaching, illegal trafficking, and the movement of armed groups under the same heading has steered the debate towards a security approach to transhumance. Yet, this cannot be managed effectively by the conservators of protected areas alone, who have neither the means nor the authority to deal with security issues.

The sustainable management of pastoral resources, equitable and secure access to pastoral resources, climate change, biodiversity conservation, and peace and security are critical issues in the pastoral policy framework (AU, 2013). Pastoral development policies and strategies of African governments have varied considerably from the post-colonial period to the present. Nevertheless, the political and institutional environment continues to have a significant influence on the vulnerability of nomadic pastoralists. Today, there are opportunities to improve the rights of pastoralists and foster their economic growth.

Despite considerable progress in support policies, pastoralists continue to suffer from cultural and spatial isolation as well as political marginalization in Central African countries. Human development and food security indicators amongst these populations remain low, and public service delivery in pastoral areas is still generally much weaker than in other regions of a given country. Basic infrastructure also lags behind other sectors, and combined with service delivery,

is relatively expensive to provide and maintain in large and remote pastoral areas. Conflicts continue to have a significant impact on human well-being and hamper economic development.

## 1.2 Objectives of the study

The study's main objective is to provide basic knowledge on various issues related to livestock farming, neo-pastoralism, and unsustainable transhumance. The study will also provide guidelines to support coordination platforms in following up the N'Djamena Declaration in its different geographical blocks, especially pertaining to the development of investment programs to make transhumance sustainable and secure.

## 1.3 Presentation of the study area

The study area covers the Sudano-Sahelian region of Africa – specifically, the area stretching from the northern fringes of the Congo Basin (Cameroon, DRC and CAR) and the south-eastern part of the southern Lake Chad Basin, namely the Sudano-Guinean savannah mosaics.

It spans four pastoral zones, according to the African Union (2013). These include Sudano-Sahelian semi-arid pastoral zone; Sudano-Sahelian sub-humid pastoral zone; Guinea humid pastoral zone; and high altitude pastoral zone in humid forest (Figure 1).

### 1.3.1 Semi-arid Sudano-Sahelian pastoral zone

The semi-arid Sudano-Sahelian pastoral zone of Africa lies between the southern limit of the Sahelian zone and the north of the Sudanian zone. It stretches from the west to the east of Africa in Cameroon and Chad in Central Africa (AU, 2013). Annual rainfall ranges from 400mm to 600mm. This zone has tropical savannah vegetation with a woody layer of deciduous trees and shrubs and a soil layer of grasses. Breeders in this region feed various combinations of the following animal species: cattle, sheep, goats, horses and donkeys. Major constraints on pastoral activities in the Sudano-Sahelian zone include conflicts with sedentary farmers and uncertainties over land ownership and livestock diseases.

### 1.3.2 Sub-humid pastoral zone of Sudan and the Sudano-Guinean region

The sub-humid pastoral zone of Sudan and the Sudano-Guinean region covers a strip of land that stretches from west to east Africa across northern Cameroon, southern Chad and northern CAR in Central Africa (AU, 2013). Rainfall varies between 900 mm and 1,200 mm. The vegetation is a wooded savannah with annual grass species. The high prevalence of animal diseases is one of the major constraints on livestock production in this part of Africa. The use of traditional grazing land or land allocated by the government to farmers is a matter of severe tension between these two groups, with various land security constraints for pastoralists. Some parts of this area are heavily invaded by woody plant species and weeds, which considerably reduce pasture productivity.



## 2 METHODOLOGY

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This study was conducted using a participatory approach, including all stakeholders and taking into account national and international legislation on transhumance management. The team of experts comprised: a pastoralist, a lawyer, and a specialist in protected areas and climate change. This multidisciplinary team worked in close collaboration with institutional actors involved in transhumance management. It is important to provide more details on the methodology used in this study. The following methods were used to collect data:

1. Review of available literature, articles and technical reports.
2. Technical meetings with national focal points of the ministries to assess existing information/data on transhumance and neo-pastoral activities, national legislation and other regulatory instruments on transhumance activities, etc. Discussions with national focal points were also guided by structured questions based on a questionnaire designed for this purpose (see appendix). Some of the questions asked concerned the impacts of transhumance and neo-pastoral activities on biodiversity, economic valuation, existing conflicts, conflict resolution mechanisms, the role of local traditional leaders in the landscape, cross-border actions, grazing management, etc. Online consultations of experts in the field of transhumance: The online consultations were combined with emails and a review of technical reports sent by the experts. Discussions were guided by questions in a structured questionnaire designed for this purpose. The questions covered technical, management and strategic aspects of transhumance activities. They included knowledge of the impacts of transhumance on biodiversity, assessing this activity's socio-economic and management complexity, the main corridors, creating and monitoring databases, and solutions considered to resolve conflicts at the landscape level.
3. Technical meetings and consultations of the CBFP block leaders: The consultations covered issues such as data/information on the main transhumance corridors, with presentation of the main characteristics, socio-economic impacts of transhumance corridors on local communities, data/information on biodiversity impacts, dynamics and impacts of neo-pastoralism, basic knowledge of this scourge and the leading causes, security problems, displacement of settlements, political ramifications, social and economic consequences, implications on biodiversity etc. Prospects and actions for mitigating land use and transhumance conflicts (e.g., limiting the size of herds, support to state-recognized local governance mechanisms etc.) The role of traditional authorities in conflict resolution and improved management etc.
4. Technical meetings and consultations with specialized regional and international institutions, international NGOs (OFAC, FAO, COMIFAC, ECCAS, WCS, GIZ, IUCN etc.): Topics discussed with sub-regional institutions (COMIFAC, ECCAS, ECOWAS etc.) included the various inter-regional legal instruments on transhumance activities. A brief overview of continental and regional policy frameworks in the context of environmental management. The Rio Declaration, commitments and challenges in biodiversity conservation and sustainable development and the history of transhumance activities in Central Africa. In collaboration with specialized structures such as OFAC, we sought technical contributions on the following aspects: descriptive maps of the area concerned (the Sudano-Guinean zone (Chad, North Cameroon and CAR) and the Sudano-Sahelian zone (Cameroon, DRC and CAR), data on

biodiversity hotspots and protected areas, descriptions of cross-border transhumance and changes over the last three decades (1990–2020). Description of the main transhumance corridors with the presentation of the main characteristics (illustrative maps). Illustrative maps of critical sites with transhumance activities. The impacts of climate change (illustrative maps of biodiversity losses, migration routes, etc.).

5. Given the current health context, the consultants worked with contracted resource persons in the various countries to collect the field data in some critical landscapes and to complete the in-country assessment of transhumance activities.
6. The team organized field missions to some key countries that host regional and international specialized institutions. Information/data collected included the following: various inter-regional legal instruments on transhumance activities; a brief overview of continental and regional policy frameworks in the context of environmental management; security issues, displacement of settlements, political ramifications; the relevance of transhumance and neo-pastoralism to security problems in the region, e.g., local conflicts, organized crime, the proximity of some neo-pastoralists to Islamist groups, etc. Political and power dynamics in the transhumance thematic complex in the Sudano-Sahelian zone and the northern Congo Basin, e.g., the role of urban, military elites in neo-pastoralism; examples of successful models from across Africa and relevance to the Central African context: a) experience in transhumance management / land use conflicts between pastoralists and farmers / impact on security b) environmental policy and comparable programs in the Sahel.

A summary of the information obtained was made and presented in the form of a report.

## 3 RESULTS

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### 3.1 Dynamics and impacts of transhumance

#### **Key points**

- *Colonial pastoral development programs were designed and delivered to African states with little attention to traditional authorities and institutional frameworks.*
- *The dynamics of land occupation on the fringes of protected areas lead to the encroachment of protected areas by transhumant pastoralists in search of water and grazing.*
- *The states in the study area find it difficult to limit discrimination, disrespect of pastoralists' rights and the poor representation of pastoralists in institutions and decision-making processes (land commissions, councils, etc.).*
- *The decline of states weakened by economic crises, armed conflicts, structural adjustment plans and now COVID-19 has called into question the viability of many public services, even though they were set up to serve pastoral populations.*
- *The increasing security crises (terrorism, hostage-taking, rebellions), the lack of pastoral infrastructure and conflicts have serious impacts on pastoralism.*

#### 3.1.1 Cross-border transhumance and changes in recent decades

In Central Africa, livestock production is extensive and based almost exclusively on exploiting natural food resources (natural pasture, salt licks, water bodies). Traditional practices are no longer able to meet the animals' food needs effectively. The scarcity of resources in the Sahelian zones pushes pastoralists to travel increasingly long distances searching for pasture and water for their animals or for markets. Therefore, for several decades, there has been an increase in the scale of cross-border transhumance movements, with animals travelling from Nigeria and Cameroon to CAR and their stay in the host areas becoming increasingly long and conflictual.

The distance between two watering points depends on herd composition (cattle and small ruminants rarely travel more than 30 km per day) and size, with larger herds being driven to watering areas where watering is more accessible than watering points (boreholes, pastoral wells, etc.).

Farmer mobility has continued to be considered irrational and economically inefficient, despite emerging research showing that pastoral production is at least as efficient as modern livestock production (AU, 2014).

In the study area, the policy process of supporting pastoralists has been evolving positively over the past few decades. The integration of pastoral communities into various local and sometimes national plans and strategies has been taken into account. For example, a mobile school system introduced by the Government of Chad was designed to provide educational services to the children of transhumant pastoralists. The Government of Cameroon has appointed the sons and daughters of nomadic pastoralists to positions where they are directly responsible for designing and implementing appropriate livestock development measures and promoting the empowerment of nomadic pastoralists.

The states in the study area find it difficult to limit discrimination, disrespect of pastoralists' rights and the poor representation of pastoralists in institutions and decision-making processes (land commissions, councils, etc.). The context is marked by emerging pastoralist associations, the importance of chiefdoms and relations between border states.

The decline of states weakened by economic crises, armed conflicts, structural adjustment plans and now COVID-19 has undermined the viability of many public services that have been set up for the benefit of pastoral populations: pastoral pumping stations or boreholes; health care and vaccination systems (vaccinogenic park) for livestock; health and education systems for pastoral children, etc.

Since the 1990s, rebellions have proliferated (successive armed movements in Chad; Boko Haram in Chad and Cameroon since 2014; rebellion in CAR since 2014), causing a rise in insecurity and a breakdown in social ties. The mining and forestry stakes in CAR and Congo, which are crucial for these marginal areas, lead to growing local grievances against the central states. These crises are also reflected in the massive exodus of pastoralists across the borders to preserve their families and means of production.

Regarding infrastructure, some markets have been created in the states but are used as cross-border markets. Infrastructure should be built along the transhumance corridors. The Livestock Development Project (PRODEL) in Cameroon has initiated the development of pastoral infrastructure (vaccinator park, water points, construction of markets, slaughterhouses, etc.) in some of Cameroon's councils, including some border councils. However, initiatives should be taken at the sub-regional level for better integration and planning.

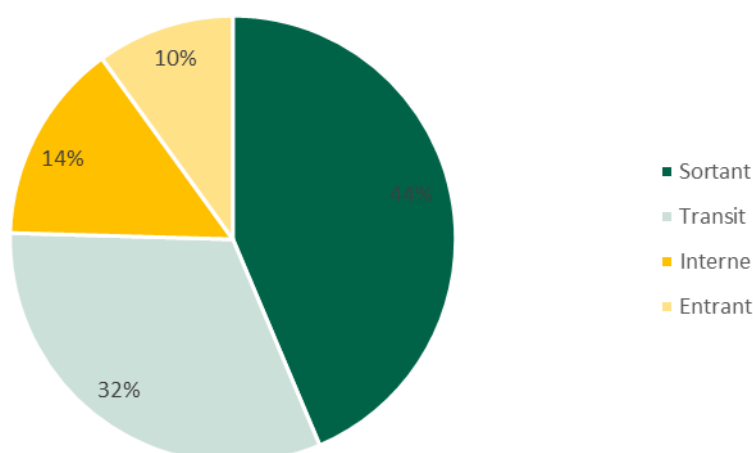
In terms of information, the sources of data have also changed in recent decades. The search for information on the host area is critical during transhumance. Vital information includes the location of the pasture, prices (of livestock and other animals and agricultural products) on the markets, the health situation, security, passage corridors and taxes. In recent decades, traditional cross-border transhumance has shifted towards modernization using new information and communication technologies to obtain accurate information on pastoral resources. There are many conventional sources of information: front-line scouts, accommodation providers and villagers in the host areas, market traders, relatives, friends and other transhumants. With the advancement of technology, transhumant herders are using pastoral information techniques and faster market information systems through community radios, mobile phones, etc. This can be described as neo-pastoralism. Therefore, Congo Basin countries should invest in infrastructure, including roads, water sources, slaughterhouses, mobile phone relay stations, broadband, and health services for people and livestock.

### **An example of the use of modern tools**

The Transhumance Tracking Tool (TTT), which has been in operation since August 2020 in the East, Adamawa and North regions, provides an understanding of the dynamics of transhumance across the border with Chad and CAR. The TTT combines three components, namely: alert, mapping and counting.

More than 400,000 animals, mainly cattle, and almost 11,000 breeders, most of them men, were involved in internal or cross-border transhumance in Cameroon between October and December 2020. The herders were mainly of Chadian and Cameroonian nationality, while 2% were stateless (Figure 2).

With the end of the rainy season, the number of animals crossing into Cameroon increased between October and December. Almost half (48%) of the transhumance flows observed at the 14 counting points were leaving Cameroon to reach or return to neighboring countries, and one third passed through Cameroon to a neighboring country. Only 11% of the flows entered Cameroon.



**Figure 2: Proportion of transhumant types in Cameroon in 2020**

Of the outgoing flows, most animals went to CAR (91%). These figures reflect both the close links in transhumance flows between Cameroon and CAR and the downward movements that characterize the last quarter of the year. Inflows, which account for 11% of flows, come mainly from Chad (63%).

In addition, one third of the flows passing through Cameroon are transit flows, mainly from Chad to CAR and Congo, and from Nigeria and Niger to Congo and CAR. These flows mostly concern movements from Chad to CAR and the Republic of Congo. Finally, internal flows, which account for 16% of flows, are mainly from Adamawa to the East and within Adamawa.

### 3.1.2 Description of the main transhumance corridors

A corridor is a strip of land reserved for the passage of livestock to graze and to access a salt cure, watering point, or pastoral infrastructure (livestock market, vaccination park, holding pen, from one area to another, transhumance, for example). It is a network of access tracks and local or regional passageways. These corridors are important elements in cross-border transhumance. In addition to facilitating the movement of animals, they also contribute to reducing (mitigating) farmer-herder conflicts (conflicts that often result in human deaths).

The corridors were demarcated several decades ago in Central African countries to make way for the passage of animals in cultivation areas or to allow them to access watering points. Farmers and pastoralists recognize the importance of corridors as a factor for peace (Salihou, 2016). However, as a result of population growth, heavy urbanization, insecurity linked to the Boko Haram sect, political conflicts in CAR and the ongoing socio-political crisis in North-West and South-West regions of Cameroon, the phenomenon of highway robberies in Chad and North Cameroon, and hostage-taking throughout Central Africa, these corridors have generally been displaced or completely abandoned. They are often occupied by fields and dwellings, and the markers on the demarcated and marked transhumance corridors are often ripped out. This is



generally due to a lack of monitoring and the failure to consult the local population when setting up these corridors.

Transhumant herders also abandon these routes because of insecurity (violent activities of terrorist groups such as Boko Haram along the Nigerian borders, the anti-Balaka in CAR, etc.), the invasion of pastures by invasive grasses and excessive taxation by the authorities at the borders of the host zones (Salihou, 2016).

### **Situation of transhumance corridors in the Central African Republic**

Seasonal movements of livestock from the Centre-North to the South occurs along the following routes:

- Sido - Kabo - Mbrés - Bria
- Kaga-Bandoro - Damara
- Batangafo - Bossangoa - Yaloké - Boda
- Bogangolo - Damara.

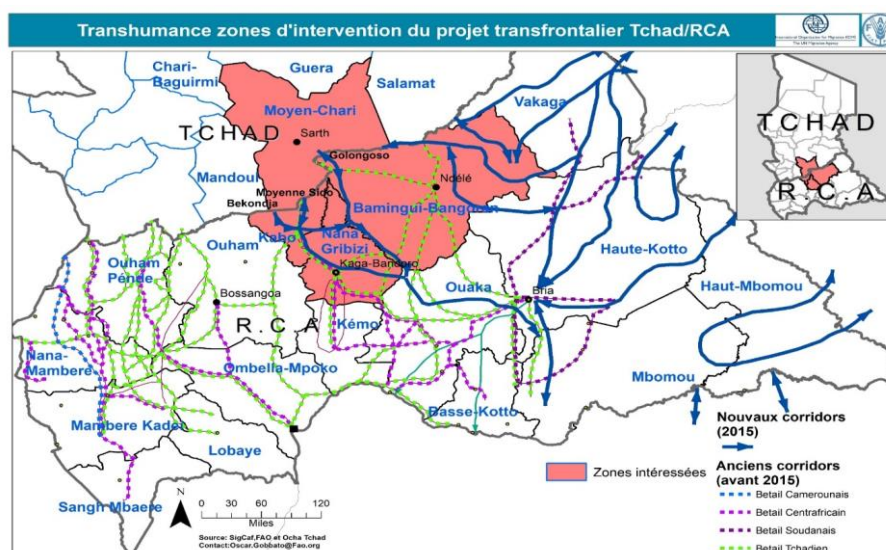
These tracks are all blocked by armed groups (anti-Balaka and ex-Seleka). Since the last transhumance meeting in 2011, cross-border transhumants no longer use the official corridors, instead colonizing hunting areas and protected areas and those corridors that are defended.

The literature review shows that the movements of herders, motivated by security concerns, have disrupted both the configuration of their distribution on the national territory and the transhumance corridors. The regions with a high concentration of herders are the Centre-North, Centre-East, East and South-East.

The return of security will not automatically mean that herders will return to their former localities. These upheavals have a significant impact on livestock management, animal health and the cohabitation of displaced and indigenous populations, especially in regions that have experienced a large inflow of herders.

Moreover, this new configuration of transhumance has led the anti-Balaka and ex-Seleka to adopt a different attitude towards the herders. Indeed, these armed groups offer their protection services to herders in exchange for cash (disguised racketeering). Some herders are even held against their will by anti-Balaka in the Centre-North regions so as not to lose this vital source of income.

Due to insecurity, herders no longer follow their traditional transhumance routes and try new routes that are unknown (Figure 3). This breakdown/restructuring of transhumance needs to be mapped because, while the use of official corridors exposes herds to organized theft, the use of random routes to avoid this risk can increase the risk of crop damage.



**Figure 3: Transhumance corridors in the Central African Republic**

Source: FAO, 2015

### Situation of transhumance corridors in Cameroon

In Cameroon, Decision No. 02/MINEPIA of 20 July 1988 updated the layout of cattle tracks, defining and delimiting the different transhumance corridors. This decision defines livestock tracks as routes used to transport livestock from breeding areas to marketing centers, transhumance areas or other production areas.

Transhumance corridors are similar to cattle tracks. Cattle tracks have a 25m right-of-way on either side of their central axes (i.e., 50m right-of-way). They sometimes run alongside existing roads and only use these if there is an obstacle. The decision has defined five types of corridors throughout the country:

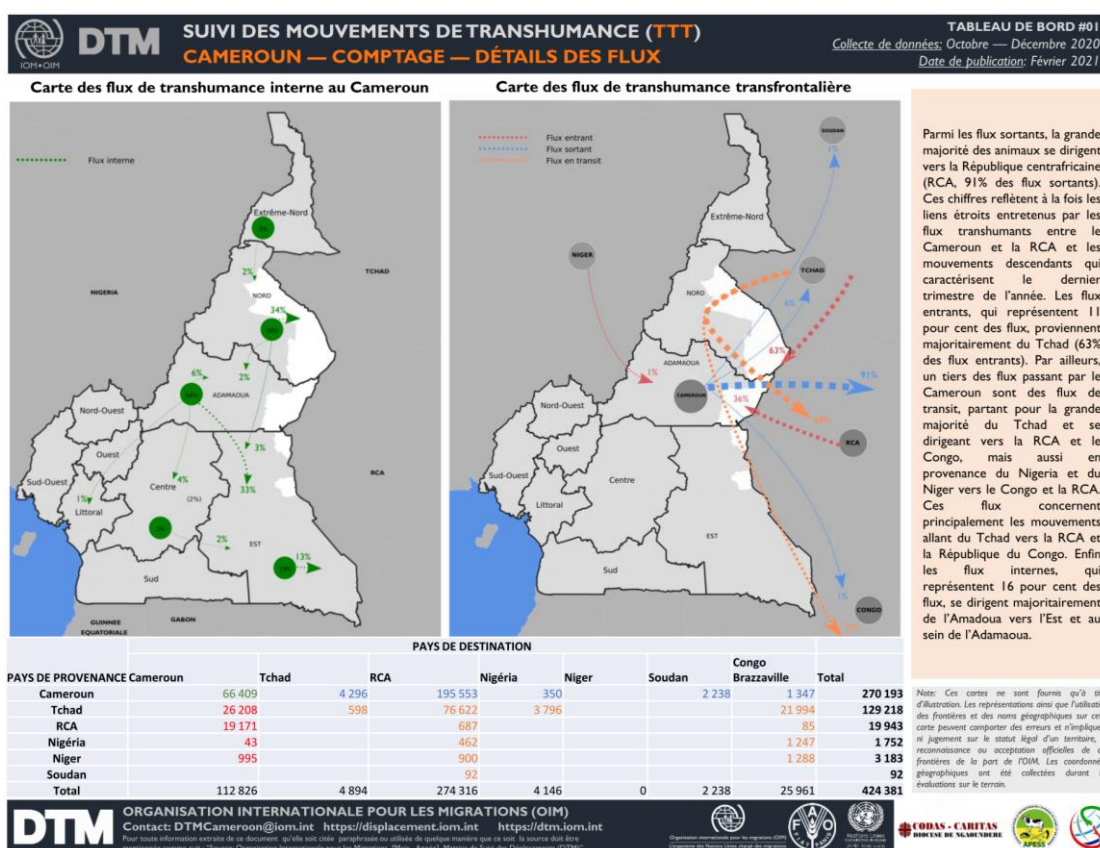
- Tracks in the North and Far-North regions: these include ten tracks in these regions as well as the cross-border tracks with Nigeria and Chad.
- Tracks in the Adamawa region: these comprise eight tracks across the region and include cross-border tracks.
- Tracks in the East, Centre and South regions: these comprise eight tracks, including one track that crosses the border with CAR.
- Tracks in the North-West, West, South-West and Coastal regions: these include 18 tracks, one of which crosses the border with Nigeria.
- National tracks: these include two national tracks that run from the Far-North to the south and one track that runs from Adamawa to the south of Cameroon.

Although these tracks are clearly defined, they are currently subject to several problems. Most of them exist only on paper; they have been occupied and are no longer used in practice. The border tracks and some tracks in the Far-North have fallen into the hands of the Boko-haram sect, which kills and raids the cattle of transhumant herders. The corridors that used to lead from the Far-North to Chad have been redirected. Herders have thus changed their route to these tracks. In the Adamawa and North regions, the phenomenon of hostage-taking and

highway robbery makes the various tracks dangerous. The same is true in the East at the border with CAR. Furthermore, studies conducted by PRODEL in 2019 show that some problems are common to all the tracks. These include:

- Narrow and obstructed tracks and lack of security;
- Lack of control;
- No markings or demarcations;
- Open access;
- Narrow tracks and agropastoral conflicts.

Figure 4 illustrates transhumance movements in Cameroon in 2020. This figure shows both internal and cross-border movements. There is no movement in the Far-North, which was once a region of high transhumance intensity.



**Figure 4: Transhumance movement in 2020 in Cameroon**

Source: IOM 2020

### Situation of transhumance corridors in Chad

In Chad, the rapid drying up of ponds in pastoral areas in recent years in the north naturally pushes herders southwards into agricultural areas earlier than expected (Zakinet, 2015). The strong pressure on resources tends to strain relations between herders and farmers. Conflicts over the use of land and resources have become recurrent between farmers and herders on the one hand and between herders on the other hand. The latter are the deadliest. The rise in

conflicts and insecurity presents a real danger for the transhumant livestock system and for peaceful access to pastoral resources (Zakinet, 2015).

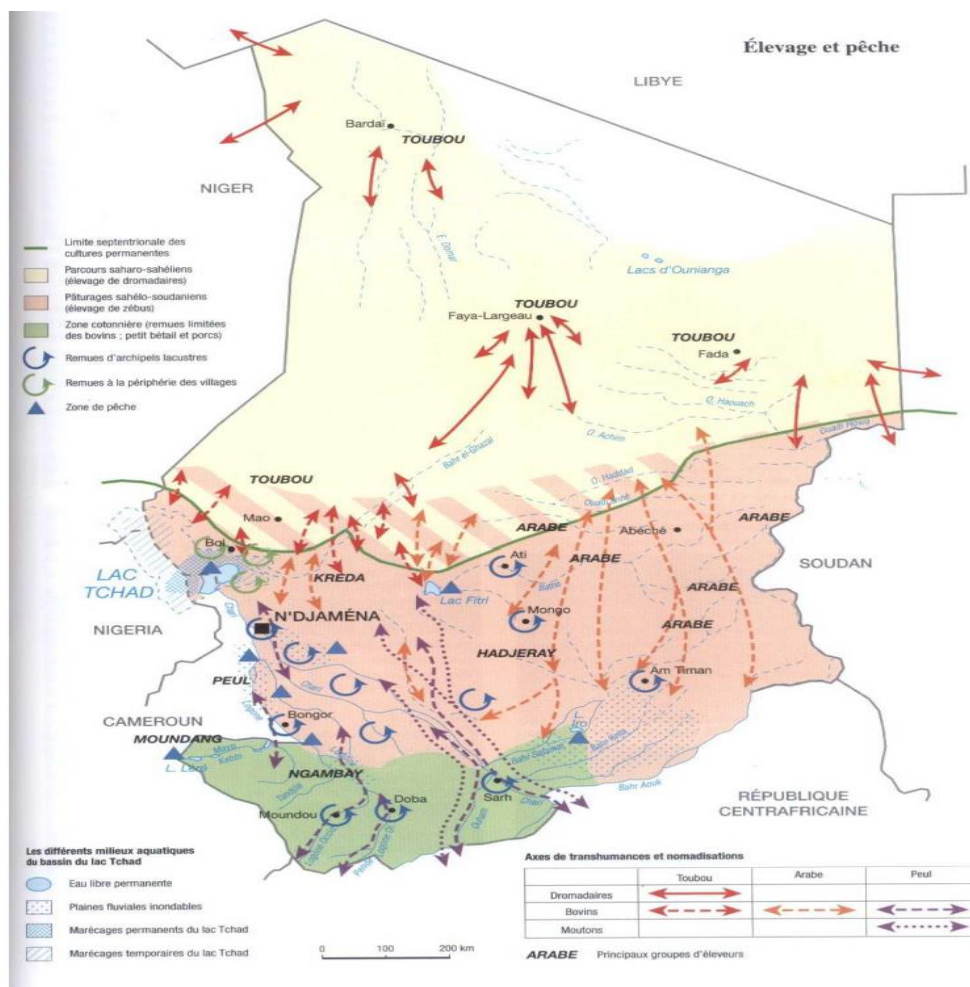
Transhumant livestock farming in Chad is characterized by small- to large-scale movements (from 50 to more than 500 km), from north to south. The home areas of transhumant herders are located north of the 13th parallel and are concentrated in the north-west, center-west, center-east and north-east (Salamat, Batha, Wadifira, BET, Kanem, Ouaddaï). Transhumant herders leave their home areas at the beginning of the dry season (around November-December) and return in the rainy season (from June to July).

As they have huge herds, herders stay less than nine months in their administrative capital, heading south to avoid relying on the very deep wells of their sub-prefecture. Depending on their starting position, they reach the lakes and large ponds of Salamat. The most mobile elements push up to the Central African ridge (Figure 5). Their northward movement is rapid at the beginning of the winter season to avoid being cut off from the northern settlements by flooding wadis during the rainy season, such as the Batha.

Among the pastoral systems, it is possible to distinguish a camel driver sub-group, which has particular movements in time and direction, even if, in most cases, it follows a similar movement pattern to that of the cattle herders. Their movements are less extensive towards the south, and they move earlier for the herds to move up.

Herders distinguish five seasons, during which they carefully monitor the state of the land. The start of these pastoral seasons fluctuates from a fortnight to a month, depending on the spatial and temporal variation of rainfall. The seasons are:

- Darat - the harvest period from September to October. At this time, the pastoralists have almost all returned to their usual grazing area in the south of the country;
- Chitté - the cold period, corresponding to the beginning of the dry and cool season. It runs from January to mid-February. Although livestock must drink from permanent wells, pasture is still plentiful and the work of pumping water from wells does not exhaust people;
- the Sef - the dry and hot period, the most difficult and the longest, since it spans until June or July. During this season, collecting water for the livestock is exhausting. At the same time, the herds become thinner as they have to find pastures further and further away from the watering point;
- Richach - the period of dust corresponding to the advent of the dry tornado. This occurs when there is a change in the general air mass regime and before the first showers. The settlements have generally finished covering their nomadic area and scatter to meet the rain front;
- Kharif - the rainy period, which lasts from July to September. As soon as the rain front has moved past the herds stationed in the south, the herders move as far north as possible, watering their animals at the surface pools, to take advantage of the Saharan grasslands for as long as the surface water allows them to exploit these northern pastures.



**Figure 5: Livestock farming in Chad with transhumance actors**

Source: Anonymous 2009

### Summary of transhumance activities in the area

In 2017, the Central Africa Forest Observatory (OFAC) drew up a map of cross-border transhumance, conservation (indicated by protected areas) and insecurity. There is a high concentration of transhumance corridors between CAR and Sudan.

In all three blocks, there are cross-border transhumance corridors between the various countries: between Cameroon and Chad; between Chad and CAR; and between CAR and DRC.

The corridors in the study area face several challenges that have been discussed throughout this paper. These include climate change, the expansion of agricultural plots and armed conflict. Transhumant herders are both perpetrators and victims of armed conflicts, which affect both their activities and others, such as agriculture and the management of protected areas.

In addition to these threats, there is no pastoral infrastructure along the corridors despite some initial response in certain countries (Cameroon and Chad). The lack of this infrastructure is also a source of conflict. For example, the absence of watering points forces transhumant herders to water their cattle in streams. When animals are taken to the watercourses, they generally destroy the fields along the track, which leads to conflicts between herders and farmers. The same

applies to the absence of vaccination points at the borders, as sedentary herders believe that animals on transhumance are vectors of diseases. To address these problems, OFAC (2018) makes the following recommendations:

***Transhumance***

1. *Regulate transnational transhumance between the Sahel and Equatorial Africa (economic response, territorial development, security, sub-regional collaboration on transhumance (with a particular focus on the degradation of ecosystems around Lake Chad));*
2. *Define and implement secure, managed and controlled transhumance corridors outside protected areas;*
3. *Restore/develop land-use plans, in collaboration with transhumant herders and sedentary farmers in the main transhumance areas as a means of avoiding conflicts;*
4. *Organize awareness-raising campaigns among traditional leaders of ethnic groups of transhumant herders;*
5. *Remove unauthorized presence in protected areas and strengthen anti-poaching response capacities in and around protected areas;*
6. *Set up a data collection network and a regional multi-sectoral platform to analyze and monitor transhumance between the Sahel and Equatorial Africa;*
7. *Provide support to the deployment of defense forces along areas of high poaching intensity to coincide with the presence of armed groups and the passage of transhumant herders.*

Source OFAC, 2018

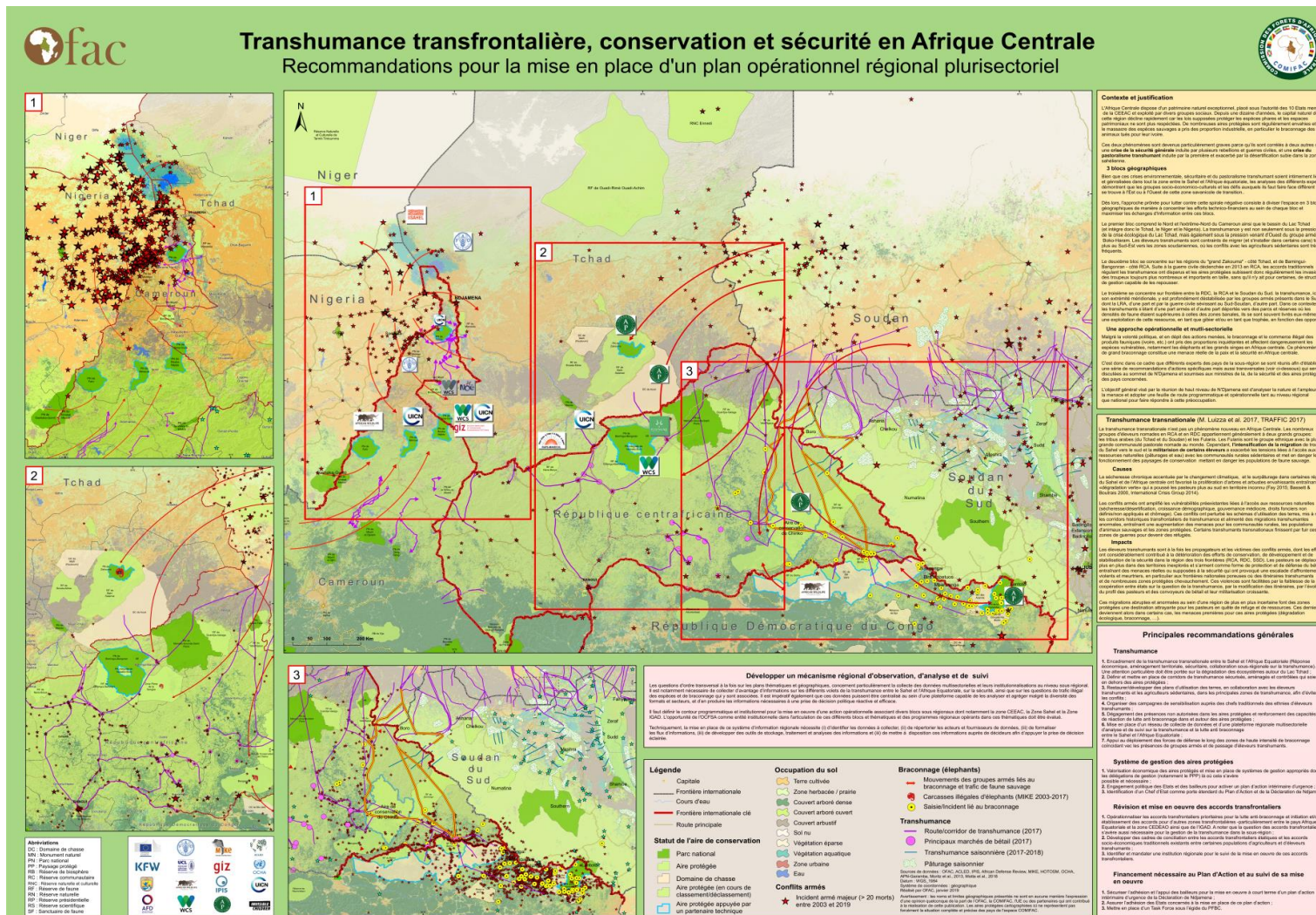


Figure 6: Cross-border transhumance, conservation and security in Central Africa

Source: OFAC, 2018

### 3.1.3 Socio-economic impacts of transhumance corridors on local communities

Transhumance presents an opportunity for local communities. Local communities in host areas can build an economy around transhumance and increase border security. However, transhumance often generates conflicts between pastoralists and farmers, among herders themselves, and lately, between herders and protected area managers. Yet, it could potentially contribute to peace and stability in pastoral areas. On the economic front, cross-border transhumance contributes to the development of the local economy. Indeed, along their route, transhumants make consumption-related expenditures. This expenditure includes the costs of human and animal health, livestock feed, catering, accommodation for herders and other social needs in the host countries. Additionally, these host countries serve as outlets for the sale of animals and animal products.

Livestock farming is an essential economic activity for the whole of Central Africa. As a result of population growth and urbanization, the demand for animal products is growing and will continue to grow strongly throughout Central Africa. This represents an opportunity (especially with the development of cities and markets) for all animal production sectors, including mobile production systems (transhumance).

At the same time, the increasing rural population (growth rates vary according to areas) leads to growing competition for natural resources and, inevitably, to a restructuring of the methods previously used to exploit these resources by the various categories of farmers and livestock breeders.

Livestock farming is a major economic activity for countries such as Cameroon, Chad and CAR. In 2012, it accounted for 35% of agricultural GDP and 5.85% of total GDP in the CEMAC zone (CENUA, 2012). According to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO-STAT), ECCAS member states mobilize around 46 million cattle (distributed mainly between Cameroon, CAR, DRC and Chad), 7 million camelidae, 57 million goats and 39 million sheep. Although the reliability of data relating to this sector may be questionable, available research indicates strong growth in livestock numbers since the 1990s (Table 1).



**Table 1: Number of animals in the various countries**

Country	Years	Cattle	Camelidae	Sheep
Cameroon	2015	6,064,973		4,001,987
	2016	5,788,082		3,499,797
	2017	5,774,215		3,462,332
	2018	5,772,197		3,448,347
	2019	5,770,179		3,434,881
Central African Republic	2015	4,438,477		404,572
	2016	4,526,106		441,150
	2017	4,591,820		437,655
	2018	4,674,788		446,937
	2019	4,757,756		456,219
The Democratic Republic of the Congo	2015	1,005,385		909,515
	2016	1,044,259		909,524
	2017	1,080,993		910,103
	2018	1,144,766		911,243
	2019	1,211,912		912,789
Chad	2015	24,892,098	6,413,521	26,436,170
	2016	26,211,379	6,835,531	28,529,915
	2017	27,603,203	7,285,309	30,789,484
	2018	29,069,601	7,765,258	33,230,856
	2019	30,612,461	8,276,416	35,863,764

Source: FAOSTAT, 2021

### Negative impacts

Research has shown that transhumance generates conflicts over resources, especially in transit and host areas. Conflicts occur because some farmers perceive the corridors to be suitable land for agriculture. Respondents also mentioned the fragmentation of families due to the departure of some members for transhumance. Other negative impacts of transhumance are the reduction in animal products, the loss of animals, the lack of access to veterinary care and the increase in banditry.

### Positive impacts

The field surveys have also revealed some positive impacts on the socio-economic environment. These include fewer conflicts (mainly in the departure area), lower food expenses and improved living conditions through increased income.

In the transit and host areas, transhumance triggers some economic dynamism in the localities it crosses, with the creation of a wide range of services that the local indigenous populations offer to transhumants. The arrival of transhumant herders, therefore, presents a tremendous economic opportunity for these localities.

The economic contribution of transhumance has been estimated based on the expenditure made by transhumants in the grazing areas, amounting to a total of nearly CFA 450,000 generated per transhumant in the local economies in West Africa (CORAF/WECARD, 2015). Of this amount, nearly 40% is invested in human and animal health, and about 30% in livestock feed. In addition, accommodation and catering are estimated to make up 11% and 9% of total expenditure, respectively.

This data shows that cross-border transhumance is a factor of economic impetus given the wide range of services it generates that in turn provide sources of employment and income (sale of livestock feed, catering, accommodation, etc.) for the population, particularly in the transit and host areas. The issuing of various documents generates 4% of overall expenditure, which shows that in addition to subsistence costs, transhumant herders also invest in formalizing their stay by obtaining the required documents.

Socially, cross-border transhumance is an important instrument for cross-fertilization between communities. Many seasonal markets are created in the various transhumance areas. In addition, local communities exchange their agricultural products with transhumant herders. Also, the extended stays of transhumant herders in the host areas build up various relationships.

### **Specificity in CAR**

The socio-economic impacts of transhumance corridors on local communities are noticeable in CAR. There is a lack of transhumance organization in the various agropastoral areas of the country due to the ongoing military and political crisis. The lack of a control system and hosting facilities often leads to social unrest, characterized by conflicts between farmers and herders, sometimes with dramatic consequences. These conflicts are generally caused by the destruction of crops by transhumant livestock, overgrazing, increased competition for grazing land and water points, bad behavior by transhumant herders, and livestock theft. Besides these conflicts, there are other social impacts, such as the failure of pastoralist children to attend school and the rural exodus.

CAR has experienced some social problems related to transhumance, particularly conflicts between farmers and herders. The failure to send herders' children to school, constant displacement to large towns for the sale of livestock, lack of vaccination, exposure of the population and the dislocation of families are also listed as consequences.

The socio-economic impact is particularly perceptible in relation to transhumance for commercial purposes, which enables the supply of animal proteins to the major urban centres (Mambéré Kadéi, Nana Mambéré, Ouham, Ouham Pendé, Mbomou, Haut Mbomou, Vakaga, Nana Gribizi, Ouaka etc.). The transhumance corridors generate thousands of secondary jobs. These transhumance-related jobs allow the market value of the animals to be safeguarded by providing them with water and pasture. Transhumance in CAR has created temporary jobs that improve the income of local communities.

Not only do cross-border transhumant herders from Chad, Cameroon and Sudan supply the domestic collection markets with livestock, but they also trade extensively with peasant farmers (bartering livestock and money for food), thereby contributing to the local economy. However, in addition to the traditional conflict between farmers and herders, which is often settled amicably, there has also been destruction of farms by transhumant herds, which was exacerbated by the 2013–2015 crisis and led to many deaths.

### 3.1.4 Impacts on biodiversity

Transhumance has impacts on several components of the biophysical environment, including protected areas. Many protected areas are increasingly crossed by transhumant livestock despite the regulations in force in the countries. The national parks of Zakouma (Chad), Waza, Bouba Ndjidda, Bénoué (Cameroon) and others are periodically crossed by herders.

Transhumance also has other negative impacts on the biophysical environment. These include silting up watering areas, soil degradation through failure to respect carrying capacities, destruction of forests through the excessive cutting of woody plants, and the transmission of diseases from livestock to wild animals.

Grazing pressure affects the floristic composition of the herbaceous stratum of a pasture by stimulating species adapted to grazing and creating soils richer in organic matter, nitrogen and phosphorus (possibly with a higher pH). These species such as *Zornia glochidiata*, *Tribulus terrestris*, and *Cenchrus biflorus*, or rejects such as *Chromolaena odorata*, can be suitable fodder, though in both cases productivity is increased unless the soil is exposed by wind or water erosion.



**Figure 7: Transhumant camp set up in the Waza National Park**

Source: Kabelong, 2012

Pastoralism, and more precisely small- and large-scale transhumance, has become a priority issue for biodiversity management at the fringes of protected areas, within buffer zones or in much larger ensembles such as the greater Zakouma. The peripheries of the various protected areas in the Sudanese and Sahelian zones are complex spaces in which wildlife habitats, arable land for farmers, natural pastures and grazing areas for pastoralists overlap.

The combination of uses and actors increases the risk of conflict over access to natural resources between transhumant and sedentary herders, between herders and farmers, and between herders and conservation workers. Depending on the site, the analysis of the issues at stake may differ, with priorities focusing on reducing livestock numbers, controlling agricultural dynamics, or security.

However, the proposals for action always highlight the need to include transhumant pastoralists in managing the periphery of protected areas in order to mitigate local conflicts that are likely to affect wildlife habitats and, more broadly, the forest landscapes in the areas. This approach requires an understanding of the issues at the level of the transhumance territories and of the region in the case of cross-border transhumance.

Depending on the sites and their peripheries, ecological specificities, geographical situation, the populations surrounding them, their political and socio-economic organization and the type of pastoralism practiced, among others, the livestock breeding/protected area issue may vary. However, in most situations, it results in conflicts between herders, farmers and conservation workers around issues of access to resources, degradation of wildlife habitats and poaching.

To address these situations, most of the recommended actions aim at a strong integration of biodiversity conservation and local development at the fringes of protected areas, especially as these areas are characterized by extreme poverty.

An analysis of the different case studies below shows that the dynamics of land occupation on the fringes of some protected areas (Waza) include land grabbing by farmers, which consequently reduces grazing areas (). This land occupation leads to encroachment of the protected area by transhumant herders searching for water and grazing. The search for water leads to conflicts between livestock and wildlife, but also between herders and wildlife.



**Figure 8: Transhumance in Waza National Park and its peripheral zone**

*Source: Kabelong, 2012*

The expansion of the agricultural front into the savannahs and the pastoral domain (including the transhumance corridors), the increase in livestock numbers due to the longer-term settlement of transhumants, and the investment of resident farmers in livestock farming are the leading causes of the degradation of wildlife resources in the greater Zakouma area. These dynamics have led to an upsurge in conflicts between herders and farmers, between herders themselves and, more generally, between humans and wildlife.

In short, the passage of herds near protected areas poses several problems to managers of these areas. The herds threaten the natural fauna habitats, and the herders sometimes hunt intensively as they pass. More and more transhumant herders are also settling in the periphery of the protected areas, which leads to an increase in conflicts that in turn have negative impacts on the wildlife population. This specifically raises the issue of how to take transhumance into account in developing protected areas, and more generally, the issue of land-use planning in pastoral areas.

### **Case study 1**

#### ***Waza Park (Cameroon) – unusual concentrations of livestock***

*The Far-North region of Cameroon is a real crossroads of trade routes and cultures. Herders, their herds and wildlife have long coexisted in harmony on the pasture lands of the Waza-Logone floodplain. Each year, transhumant herders settled for the season with their herds and maintained strong economic and social relations with the local populations. Herders gradually settled their families and some animals on former grazing areas allocated by the traditional local authorities and started small-scale farming. The areas exclusively reserved for the herds were then considerably reduced.*

*In this context of land pressure, the traditional authorities now seem to question the rules of access to pastoral land. Herders are forced to renegotiate the sites on which they have sometimes settled for several generations. To avoid expropriation, land use must be permanently visible in the landscape. As a result, pastoralists, who have become agro-pastoralists, tend to expand the areas they cultivate at the expense of grazing areas. In this way they assert their rights to the land. The animals are then driven away and concentrate on the rare savannahs still available. The increase in livestock on these areas leads to overgrazing and bushfires. Conflicts between local populations, farmers, sedentary herders, transhumant herders and wildlife now occur on a daily basis over access to water points and, increasingly, scarce grazing areas.*

*Case study 1 shows transhumance tracks at the edge of and even inside the Waza National Park.*

#### ***Pastoral routes around the Waza National Park***

*From January to July, the arrival of large herds from the north further threatens the ecosystems. During this period, more than 100,000 cattle can be counted in the Waza-Logone floodplain alone. These movements increase the risk of overgrazing, land compaction and soil degradation in some areas. In addition, the livestock carrying capacity of the land is often more than exceeded. The carrying capacity is currently around 17.5 livestock units (LU) per hectare (Jiagho, 2018). In the late 1990s, it was estimated at 8-10 LU/ha \ (IUCN/LCBC, 2007).*

*Moreover, transhumant herders and their herds stay for increasingly longer periods and the first rains arrive later. Herders may settle for more than six months, particularly in the eastern part of the Waza National Park, a floodplain where perennial pools of water remain within the park. Many herders settle for even more extended periods.*

*In addition to the search for grazing land, which is accessible in the eastern part of the park because this is flooded for a long period of the year, the search for water is also an important issue. Large herds of cattle enter the park to drink from the permanent water pools. This search for water has created conflicts with wildlife.*

*At the same time, local agro-pastoralists are scaling up their investment in livestock. Most of them are goat farmers and supplement their animals' diet with wood fodder. This situation sometimes leads to uncontrolled cutting of woody resources. It is estimated that an average of 478 ha of forest cover is lost every year on the fringes of the Waza National Park (Jiagho, 2016). Consequently, there is an alarming transformation of the natural habitat that affects wildlife and increases conflicts between conservation services and transhumant herders.*

## **Case study 2**

### **Greater Zakouma (Chad) – a large extension of the agricultural domain**

*The Greater Zakouma Functional Ecosystem covers an area of approximately 25,000 km<sup>2</sup>. It includes wildlife habitats, some of which are classified as protected areas, and areas occupied by sedentary and transhumant human communities. The cohabitation of farmers, herders and wildlife presents a permanent challenge due to the large number of actors and the shared use of resources. The region is characterized by powerful dynamics between the corridors in which wildlife move (mainly elephants and large antelopes), the agricultural settlement front, and the herders' transhumance routes. These different land-use patterns often overlap in space and time.*

### **Agricultural settlement and transhumance routes on the Greater Zakouma Ecosystem territory**

*The vegetation areas extend on both sides of the park boundaries. They allow wildlife to continue their seasonal migrations outside the park. In the rainy season, elephants move to the north and south-west areas of the park. In recent years, the management of the national park has improved considerably. As a result, large mammals have returned in numbers. In the peripheral areas, this dynamic is beginning to cause conflicts with the populations on the park's fringes. Damage to farmers' crops and attacks by carnivores on domestic livestock are increasing. This generates some conflict between park staff and the farming population, which can lead to acts of poaching out of mere retaliation.*

*The Zakouma area is an agricultural granary for Chad because of its cereal production, which is among the highest in the country (particularly that of post-rainy season sorghum, known as berbere).*

*The area also welcomes transhumant herders who come down from the north every year at the end of the rainy season (October–November). They settle in the plains surrounding the park with their tens of thousands of heads of cattle. Some of these herders only stay for a few days before continuing their journey into CAR, sometimes as far as the south-east of the country. The transhumant herders stop for the duration of the dry season, and their herds take advantage of the end of the berbere harvest. Some herder families settle down more permanently and develop small-scale agriculture. Sedentary farmers also invest in livestock to diversify their income. There has been a significant increase in cattle and the level of agrosylvo-pastoral exploitation has increased. Pressure is extremely high around the transhumance corridors when thousands of heads of cattle are found in the peripheral zone. Animal movements become more complex. Transhumance corridors are reduced and sometimes totally obstructed by crops, while access to important areas for mixed use is very difficult due to the expansion of agricultural activities.*

*The expansion of the agricultural front into the savannahs and the pastoral domain (including the transhumance corridors), the increase in livestock numbers due to the longer-term settlement of transhumants, and the investment of resident farmers in livestock farming, are the main causes of the degradation of wildlife resources. These dynamics have exacerbated conflicts between herders and farmers, between herders themselves and, more generally, between humans and wildlife (e.g., destruction of crops by pests and attacks on livestock by wild animals, the slaughter of animals for trade).*

*The park has carried out several studies to understand better the dynamics at play, the diversity of actors, their respective strategies, and the short- and medium-term issues (political, food, economic, energy, socio-cultural) surrounding natural resources. This has led to the development of an integrated management approach to conservation, agriculture and livestock issues. In particular, the set-up of the Greater Zakouma Functional Ecosystem aims to broaden the conservation approach by integrating local communities. The aim is to move towards an approach that incorporates the park and the large fauna's home ranges in the development of the peripheral areas, by applying a comprehensive land-use plan.*

### **Case study 3**

#### ***Bili-Uélé / Garamba / Chinko (DRC/CAR) – insecurity in question***

*This landscape includes the Garamba (Garamba National Park and three game reserves) and Bili (Bili-Uélé and Bomu reserves) complexes in DRC, and the Chinko reserve in CAR. This landlocked and sparsely populated region (2.9 inhabitants/km<sup>2</sup>) is located on both sides of the DRC–CAR border, close to South Sudan. It is occupied by farming communities and transhumant herders. The lack of territorial control by the two states over the past 20 years and the virtual absence of public services have also facilitated the emergence of several armed groups, such as the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). These groups are well-equipped and actively engaged in large-scale poaching.*

*Several groups of transhumant pastoralists are active in the region on a seasonal basis: Arabs (from Chad and Sudan) and Fulani or Bororo (divided into several clans and more or less independent from each other). The latter is from the regions on either side of the CAR–Cameroon border from where they began to migrate slowly towards the east of CAR in the 1920s. They moved quickly towards the DRC in the early 2000s due to various factors: successive droughts, repressive political 'events', movements of insecurity fronts following civil wars in the DRC and Sudan, and economic opportunities sometimes offered around protected areas or refugee camps.*

*In DRC, local farming communities accuse these transhumant pastoralists of collaborating with armed groups and large-scale poachers and of sharing information and food with them. In reality, the major poachers often use the paths and tracks made by the transhumant herds. In this way, they always avoid centers and areas of high human concentration. Conversely, transhumant herders are sometimes forced to arm themselves to deal with insecurity. Consequently, the local population considers them as rebels and major poachers.*

*From December to May each year, transhumant herders arrive from the north-east and settle in the Chinko area in CAR. These herders are armed to protect their animals from possible attacks on their routes by rebel groups. Most of them are herders employed by wealthy Darfurian dignitaries. Although cohabitation with the Chinko Park may seem more peaceful than in the DRC, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the herders from major poachers or the rebel groups. The confusion can again exacerbate the climate of fear and insecurity among the local population.*

#### **Case study 4**

##### ***Conservation, insecurity, and cross-border transhumance – Issues in the cross-border area between the CAR, DRC, and South Sudan***

*The passage of herds near protected areas poses several problems for the managers of these areas. The herds threaten the natural habitats of the fauna, and the herders sometimes hunt intensively as they pass.*

*Transhumant migrations will intensify in these landlocked regions due to climate change and growing insecurity in the DRC and CAR, where the states have little territorial control. For a long time now, current legislation has not been adapted to the situation. It seems inadequate to regulate the passage of herds on both sides of the borders. Transhumant herders are both victims and drivers of insecurity. Investments aimed at securing transhumance routes, watering points and improving access to markets now seem to be the best solution. The aim is to reduce conflicts between communities and establish sustainable resource management in line with conservation objectives.*

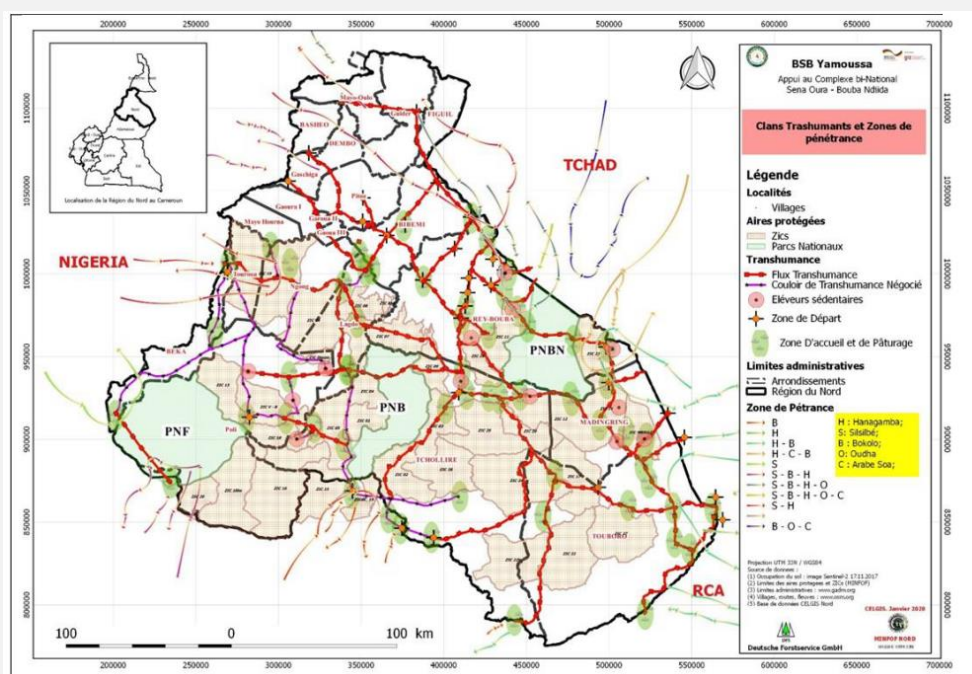


### Case study 5

#### **Evolution of transhumance given the constraints that preclude access to resources in the Sena Oura Bouba Ndjidda Binational complex (BSB)**

Several factors contribute to a significant reduction in grazing areas, putting pastoral systems and especially transhumance in a situation of precariousness and conflict. As a result, throughout the region, the surface area of protected zones has remained relatively constant, but the agricultural front is rapidly expanding into rangelands and even protected areas (Noiraud et al. 2020).

In Cameroon, the network of protected areas (PAs) in the North region covers nearly three million hectares, or 44% of the region's territory (Ndamé, 2007). In the east of this region, the PAs represent two thirds of the total area of the Mayo-Rey Division. This considerably reduces the agricultural and pastoral areas, which leads to conflicts between local populations (farmers and herders) and the managers of the PAs (Figure 9).

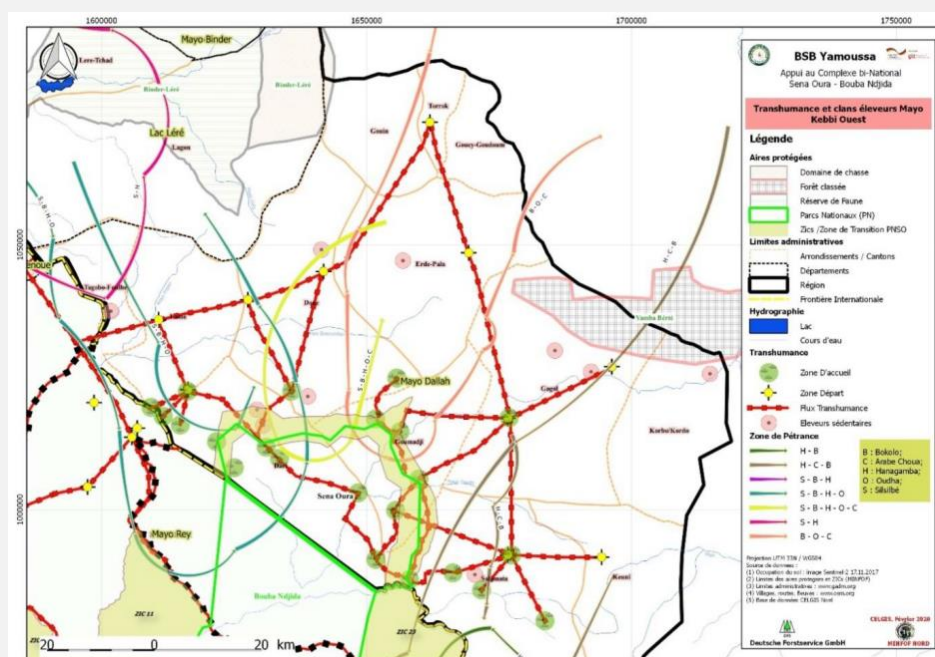


**Figure 9: Clans and transhumance routes in the North region Cameroon**

Source: Noiraud et al. 2020

Access to ponds, lowlands and water remains in the Mayo region is an essential link in the annual grazing chain, especially for the use of surface water and dry season fodder reserves (bourgou fields). In addition, the agricultural development of these strategic pastoral areas through off-season crops is increasingly depriving pastoralists, especially transhumant herders, of key resources.

Protected areas are also covered on the Chad side of the BSB zone (Figure 10). In this context, and particularly in this area, given their size and status<sup>1</sup>, PAs have a significant production of grass that is protected from cattle during the rainy season. During the dry season, these environments are dominated by perennial grass vegetation highly sought after by livestock. These eco-climatic and anthropogenic advantages, including better watering conditions (presence of watercourses that turn into ponds during the dry season), determine the illegal transhumance flows in and around the Yamoussa BSB basin during the dry season (Noiraud et al. 2020).

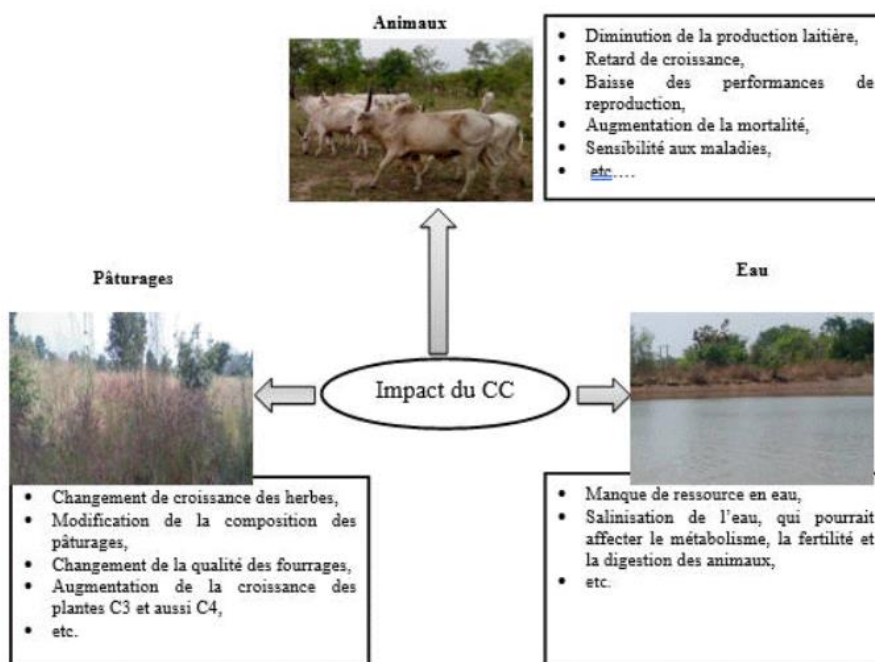


**Figure 10: Clans and transhumance axes in the Mayo Kébbi West province of Chad**  
Source: Noiraud et al. 2020

### 3.1.5 Impacts of climate change on pastoral livestock systems in Central Africa

Climate change resulting in varying rainfall and temperature patterns adversely affects the economic and social survival of most people in Africa (Sani & Chalchisa 2016). Livestock management, one of the main livelihoods in rural Africa, is the most vulnerable to climate change. Pastoralism is particularly affected because it depends on natural resources (fodder and water), whose seasonality and productivity are strongly linked to climate. Pastoralism is therefore affected both directly through impacts on livestock performance and indirectly through effects on pastoral resources (Figure 11).

<sup>1</sup> In PAs in this region, encroachment is prohibited. While this rule is often disrespected, it nevertheless reduces exploitation of the PAs, particularly in the rainy season.



**Figure 11: Impact of climate change on livestock and natural resources (water and pasture)**

Source: Idrissou et al. 2019

### Effects of climate change on animals

Increased heat causes stress in animals, increasing their water consumption and limiting their feeding, leading to decreased production, especially of milk (Bazin et al. 2013). Heat stress also impacts reproduction by reducing the length and intensity of heat and fertility and embryo survival (Nardone et al. 2010; King et al. 2006). It also affects semen quality in bulls (Kunavongkrita et al. 2005). In Burkina Faso, pastoralist communities reported that animal fertility and milk and meat production were significantly reduced (Kima et al. 2015).

Heatwaves regularly result in increased herd mortality. However, the vulnerability of animals to heat stress varies according to species, their genetic potential to adapt to heat, age, and their nutritional status (Bazin et al. 2013). Vector-borne diseases could be affected by:

- the expansion of vector populations into colder or more temperate areas;
- changes in rainfall patterns during wet years, which could also lead to increased vector populations and large-scale epidemics (Calvosa et al. 2009).

The impacts of climate change on animal health are likely to be even more significant. They will abruptly disrupt the existing balance between the breeds raised and the diseases they are subjected to (Bazin et al. 2013).

### **Effects of climate change on pastoral resources**

Climate change will have significant effects on the fodder crops and grazing systems that provide most of the feed for herds in Africa (Bazin et al. 2013). These effects may include changes in grass growth; changes in pasture composition; and changes in fodder quality (Hopkins et Del Prado, 2007, Polley et al. 2013). In the Eastern and Adamawa regions of Cameroon, more than 80% of pastures are subject to invasive species, mainly *Chromolaena odorata*. This species invades the pastures but is not eaten by the animals.

The increase in CO<sub>2</sub> concentration in the atmosphere will a priori have a beneficial effect on plant growth. This is because the increase in atmospheric CO<sub>2</sub> causes partial closure of the stomata, which reduces water loss through transpiration and thus improves water use efficiency (Rötter et van de Geijn, 1999). The effect is much greater for C3 plants, but there is also a small effect for C4 plants.

### **Effects of climate change on water**

Climate change will have a substantial impact on global water availability. This will affect livestock drinking water sources as well as feed production systems and pasture yields (Thornton et al. 2009; Nardone et al. 2010). To address this problem, it is necessary to produce crops and raise animals in livestock systems that require less water (Nardone et al. 2010). As sea levels rise, more and more salt water will be introduced into coastal freshwater aquifers (Karl et al. 2009). Salinization, in addition to the chemical and biological contaminants and high concentrations of heavy metals already present in water bodies around the world, can affect livestock production (Nardone et al. 2010). Salinization of water could affect animals' metabolism, fertility and digestion. In addition, chemical contaminants and heavy metals can affect the cardiovascular, excretory, skeletal, nervous and respiratory systems, and the quality of hygienic production (Nardone et al. 2010).

### **Livestock farmers' climate change adaptation strategies**

Populations generally have a particular perception of the evolution of the climate, based on which they have always developed adaptation strategies (Tidjani et Akponikpe 2012). These adaptation strategies can be grouped into different categories. According to Maddison (2006), adaptation strategies can be classified as 'internal' and 'external' measures (local and borrowed or adapted from elsewhere). The IPCC (2007) classifies climate change adaptation strategies more generally as behavioral/managerial or policy oriented. According to Klein (2002), adaptation to climate change can be reactive when applied to current extreme climate events or anticipatory when implemented before the occurrence of extreme events. In Central Africa, several adaptation strategies have been developed by pastoralists to cope with the adverse effects of climate change. The main strategies implemented by herders are herd mobility, storage of crop residues, integration of agriculture with livestock, installation of fodder plots, diversification of livestock, reduction of herd size, the practice of off-farm activities, and sedentarization.

## Climate change mitigation measures

Implementing various technologies and practices can reduce GHG emissions from the livestock sector (Idrissou et al. 2019). Some of the options are carbon sequestration, improved animal diets to reduce enteric fermentation, manure management, and more efficient fertilizers (Thornton et Gerber, 2010).

Carbon sequestration in grasslands could significantly offset emissions by about 0.6 gigatons of CO<sub>2</sub> equivalent per year (Gerber et al. 2013). This can be achieved by reducing deforestation rates, reversing deforestation through reforestation (Carvalho et al. 2004), targeting high-yielding crops with varieties better adapted to climate change and improving land and water management (Steinfeld et al. 2006). Improved pasture management can also lead to carbon sequestration (Conant et al 2001). It could sequester around 0.15 gigatons of CO<sub>2</sub> equivalent per year globally (Henderson et al 2015).

Indeed, carbon sequestration in pastures depends on a good match between animal stocking and natural resources. Research shows that to promote the sustainable management of these pastures and carbon storage, sedentarization, which causes overgrazing, should be avoided and herd mobility should be promoted as an alternative because it allows a constant adjustment of grazing pressure to local fodder availability (Holland et al. 1992; Bazin et al. 2013).

Enteric fermentation is a source of methane emissions that can be reduced through improved animal feeding and genetics (USEPA, 1999). These include the addition of concentrates (cereals) to ruminant diets, which is perhaps the most promoted option (FAO, 2013c). The use of anti-methanogenic vaccines is also an option in the long term. These vaccines have been evaluated in other studies (Whittle et al. 2013; Moran et al. 2011) and are considered potentially attractive in extensive ruminant systems as injections can be performed easily and infrequently.

Given these elements, the following options to mitigate climate change in Central Africa are recommended by IUCN (2010):

- Decrease livestock numbers by eliminating unproductive animals and increasing the efficiency of livestock production;
- Select more productive breeds of animals where conditions are suitable;
- Improve rangelands through enhanced pasture management;
- Implement transhumance and effective communal grazing management;
- Reforest and protect trees in rangelands;
- Restore degraded land;
- Improve waste management, including the efficient use of manure as fertilizer;
- Improve the use of low-fibre food additives;
- Improve energy/food efficiency.

Further recommendations can be formulated as follows:

- Use improved seeds;
- Produce fodder;
- Promote reforestation;
- Improve soil fertility for agriculture (composting, crop association);
- Create firebreaks, windbreaks;
- Collect rainwater;
- Produce quality milk;
- Produce honey.

### **Challenges and prospects for sustainable pastoral livestock systems in the face of climate change**

To promote adaptation in the livestock sector, some key elements need to be taken into account to support livestock development actions. These include (IUCN, 2010):

- Collaborative management of natural resources
- Involvement of the community in adaptation strategies
- Risk management mechanisms
- Awareness-raising and education
- Gender
- Indigenous knowledge

## **3.2 Dynamics and impacts of neo-pastoralism**

### ***Key points***

- *Neo-pastoralism is rapidly gaining ground in most regions of West and Central Africa.*
- *Neo-pastoralism is underpinned by the control and trafficking of large herds of livestock by influential leaders, warlords and even established businessmen and politicians.*
- *Neo-pastoralists readily build relationships with armed or terrorist groups, with whom they exchange many goods and services.*
- *In addition to the land that the new neo-pastoralists are taking over in the savannah areas, an increasing proportion of forest land is being deforested to accommodate the neo-pastoralists' herds in the forest areas, which has an impact on forest cover and biodiversity.*
- *The activity is a growing source of insecurity in communities and in areas where small arms, drugs and other illegal operations are rampant.*

Traditionally a livelihood for Sahelian communities that share the Fulani language (30 to 40 million people), transhumant pastoralism has seen the emergence of a new economic and capitalist model over the past few decades. Sedentary in the cities and highly advanced in the socio-economic-political hierarchy, some families of former pastoralists have delegated this activity to young salaried transhumant herders, while investing considerable speculative capital, causing the size of the herds in question to grow significantly.

Neo-pastoralism is rapidly gaining ground in most parts of West and Central Africa. The fragile political situation in most countries, particularly the Sahel region – with increased operations and control of large territories by extremist groups – has contributed to expanding neo-pastoralist investments and operations. This phenomenon is underpinned by the control and trafficking of large herds of livestock by influential leaders, warlords and even established businessmen and politicians. Neo-pastoralism is a thriving business involving arms sales, livestock deals, and other illegal drug and arms trafficking activities.

Information from various field reports and stakeholder consultations indicates the prevalence of neo-pastoral activities in some landscapes, namely Chinko-Lere-Garamba along the DRC–CAR cross-border area. Notorious groups in the region include the LRA and other small groups located in CAR and DRC. Boko Haram factions are operating in the Lake Chad Basin, Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad and the Republic of the Niger. The groups are well-armed and include high-level networks with senior figures in the religious, traditional and public sectors.

Neo-pastoralists readily build relationships with armed or terrorist groups, with whom they exchange many goods and services. In addition, these actors buy weapons from armed groups or subcontract the security of their activities. As such, the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW) has been a factor exacerbating livestock theft and inter-community clashes, particularly between herders and farmers in conflict zones (Lake Chad Basin, CAR, DRC), as well as the proliferation of armed groups operating in this region, which poses a threat to the security of states and individuals.

In the case of the Lake Chad Basin, Boko Haram operates within a dynamic of connection and collaboration with criminal groups to control entire areas of trafficking with the support of communities. This movement, although weakened, controls a good part of the routes through which heroin from Asia passes as well as the trafficking of SALW from Libya owing to its allegiance to the Islamic State (IS). To this end, Boko Haram relies heavily on the support of local populations, particularly influential people (some neo-pastoralists) and youth to control the various trafficking routes in the Lake Chad Basin. It provides neo-pastoralists with security for their activity in exchange for information and local protection for their young followers.

In CAR, the security vacuum in the vast border areas has facilitated the establishment of the LRA in the south-eastern districts of the country since 2008, the development of armed transhumance from Chad and Sudan, and militarized Sudanese poaching expeditions from the capital of South Darfur (Nyala). The security vacuum has opened up entire territories, starting in northern CAR, to organized crime and poachers who travel every year in the dry season from South Darfur to the north of Cameroon (Vircoulon, 2020). Brutalized by highway robbers and harassed by armed Chadian and Sudanese transhumant herders, the communities in these areas have had to organize their defense and obtain weapons, which has led to an escalation of violence. The spread of insecurity in CAR has considerably affected pastoralist communities, whose livestock has been a prime target for bandits (Vircoulon, 2020). As a result, the Peuhl community was one

of the first to form self-defense militias called Peuhl archers and to have a structured armed group claiming to protect the Peuhl community as a whole: the Front populaire pour le redressement de Baba Laddé (Popular Front for the Recovery of Baba Laddé), which gave rise to the UPC. The Peuhl archers have occasionally received minimal logistical support from the CAR government. Currently, three Peuhl militias (the UPC, the 3Rs and the Siriri Coalition) operate in CAR in the name of defending the interests of breeders.

These armed groups offer various services to some actors. In addition to security, they are involved in drug trafficking, hostage-taking, poaching, arms trafficking, etc. The neo-pastoralist actors forge close relationships with the various armed groups to carry out their activities.

There are no official estimates on the financial investment in neo-pastoral activities in the region, but it is generally said to be millions of dollars per year. The socio-political and economic ramifications of the trade demand that national governments pay close attention to this issue. The activity is a growing source of insecurity in communities and areas where small arms, drugs and other illegal operations are rampant. Ironically, some consulted claim that neo-pastoral activities contribute significantly to local economies, particularly in cross-border areas.

In recent years, Mbororo and Arab nomads have been experimenting with a phenomenon recently called 'neo-pastoralism'. Whereas in the past, pastoralism was a matter of keeping livestock, it can today be a profession involving the keeping of herds of unprecedented size belonging to large businessmen or a new elite. The large known centers of this neo-pastoralism are increasingly widespread. Investment pastoralism is also called neo-pastoralism. Far from being solely a family subsistence activity, pastoral livestock farming has also become an investment opportunity for an urban elite seeking to diversify its capital. Therefore, traders, civil servants, soldiers, imams, etc., buy livestock and entrust them to pastoralists who carry out transhumance.

Many of these actors have also settled in Central African countries (CAR, Chad, DRC and Cameroon). This new pastoralism is implemented in large areas of pasture to limit transhumance. It has a purely economic basis.

The actors of this new pastoralism have some influence and power at the local level. These actors have economic power and generally take over land and areas belonging to village communities. This phenomenon is a source of conflict in the areas where it is practiced. In addition to the land, they are taking over in the savannah areas, an increasing proportion of forest land is being deforested to accommodate the neo-pastoralists' herds in the forest areas, which impacts the forest cover and biodiversity. As with traditional pastoralism, the problems associated with the new pastoralism also include herder-herder, herder-farmer, herder-population (for space) and herder-conservation service conflicts in protected areas.

This new phenomenon already carries the seeds of conflict because neo-pastoralists grab land, which is a coveted resource. Despite their power, the populations will ultimately revolt against these new actors. Therefore, it would be advisable to take neo-pastoralism into account in future land-use planning by setting up pastoral areas for economic purposes.



### 3.3 Transhumance nexus

#### **Key points**

- *The cross-border area between CAR, DRC and South Sudan is marked by chronic instability due to the presence of several armed groups, led by the Ugandan rebels of the LRA. These groups adversely affect pastoralism.*
- *Transhumant herders are increasingly involved in poaching, particularly of elephants for their ivory, and these elephants are invading protected areas in search of fodder, water and security.*
- *Due to their regular movements in the bush, the Mbororo are often accused of maintaining ties with armed groups, providing them with information and food, and even collaborating with them to commit acts of violence.*
- *The causes and drivers of pastoralism-related conflicts are grouped into six categories: demographic and ecological pressure; climate change and variations in rainfall; use of small arms; violent extremism by terrorist and other armed groups; local politics and the national political environment; and land-use planning.*

#### 3.3.1 Socio-political and security pressures

The cross-border area between CAR, DRC and South Sudan is marked by chronic instability due to the presence of several armed groups (led by the Ugandan rebels of the LRA) as a result of repeated conflicts (especially the civil wars that broke out in CAR and South Sudan) and the absence of state structures in these remote areas. This region is the pole of inaccessibility in Africa and the porous nature of its borders fosters illegal cross-border trafficking in natural resources, which these armed groups need to survive.

The security situation, coupled with a change from seasonal cross-border transhumance to a more sedentary settlement of Mbororo herders in the DRC (particularly around the Azande hunting grounds), poses threats to the wildlife in the region's protected areas. Poaching, especially of elephants for their ivory, is not decreasing, and protected areas are regularly invaded by transhumant herders looking for fodder, water and security, and sometimes engaging in poaching themselves. The new pastoralists are also powerful because they come from business, security and sometimes political circles. They impose their rules at the local level and are sometimes untouchable.

These new threats require that the region's protected areas be managed and have sufficient technical and financial resources to address them. In addition, their management must involve all stakeholders and take into account the new challenges (transhumance). The reduction in the number of illegal carcasses found in the Garamba National Park is evidence of the efficiency of the delegated management systems. However, reinstating strong state structures capable of conducting an inclusive dialog and performing border controls are necessary prerequisites for establishing a cross-border wildlife conservation network in which public-private partnerships could play a major role.

### 3.3.2 Ethnic discrimination and political marginalization of transhumant herders

The classic conflictual configuration between herders and farmers does not in itself explain all the violence against the Mbororo or local populations. Population density and available space, the presence of armed groups or the length of time that the Mbororo have lived with sedentary populations can influence the state of their relations positively or negatively (ICG, 2014).

Due to their regular movements in the bush, the Mbororo are often accused of maintaining ties with armed groups, providing them with information and food, and even collaborating with them to commit acts of violence. In the south-east region of CAR, in DRC and in South Sudan, public opinion holds that the Mbororo collaborate closely with the LRA (ICG, 2014). This perception is based partly on the weapons that some pastoralists have for protection and their geographical proximity to LRA members. However, it ignores the fact that the Mbororo are also victims of the LRA. This widespread suspicion is fundamental because the resurgence of LRA activity in 2007 and 2008 coincided with a sharp deterioration in relations between the Mbororo and local populations.

Conversely, today, the decline in LRA activity and the change in the frequency and nature of its attacks in Orientale Province coincides with a marked improvement in relations between the population and the Mbororo.

In the Lake Chad Basin, after some Boudouma groups (ethnicity of some pastoralist groups) joined the Islamic sect Boko Haram, the entire pastoralist community belonging to this group has been stigmatized and is facing retaliation. However, herders and agro-pastoralists live in a situation of great fear and are trapped between the hammer and the anvil. They are also subjected to violent attacks and pressure from Boko Haram and government forces who have asked herders and agro-pastoralists with large numbers of cattle, goats, sheep and camels to leave the islands (Sougnabé and Ahmat, 2017). Starting with the Boudouma ethnic group, the situation has escalated to include all herders (Arabs, Peuhls and Kanembous) who are targets of Boko Haram and the security forces. The herders are therefore not immune to this spiral of violence and hatred unleashed against their communities. Consequently, they are all victims of arbitrary treatment, assault, torture, summary and extrajudicial executions, as they belong to the Boudouma community or are accused of conspiracy or complicity with Boko Haram.

In the North-West region of Cameroon, many members of the Mboro community have also been threatened and several people killed because the secessionists have accused them of colluding with the Cameroonian state. In this conflict, the Mboro community has clearly refused to support the secessionist groups, leading to retaliation against them.

To normalize relations between marginalized pastoralist communities and thereby ease conflicts, it will be necessary to identify and locate all marginalized groups in the various countries, regularize their stay and develop the infrastructure and means of production within their communities.

### 3.3.3 Transhumance, neo-pastoralism, poaching and environmental crime

Central Africa is endowed with an exceptional natural heritage, placed under the authority of the ten member states of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) and exploited by several social actors with sometimes competing interests. For the past ten years, the region's natural capital has been declining rapidly because the legislative framework that is supposed to govern the flagship species and heritage areas is no longer respected due to widespread insecurity and a lack of political will. As a result, many protected areas have been invaded by hordes of bandits and criminals who slaughter species such as elephants (e.g., Bouba Ndjida National Park in Cameroon).

Between January 2003 and June 2012, a period in which 2,175 elephant carcasses were recorded, a decrease in the illegal killing of elephants was noted between 2003 and 2006, followed by an increase until 2011–2012 (EDF, 2013). The 2012 slaughter of 200 to 400 elephants (depending on the source) in the Bouba Ndjida National Park in northern Cameroon and of 30 others in Wonga Wongue in Gabon and the Mayo-Lémié/Chari-Baguirmi region of Chad is still fresh in the minds of many. Regular surveys indicate a 76% decline in the elephant population since 1980 (Bouché et al. 2011). In addition to poaching and the depletion of their habitat, a new threat has appeared in recent years – poachers, called cavaliers, who come from Sudan and pass through CAR before reaching Cameroon and Chad to kill elephants. They are responsible for slaughtering elephants in the Bouba-Ndjida National Park in 2012, as well as killing about twenty elephants in the Binder Léré Faunal Reserve (RFBL) located in Mayo-Kebbi West (Léré and Binder departments) in Chad. These poachers work together.

Two crises are at the origin of the invasion of some protected areas: the general security crisis and the transhumant pastoralism crisis. Expert experience shows that these crises are directly related to the invasion of some PAs, although the transhumance crisis is induced by the general insecurity crisis and the climate changes that have a negative impact in the Sahel.

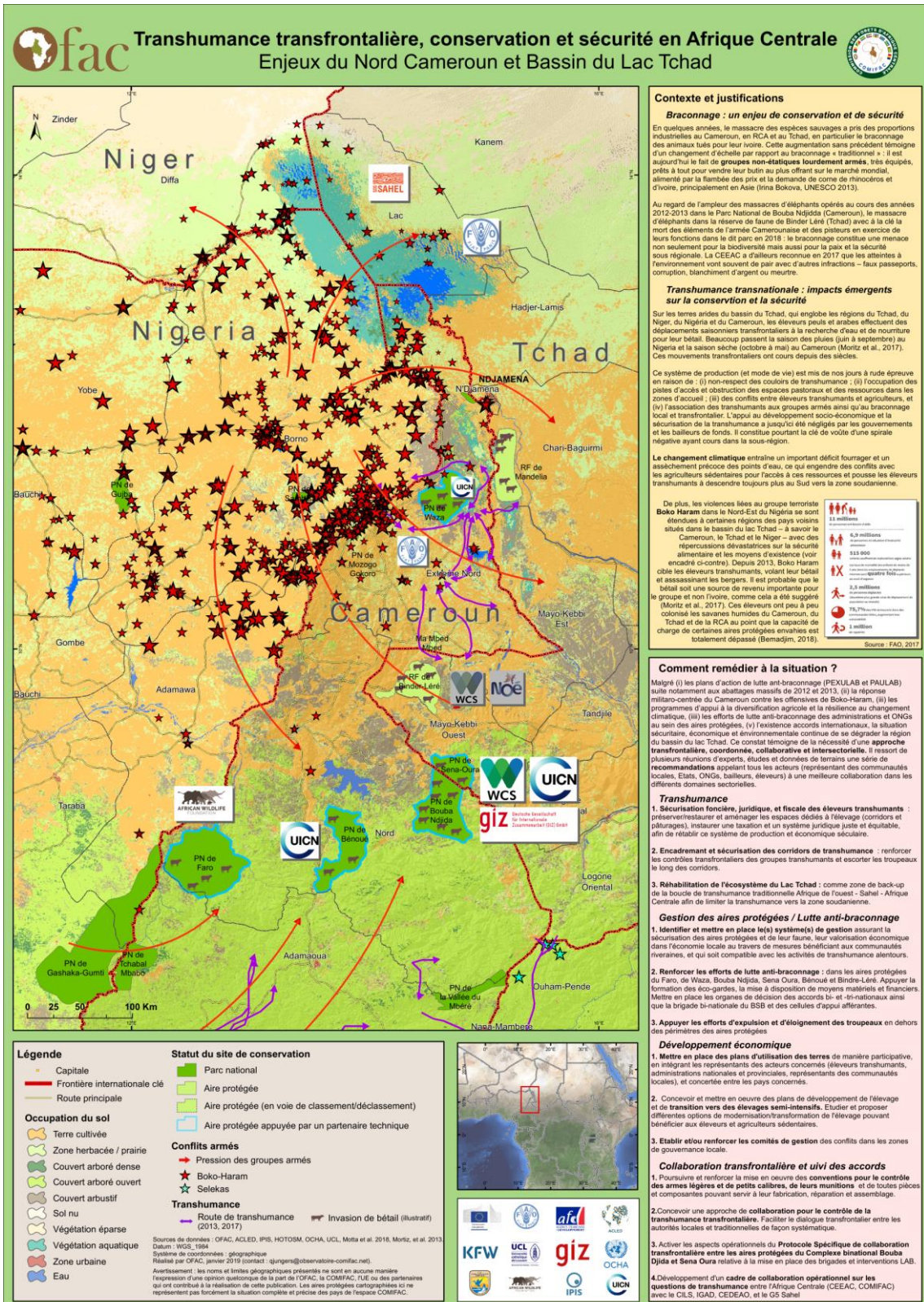
#### **Geographical blocks**

The environmental, security and transhumance crises are widespread in the Sahel zone, although their impact varies geographically (East and West).

The recommended approach to combating these crises is to divide the ECCAS area into three blocks to concentrate technical and financial efforts within each block and optimize information exchange between them.

#### **Block 1: North, Far-North of Cameroon, Lake Chad Basin (Chad, Niger and Nigeria)**

Transhumance is not only under pressure from the ecological crisis in Lake Chad, but also from the west from the armed group Boko Haram and the hostage-takers (). Herders are forced to migrate and sometimes settle in areas further south-east towards the Sudanese areas where conflicts with sedentary farmers are persistent. Some PAs in this zone are not exempt from the phenomenon of transhumant settlements. Thus, since 2014, there has been an increase in the number of transhumant herders in the surroundings of the Waza National Park (Cameroon), which has major consequences for the survival of this PA. The same is true of the national parks further south of these areas, which are threatened by transhumance. These are the national parks of Bouba Ndjida, Benue, Faro, etc.



**Figure 12: Cross-border transhumance, conservation and security in Northern Cameroon and the Lake Chad Basin**

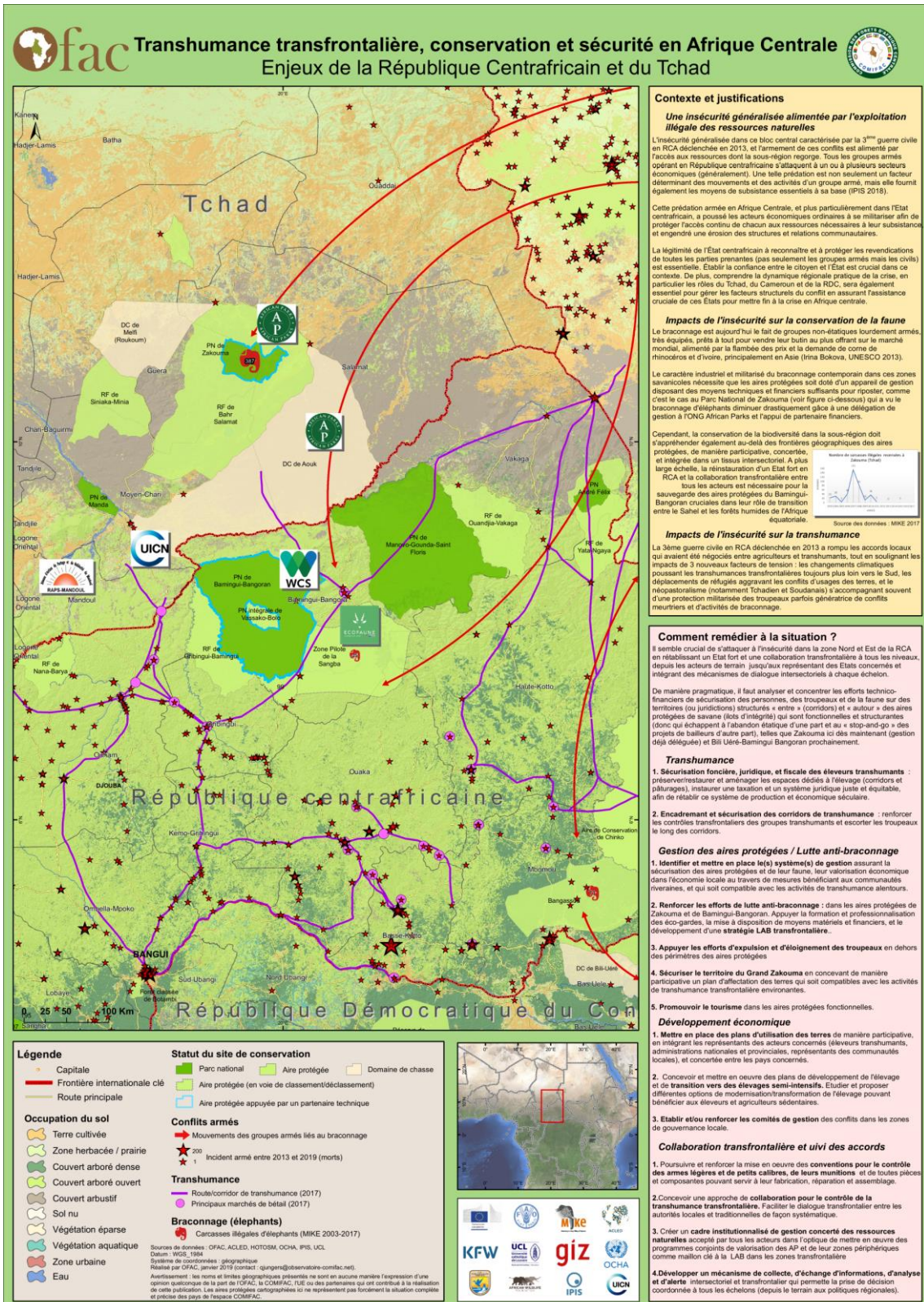
Source: OFAC, 2018

## **Block 2: Greater Zakouma-Chad side and Bamingui-Bangonran-CAR side region**

The civil war that broke out in 2013 in CAR rendered the traditional agreements that governed and regulated transhumance and PAs obsolete. As a result, the PAs of this block are regularly invaded by increasing numbers of herds. This situation is a consequence of the invasion of corridors by armed groups and the weak representation of the state in remote areas. An analysis of shows that the transhumance corridors are no longer limited to the surroundings of the PAs; they now pass inside some PAs. This is the case of the Monovo-Gounda-Saint Floris National Park in CAR.

The industrial and militarized nature of contemporary poaching in these savannah areas requires PAs to have a management apparatus with sufficient technical, logistical and financial means to respond, as is the case of the Zakouma National Park, where elephant poaching decreased drastically following the delegation of management to the NGO African Parks and the support of partners.

However, biodiversity conservation in the sub-region must henceforth be understood as a transnational issue (beyond borders) that is also beyond the borders of the PAs. It must be conducted in a participatory, concerted and integrated manner in an intersectoral context and on a larger scale.



**Figure 13: Transhumance, conservation and security in CAR and Chad**

Source: OFAC, 2018

### Block 3: Border between DRC, CAR and Southern Sudan

In this block, transhumance is deeply destabilized by the various armed groups gaining ground in the area (). These include armed groups from CAR, including the LRA, and the civil war that has been ravaging Southern Sudan for several years. This situation has led transhumant herders to arm themselves and move to relatively secure areas (PAs). Unfortunately, their settlement in these areas has led to the exploitation of wildlife in the form of game and trophies.

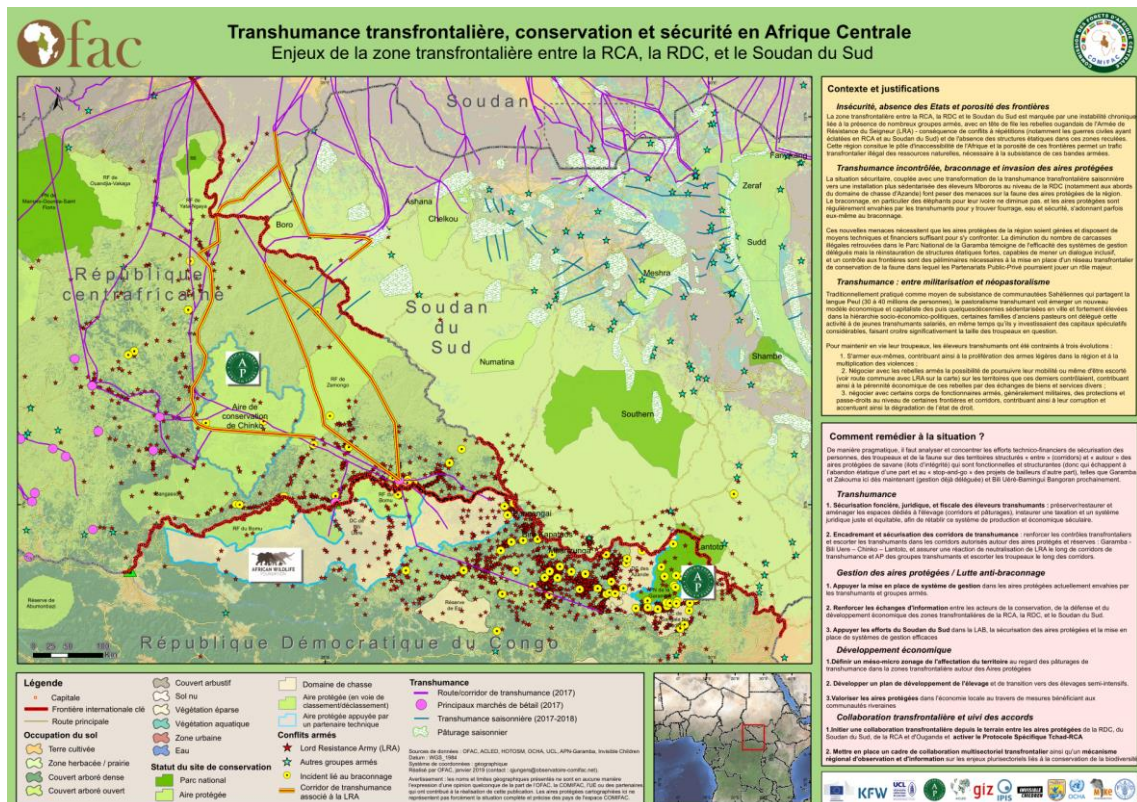


Figure 14: Cross-border transhumance, conservation and security in CAR, DRC and South Sudan

Source: OFAC, 2018

### 3.3.4 Causes and drivers of pastoral conflicts

#### Demographic and ecological pressure

In Central Africa and the Sahel, demographic pressure is a regional phenomenon. The area of cultivated land has increased considerably over the years, while grazing has decreased accordingly. This is partly because pastoralists rarely own land individually or collectively and rely on access to pasture and water as shared resources, as agreed with local communities. Passage land may be cultivated or used for other purposes, pushing herders either southwards out of the savannah and Sahel into the wetlands or increasingly marginal lands. The main challenge for pastoralists and farmers in this region is land and water resource management. The ability of pastoralists to adapt to these challenges is compromised by weak state support, the context of insecurity, and often limited access rights to natural resources.

## **Climate change and rainfall variations**

Climate change and rainfall variations are major constraints on livestock keepers. In most countries in this study, farmers and herders reported more difficult climatic conditions, with a longer dry season and a shorter rainy season. Even when the volume of rainfall has remained similar, the region has experienced significant fluctuations, with sudden downpours that can cause flooding instead of a balanced distribution of rainfall. Scientific surveys have recorded these rainfall changes over the past decade. This trend is forcing herders and farmers to be more resilient and adapt.

## **Use of small arms**

The use of small arms exacerbates the violence of rural conflicts. This is particularly the case when conflicts break out between farmers and herders, adding to existing insecurity. This occurs in rural areas destabilized by war, political or ethnic violence, or banditry. In such situations, state authority is weak, dispute resolution mechanisms are ineffective, and weapons are readily available. This is the case in parts of CAR and Chad. Thus, the proliferation of small arms is a regional problem that has made traditional conflicts even more deadly, with serial clashes and retaliations dividing communities.

## **Violent extremism by terrorist and other armed groups**

The violent extremism of terrorist groups and other armed groups operating in the Sahel and Central African regions has exacerbated pastoral tensions. The UNHCR has noted an increase in population displacement and refugees due to violence between pastoralists and farmers. A significant proportion of the refugees and displaced persons from these conflicts are pastoralists. Boko Haram carries out attacks and raids on pastoralists and farmers in the Lake Chad Basin, stealing livestock and crops and killing and displacing people. The situation is the same with armed groups in CAR. The latter extort money from pastoralist communities.

## **Local politics and the national political environment**

Local politics and the national political environment have a significant influence on the intensity of conflicts involving pastoralists. When the state tries to accommodate the interests and needs of farmers and pastoralists, the likelihood of conflict is lower. However, when the state demonstrates a strong prejudice against a group, practices exclusion, or neglects the rural population, conflicts arise. In this regard, pastoral codes can be useful as they establish the rights and responsibilities of pastoralists.

## **Land-use planning**

Land-use planning has an impact on transhumance and pastoral resources. Herder communities are not always involved in this process for various reasons (mobility, marginalization or neglect), and as a result, their concerns and resources are overlooked or inadequately addressed. Yet, descriptive literature exists on transhumance corridors that details the specific engineering of these contemporary corridors (Boutrais, 2012; Turner, 2012). These are complex developments designed to maintain and facilitate pastoral mobility in environments that are, on the one hand, gridded by administrative structures and sectoral development projects and, on the other hand,



have sedentary populations that are becoming denser, with agricultural development now working more at odds with than in support of pastoralism (Moutari et Giraut, 2013). Corridors are spaces for regulating and managing a set of shared natural resources.

Developing these transhumance corridors requires a combination of infrastructure, equipment, temporary and permanent resource areas and shared multifunctional areas. Their functioning should be based on a set of flexible rules and multi-level governance mechanisms. The aim is to develop heterogeneous spaces arising from a need to secure the conditions for maintaining human activities threatened by social, political and economic arrangements that are based on an exclusive territorial rationale.

### 3.4 Power dynamic

#### **Key points**

- *Countries such as Chad, CAR and Cameroon have a body of legislation to regulate the use of pastoral land and the movements of herders. This legislation has been obsolete for several years and should be reviewed to ensure greater security and promotion of pastoral activities.*
- *At the continental level, the AU has a border governance strategy that aims to strengthen the border governance capacities of its member states. This new perspective promotes a multi-faceted and multi-dimensional approach to African borders by strengthening their integration potential.*
- *There are various types of actors involved in transhumance, with sometimes competing interests. The analysis of these actors shows that they do not have the same perception of the cross-border transhumance issues.*
- *An improved organization of local actors strengthens local diplomacy, promotes peaceful conflict management and a more harmonious management of cross-border transhumance.*

#### 3.4.1 Modernizing obsolete legislation

The administrations of Central African countries have tried to regulate the mobility of livestock breeders despite the difficulties. Countries such as Chad, CAR and Cameroon have a body of legislation to regulate the use of pastoral land and the movements of herders. The 1959 law had a clear objective: to control and contain the movements of pastoralists. According to this old law, which is currently being revised, all transhumant herders must have a pass, follow specific routes and carry out the transhumance at a period previously determined by the authorities. However, this was never really respected. In 1996, the Minister of the Interior reminded the prefects and sub-prefects of its existence; the texts are unknown to many herders and criticized by others for their restrictive nature, which hardly suits pastoral mobility exposed to erratic climate conditions. In Cameroon, Decision No. 02/MINEPIA of 20 July 1988 which updated the layout of cattle trails defines and delimits the different transhumance corridors. There is also Decision No. 1/94-CEBEVIRHA-018-CE-29 of 16 March 1994 which authorized the introduction of the livestock passport and the International Transhumance Certificate and stipulated the terms of use.

It was in 1999, during a national seminar on conflicts between farmers and herders in N’Djamena, that the need to modernize Chad’s pastoral law first became obvious. After the failure of a first bill in 2002 due to criticism from herders, it was decided at a national seminar in 2005 to draft a new pastoral code. The text, which is currently being validated by the Ministry of Livestock, adopts a new approach. The policy of controlling transhumance, the limits of which have been revealed, is replaced by a policy of securing transhumance. In other words, to control transhumance, it is necessary to secure the grazing areas and develop the transhumance corridors in a way that slows down the herders’ movement. Article 30 of the bill even requires the state to set up health services near transhumance corridors. As for the settlement of conflicts between farmers and herders, articles 84, 88 and 89 of the pastoral code stipulate that the conciliation process in the event of a dispute must preferably be carried out before the community authorities and, in the event of an amicable agreement, the dispute shall be considered definitively resolved.

At the continental level, the AU has a border governance strategy that aims to strengthen the border governance capacities of its member states. While African borders have been governed in various ways since their creation, this new perspective fosters a multi-faceted and multi-dimensional approach to African borders by strengthening their integration potential. Borders, therefore, become the nexus connecting states’ public action in the sectors of security, economy, trade, infrastructure, environment, social affairs, etc.

The African Union Integrated Border Governance Strategy is an instrument developed to use borders as vectors to promote peace, security and stability, and to enhance and accelerate integration through effective border governance while facilitating the movement of people, goods, services and capital between AU Member States.

The African Union Convention on Cross-Border Cooperation (Niamey Convention) has the following main objectives:

- To promote cross-border cooperation at local, sub-regional and regional levels;
- To transform border areas into catalysts for growth as well as socio-economic and political integration of the continent and to promote peace and stability through conflict prevention, continental integration and strengthening unity.

A reading of this convention reveals the political will at the continental level. However, at the sub-regional level (particularly in Central Africa), there is a solid attachment to national borders. Therefore, drawing inspiration from the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), a sub-regional regulatory framework should be put in place with the ECCAS protocol to promote regional inter-state collaboration on the management of transhumance activities. The framework could provide for: the authorized movement of livestock within identified corridors and seasons between member states; the issuance of identity cards and other supporting documents to herders to facilitate cross-border movements; the set-up of multi-purpose border control posts at the main entrances to member states to check the documentation (health, safety, etc.) of herders and their livestock; and the provision of veterinary centers and other facilities such as watering points to foreign herders.

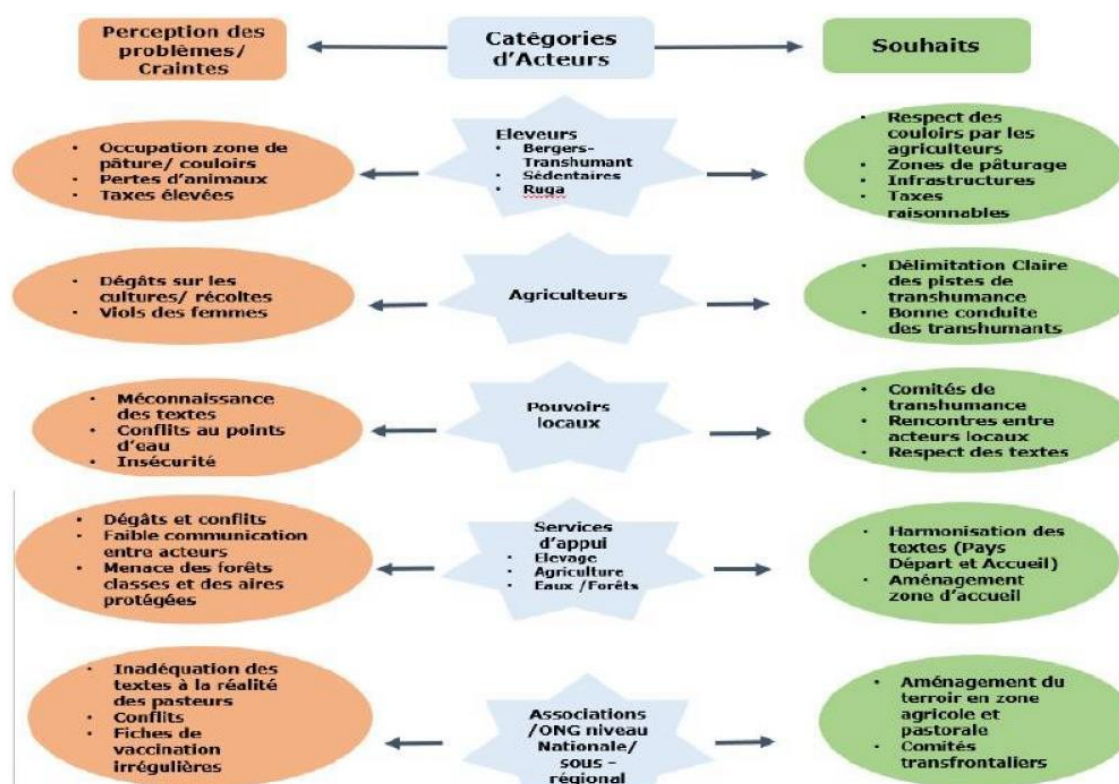
### 3.4.2 Role of actors

An exploratory study conducted in West Africa revealed that the management of cross-border transhumance conflicts involves various actors. These include the grassroots communities (village, council, district or sub-division), actors in the countries of departure and destination of transhumant herders, and actors at the regional level. These actors are grouped into different categories such as herders, transhumant herders and sedentary herders who are key actors in transhumance.

Farmers: individuals and organized groups, there are also transhumance committees at village, council/district or sub-divisional level involving both farmers, herders and local authorities. In the case of Cameroon, a major actor has been omitted in this framework, that being the municipal authorities:

- Local authorities: these include the traditional chieftaincies of various degrees and the notables;
- Support services: these are the livestock, agriculture, water and forestry services at the national level and devolved services;
- Associations/NGOs at national and sub-regional level: these include apex organizations and federations of livestock breeders' organizations such as APES;
- ECCAS, CEMAC;

Analysis of the various stakeholders shows that they do not share the same perception of cross-border transhumance issues.



**Figure 15: Stakeholders' perception of problems**

Source: CORAF/WECARD, 2015

Transhumance is not synonymous with nomadization insofar as nomads have no fixed point of attachment and follow itineraries that vary each year. In contrast, transhumants always move towards well-defined regions and follow routes that are always identical and on fixed dates (Zakaria, 2014). Moreover, it is important to distinguish transhumance from migration because the latter (unlike transhumance) is related to a permanent departure from an ethnic grouping, often due to economic and social difficulties.

Indeed, transhumance mobilizes various actors. These include animal owners, herders, farmers, development institutions such as devolved technical services and projects. There are also administrative and customary authorities and herders' organizations.

It should also be noted that farmers constitute a rather specific category of actors that affect cross-border transhumance movements insofar as they often block the passage corridors and exploit areas used by the animals as grazing or resting areas.

Regarding herders' associations, they aim to improve the practice of transhumant pastoralism. In this way, they protect the interests of their members, improve livestock production and the living conditions of herders and pastoralists, and participate effectively in the development of the livestock sector.

As for development projects, the primary mission of which is to promote development actions in the entire Sahelo-Saharan zone, they act with the aim of finding solutions to the tensions arising from cohabitation between farmers and herders.

Unfortunately, such conflicts occur very frequently. For this reason, the presence of the customary authorities as actors in cross-border transhumance is very important.

### **Some local stakeholders**

Transhumance has always been described in rather simple terms, and this limits the involvement of politicians (traditional authorities, local elected representatives, conservation services (new issues), local communities) in the search for solutions (AWS Presentation, 2019).

#### **Stakeholders**

- The Lamidats/Sultanates in Nigeria, Cameroon, Niger and Chad have a historical relationship with the Yola EMIR. This influences (either positively or negatively) agreements/understandings on procedures and practices across their jurisdictions.
- The Lamidats have ministries in charge of livestock – Sarki Sanu (in Cameroon); in charge of Lakes – Sarki Rafi; in charge of water and fisheries – Magazi; in charge of forests – Sarki Dazi; and in charge of Security. These actors are heavily involved in the management of the various resources and provide advice to the chief.

### **Local elected officials and Councils (in Cameroon)**

Local elected officials in the Cameroon block derive a substantial part of their revenue from transhumant-related activities. A study carried out in the councils of the Faro block shows that almost 80% of the councils' income is derived from transhumance taxes:

- vaccination booklet,
- transhumance certificate/communal taxes,
- Sofol of the host Lamidat.

Transhumance presents an opportunity for councils and locally elected officials. They can build an economy around transhumance and increase border security.

### **Some association networks identified between Cameroon and Nigeria**

The network of associations of transhumant herders in Grand Faro and Nigeria was created with Lamidat Tchamba as its headquarters. These associations work to maintain transhumance peace and security at the local level. They illustrate the importance of activities and decentralization in the management of transhumance.

- The Jaman Lafiya Association, based in Yola, Nigeria
- The Min Yetti Allah Association, based in Kojoli, Nigeria
- The Mboscuda association, based in Bamenda, Cameroon
- The Hore Pulaaku association, based in Garoua, Cameroon
- The Tchamba breeders' council

Inter-professional organizations exist in different countries. These have an established influence and base. They should be valued and involved in policymaking, transhumance management and conflict resolution. Their role should be valued at the regional level.

### 3.5 Prospects of and support to the N'Djamena Declaration

Actions to mitigate land use and transhumance conflicts (e.g., limiting the size of herds, supporting local governance mechanisms recognized by the state etc.).

Other examples of considered actions include: i) Supporting an increase in the productivity of traditional field crops; ii) measures for sustainable pasture management, including mutually agreed management plans for grazing rotations and limitation of herd size; iii) particular support for the creation of legal security, land-use planning with clarification of use rights and appropriate participation of all user groups, and rule of law.

The Regional Programme for Agricultural Investment, Food and Nutrition Security is the regional instrument for operationalizing the ECCAS Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). It also addresses the issue of promoting livestock and the pastoral economy. The N'Djamena Declaration of 25 January 2019 recalls that “regional transhumance dynamics, whose local socio-cultural roots run deep and have long played a role in maintaining the economic and food balances of the Sahelian regions and their outskirts, should be a key investment of national and sub-regional policies...”.

The recommendations made include:

- Help establish and operate multi-stakeholder, multi-sectoral platforms at the regional, national and local levels to ensure concerted management of issues relating to transhumance, poaching, PAs and other cross-border crimes;
- Establish and secure national and cross-border transhumance corridors within the framework of national and regional development and climate-sensitive planning policies;
- Develop integrated income-generating programmes and projects for transhumant host communities, protected area inhabitants and pastoralists, contributing to improving communities' resilience to climatic hazards by maintaining the ecosystems on which they depend;
- Conduct studies on economic, social, political and security dynamics to promote better understanding of transhumance-related issues;
- Develop an appropriate legal framework for mobility, seeking greater coherence between national regulatory frameworks, to ensure better governance and efficient management of transhumance.

## 4 DISCUSSION / CONCLUSIONS / RECOMMENDATIONS

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### 4.1 Discussion

This section presents the main conclusions of the study's findings. Livestock farming is an extremely important economic activity for the whole of Central Africa. Due to population growth and urbanization, the demand for animal products is growing and will continue to grow strongly throughout Central Africa. This represents an opportunity (particularly with the development of cities and markets) for all animal production sectors, including mobile production systems (transhumance). At the same time, the increasing rural population (growth rates vary according to areas) leads to growing competition for natural resources and, inevitably, to a restructuring of the methods previously used to exploit these resources by the various categories of farmers and livestock breeders. This re-composition does not necessarily imply uniform developments, such as the end of long-distance transhumance.

The most common type of livestock farming is extensive and is based almost exclusively on the exploitation of natural food resources (natural pasture, salt licks, water bodies). However, traditional practices are no longer sufficient to meet the animals' food needs. The scarcity of resources in the Sahelian zones pushes pastoralists to travel increasingly long distances in search of pasture and water for their animals or markets. In addition to this scarcity of natural resources, other phenomena are pushing pastoralist communities to move over increasingly long distances. These include armed conflicts, obsolete and inadequate legislative frameworks, climate change, expansion of agricultural land, conflicts of various kinds, etc.

For several decades, therefore, there has been an increase in the scale of cross-border transhumance movements, with animals travelling from Nigeria and Cameroon to CAR, and their stays in the host areas becoming increasingly long and conflictual. Moreover, these movements do not occur without clashes in the various regions where transhumant herders pass through and are received.

Transhumance corridors were defined and recognized in national frameworks several decades ago. However, they currently face many challenges. They are often occupied by fields and dwellings and are not marked. Where transhumance corridors were demarcated and marked, their beacons have been removed. This is generally due to the lack of monitoring and the failure to consult the local population when setting up these infrastructures. The changes in the transhumance corridors can also be explained by the absence of pastoral and social infrastructure along the transhumance corridors. These livestock movement routes are also abandoned by transhumant herders due to insecurity (violent acts by terrorist groups such as Boko Haram in Lake Chad, the anti-Balaka and the LRA in CAR, hostage-takers in Cameroon and Chad, etc.), the invasion of pastures by invasive grasses, and exaggerated taxation by the authorities at the borders of the host areas.

Despite its socio-economic importance, transhumance has both negative and positive impacts on the social and environmental spheres. Research has shown that transhumance generates conflicts over the use of resources, especially in transit and host areas. This activity is also a source of insecurity, going so far as threatening the security of some countries. It is increasingly connected to the proliferation of small arms and international poaching. Transhumance has various impacts on the biophysical environment, including PAs. For example, many PAs are increasingly crossed by transhumant livestock despite the regulations in force in the countries.

Field surveys also reveal some positive impacts on the socio-economic environment. These include the reduction of conflicts (mainly in the departure zone). Other positive impacts mentioned concern lower food expenses and improved living conditions through increased income. In the transit and host areas, transhumance triggers some economic dynamism in the localities it crosses, with the creation of a wide range of services that the local indigenous populations offer to transhumants. The arrival of transhumant herders, therefore, presents a tremendous economic opportunity for these localities.

In recent years, a new phenomenon has emerged known as neo-pastoralism, which is rapidly gaining ground in most parts of West and Central Africa. In most countries, the fragile political situation, particularly the Sahel region, with increased operations and control of large territories by extremist groups, has contributed to expanding neo-pastoralist investments and operations. This phenomenon is underpinned by the control and trafficking of large herds of livestock by influential leaders, warlords and even established businessmen and politicians. Neo-pastoralism is a thriving business involving arms sales, livestock deals and other illegal activities such as drug and arms trafficking. States should quickly put in place security and conflict alert mechanisms as part of a global conflict resolution strategy.

Pastoralists are also highly marginalized in the states of the study area. The classic conflictual configuration between herders and farmers does not in itself explain all the violence against the Mbororo or local populations. Due to their regular movements in the bush, the Mbororo are often accused of maintaining ties with armed groups, providing them with information and food, and even collaborating with them to commit acts of violence. In the south-east region of CAR, in DRC and South Sudan, public opinion supports the belief that the Mbororo collaborate closely with the LRA. This perception is fueled by the weapons that some herders have for protection and their geographical proximity to LRA members. However, it ignores the fact that the Mbororo are also victims of the LRA.

To optimize pastoral production and pacify this activity, CEMAC member states need to adopt concrete measures based on the points summarized in the recommendations.



Urgent measures that should be taken include:

- Capacity building of both national services and other stakeholders, especially local communities, in the drafting of legislation and the management of conflicts at the local level;
- Establishment of corridors and development of infrastructure, for example, the creation of veterinary centres, livestock markets, water points, fodder fields, and the development of cross-border areas;
- Security measures including surveillance patrols in transhumance areas and the delivery of passes to herders when transporting livestock from one country to another;
- Strengthening and implementation of national legislation and sub-regional instruments regulating transhumance activities;
- Set-up of national and sub-regional intersectoral committees (agriculture, livestock, justice, law enforcement, etc.) to work together in handling transhumance activities, taking into account the cross-cutting nature of this important economic activity.

## 4.2 Conclusion

In line with the African Union, the sustainable management of pastoral resources, equitable and secure access to pastoral resources, and peace and security are the main objectives of the pastoral policy framework. Transhumance is a major economic activity in the economies of the sub-region. It is a source of wealth and trade between the countries of the sub-region. In addition, as a system for the rational management of livestock, it is a source of livelihood for several communities, particularly in Chad, CAR, Cameroon and more recently in DRC. Its sound management is based on close cooperation between the herding and farming communities on the one hand, and now between the herding communities and the various conservation services in the territories crossed.

The balance between the transhumant practices and the various actors is currently disrupted by the effects of demographic pressure, climate change, the extension of agriculture, the increase in livestock with neo-pastoralism, the emergence of armed movements and an increase in security crises. This age-old activity has a potentially key role in the stability of the sub-region, peace, the preservation of fragile ecosystems, trade between communities, and the supply of meat to large coastal cities.

Transhumant societies face discrimination related to land ownership. The sharing of land between transhumants and farmers frequently results in (violent) conflicts. Access to land is the determining factor for transhumants. Transhumance has become a source of problems and conflicts over land use and must therefore be supervised and regulated.

A new type of actor should also be taken into account, that is neo-pastoralists who invest large sums of money in pastoralism and have great influence at the local level. These actors take over land and do not hesitate to build partnerships with armed groups and terrorist groups. They must be considered when designing strategies and plans to develop pastoralism and land-use planning.

At the state level, strategic sectoral policy instruments are emerging and can improve the multidimensional planning of integrated territorial development, as is the case in Chad. Inter-professional organizations have a crucial role to play here insofar as their legitimacy is based on the very diversity of producers.

At the regional level, social dialog is sometimes re-established through inter-community meetings and facilitates effective peace education in the medium term (youth). These preventive actions, which differ from traditional investments in development, should be evaluated, understood by a larger number of people, conceptualized and disseminated.

At the local level, the capacities of actors in preventing and resolving conflicts can be supported by disseminating texts and training and informing some local authorities. Here and there, avenues for civic education are emerging, allowing for the partial reconstruction of social ties and an attempt to reintegrate the most disadvantaged into the economy.

Therefore, these issues must be addressed through a global pastoral policy, which has all the political, social, economic and environmental advantages for pastoral communities.

### 4.3 Recommendations

- **At the institutional level**
  - Revitalize and strengthen sub-regional structures such as CEBEVIHRA;
  - Develop appropriate bodies to oversee the preparation and implementation of development plans;
  - Structure local, cross-border and national transhumance-related platforms that can convey the aspirations of stakeholders and support them in implementing these aspirations;
  - Strengthen the capacities of institutional actors in transhumance management for better consideration in policymaking.
  
- **At the political and diplomatic level**
  - Review and reformulate, if necessary, the policy and strategy documents for developing the rural sector at the country and regional levels;
  - Formulate and adopt legislation and regulations on pastoralism and transhumance by all the states concerned;
  - Formulate and encourage ECCAS to adopt a regional regulation on transhumance;
  - Strengthen consultation frameworks that enable agreements to be understood and implemented;
  - Encourage local diplomacy and inclusive local agreements (appropriate legal framework, free movement agreement, carrying capacity, perception)
  - Develop and secure transhumance corridors (e.g., demarcation, boundary markers, water, fodder, resting spots)
  - Set up permanent multi-party consultation frameworks including governments, farmers, herders, traditional and religious authorities, NGOs, etc.

- **Regarding security and conflict resolution**
  - Demilitarize and disarm the communities concerned;
  - Secure cross-border transhumance corridors by carrying out regular patrols during the transhumance period;
  - For effective conflict prevention, develop threat matrices and other early warning systems with all relevant stakeholders, especially marginalized communities, including women and displaced persons, whose perspectives are important in effectively predicting the risk of violence. Transhumance-related conflicts should also be regarded as a priority by governments, donors and humanitarian agencies;
  - There is a need for a more effective and multifaceted regional communication strategy to capture best practices to address and resolve transhumance-related conflicts, including strengthening the role of women and youth in peacebuilding processes. In this regard, peacekeeping operations should build stronger partnerships across and beyond the United Nations system to support sustainable solutions;
  - An in-depth analysis can be conducted to better understand the roots of conflicts in Central Africa. Compared to the Sahel and the Horn of Africa, there is little information on the complex interrelationship between climate change and violent conflicts in the Great Lakes region;
  - A broader multidimensional approach to peacebuilding is needed. At the same time, greater regional cooperation and synergy between states, the UN, international and local organizations is required to address the security risks and conflicts related to climate change.
  
- **At the programmatic and management level**
  - Redistribute land according to laws inclusive of the interests of all stakeholders;
  - Develop new/promote existing transhumance data collection tools;
  - Trace, revive and re-adapt transhumance corridors
  - Encourage communities to develop paying and secure areas designed for transhumance;
  - Set up and revitalize inter-community dialog mechanisms
  - Set up a regional network or platform of livestock breeders on the one hand and farmers on the other;
  - Organize regular discussion meetings between national and regional networks of livestock breeders and farmers;
  - Further involve decentralized local authorities to increase the efficiency of actions;
  - Develop consensual land use/allocation plans with involvement from all stakeholders to have a global view of the use of land and resources in the transhumance areas;
  - Promote local diplomacy in transhumance and conflict management;
  - Promote and apply the use of the “livestock passport” effectively and systematically;
  - To normalize relations between marginalized pastoralist communities and thereby ease conflicts, identify and locate all marginalized groups in the various countries, regularize their stay and develop the infrastructure and means of production of these communities;

- The new transhumance threats require that the region's PAs be managed and have sufficient technical and financial resources to address them. Their management must involve all stakeholders and take into account the new challenges;
- Consider neo-pastoralism in the framework of future territorial development, by providing pastoral areas for economic purposes.

However, with data remaining relatively shallow and generally fragmented, it is necessary to carry out studies to understand transhumance better. This should cover the following:

- Characterization and mapping of transhumance-related conflicts in Central African countries;
- Social and environmental impact of neo-pastoralism in Central African countries;
- Analysis of the role of actors in cross-border transhumance and the socio-economic importance of this activity.

**Recommendations have also been formulated for stakeholders, based on those issued by the participants of the Transhumance DAY Side Event:**

- **To ECCAS:** institutionally support the process of finding solutions for peaceful transhumance in the sub-region and play a coordinating role in current and future initiatives;
- **To ECCAS and IGAD:** conclude an MoU for collaboration in the cross-border management of transhumance in the three blocks of the N'Djamena process;
- **To the CBFP Facilitation and ECCAS:** in the short term, carry out advocacy actions with the states so that they take ownership of the issue of peaceful transhumance; continue to implement the political and diplomatic action sheet of the geographical blocks; and carry out advocacy actions aimed at financing the budgeted road maps of the geographical blocks;
- **To states:** take ownership of the innovative initiatives carried out in the implementation of the N'Djamena Declaration with regard to transhumance, cross-border collaboration in relation to the concerted management of natural resources and the development of Country Investment Plans;
- **To ECCAS and UNODC:** review existing bilateral and multilateral agreements between the various countries concerned and assess their level of implementation on the one hand, and on the other hand facilitate the drafting of cooperation agreements between the requesting countries;
- **To states:** give priority to bilateral agreements adapted to stakeholders' requirements while capitalizing on the achievements of cooperation agreements already in force;
- **Public and private operators:** carry out pilot tax actions related to the management of transhumance and development actions in the cattle sector.

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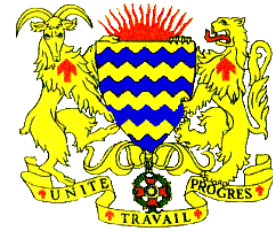
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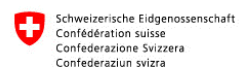


## ANNEX



Sub-regional consultation for a peaceful  
cross-border transhumance in the  
Lake Chad basin  
(Niger, Nigeria, Chad, Cameroon and  
Central African Republic).

**Report: main conclusions  
and recommendations**



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## I. Introduction

1. The organization of a sub-regional consultation for peaceful transhumance in the Lake Chad Basin was a response to three concerns:
  - a. Implementing the recommendations of the fifth edition of the high-level consultation for peaceful transhumance in the countries of the Central Corridor (Benin, Nigeria, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Togo, Niger, Burkina Faso and Mali), especially those relating to the decentralization of this instrument for preventing and managing crises linked to pastoralism and cross-border transhumance.
  - b. Broadening the scope and coverage of the consultations that socio-professional organizations, in particular APRESS, conduct each year under the sponsorship of the Regional Sahel Pastoralism Support Project (PRAPS) in this area. The consultation also aims to support the efforts of the public authorities of Central Africa, especially the authorities of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), the Economic and Monetary Commission of Central Africa (CEMAC), the Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC), the Economic Commission for Livestock, Meat and Fisheries Resources (CEBEVRHA), and the States to ensure the security of people, economic activities in general, and pastoralism in particular, in this region.
  - c. Informing the actors who deal with pastoralism and cross-border transhumance of the initiatives underway in West Africa and the Lake Chad Basin, in particular: (i) assessing the level of implementation of the regulatory framework for pastoralism and cross-border transhumance, as well as the legislation in force in the 15 Member States of the Community, and renegotiating it if necessary (ii) analyzing the stakeholders' perceptions, to assess the state of mind and the differences or subjective judgements about pastoralism and transhumance; (iii) Constructing a shared vision of mobile ruminant livestock systems based on a regional strategy for developing livestock systems and securing pastoralism.

## II. Objectives and expected outcomes of this first edition of the sub-regional consultation in the Lake Chad Basin.

2. **This 1st edition of the high-level consultation** aimed to improve cross-border and sub-national transhumance flows by providing policy-makers with information enabling them to make strategic and operational decisions on animal movements between the countries involved. Ultimately, the aim is to create a high-level consultation process between stakeholders in the livestock sub-sector in general and in mobile livestock systems in particular.
3. **The specific objectives of the 1st edition of the sub-regional consultation were as follows**
  - a To assess the 2018/2019 cross-border transhumance campaign and programme the 2019/2020 campaign;
  - b To inform stakeholders on the state of implementation of major programmes relating to pastoralism and cross-border transhumance underway in West Africa and the Sahel (PRAPS, PREDIP, PEPISAO, PACBAO).
  - c Inform stakeholders about the major projects of the regional community to build a shared vision of mobile livestock systems in West Africa and the Sahel.
  - d To discuss the prospects for institutionalizing high-level consultation between stakeholders for peaceful transhumance.
4. **The expected outcomes were as follows:**
  - a The assessment of the 2018/2019 transhumance campaign is conducted, and measures to appease the 2019/2020 transhumance are defined;
  - b Consultation participants are informed of the state of implementation of regional projects on pastoralism and cross-border transhumance in West Africa and the Sahel;
  - c Participants are informed about the process of building a shared vision on mobile livestock systems in West Africa and the Sahel;
  - d The ways and means to institutionalize the consultation between the stakeholders on peaceful cross-border transhumance in the Western corridor are defined.

## III. Participants and conduct of the meeting

5. **The participants of the 1st edition of the sub-regional meeting for peaceful transhumance in the Western Corridor were:** the experts, representing all the countries of the Lake Chad Basin (Niger, Nigeria, Chad, Cameroon and the Central African Republic); the representatives of the Inter-Governmental Organizations (IGO): Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Permanent Inter-State Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel (CILSS), Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC), Economic Community for Livestock, Meat and Fisheries Resources (CEBVIRHA), representatives of professional agricultural and pastoral organizations, civil society and the private sector: APESS, RBM, ROPPA, COFENABVI; representatives of technical

partners and other technical support and facilitation institutions: Hub Rural, CILSS and managers of livestock programmes.

**6. The meeting was held in three main sessions:**

- The first session aimed to share the assessment of the past campaign 2018/2019 and to define actions to ensure a peaceful cross-border transhumance campaign in 2019/2020,
- The second session focused on providing information on the state of implementation of pastoral projects and the initiatives and actions underway to build a shared vision of mobile livestock systems.
- The third session addressed the building blocks of the shared vision on mobile livestock systems in West Africa and the Sahel.

#### IV. Opening Ceremony

7. Four speeches marked the opening ceremony; those of the representatives of APRESS, CILSS and ECOWAS, followed by the opening speech of the Director-General of Livestock of the Ministry of Livestock and Animal Production of Chad (MEPA).

- a **The representative of the President of APRESS, Mr DJAFAROU SADIOU, President of the CNC/Cameroon,** began by emphasizing that the relevance of the meeting is no longer in question and that the expected outcomes will undoubtedly be achieved, while hoping that the outcome of the 2018/2019 livestock season will be satisfactory and that the expected results of the 2019/2020 season will be achieved. He then encouraged the setting up of mechanisms to empower local actors by educating them on existing texts on cross-border transhumance and identifying insecure areas in order to reduce their vulnerability to armed conflicts.
- b **The representative of the Executive Secretary of CILSS, Mr Philippe ZOUNGRANA,** thanked the Chadian authorities for having accepted to host the meeting. He recalled the context and potential of the region before highlighting the constraints (transhumance, insecurity and increased competition for access to natural resources). He also thanked the Chadian authorities for having accepted to host the consultation. He recalled the context and potential of the region before highlighting the constraints (transhumance, insecurity and increased competition for access to natural resources). He also recalled that the CILSS is coordinating several initiatives to improve cross-border transhumance.
- c **The representative of the Commissioner in charge of Agriculture, Environment and Natural Resources of ECOWAS, Dr ABLASSE BILGO** thanked the participants, the financial partners - the French Development Agency (AFD), the World Bank and the Swiss Cooperation - who made it possible to combine efforts to effectively organize this high-level consultation. He commended the efforts made by the States and socio-professional organizations, with the support of technical and financial partners, to remove the obstacles linked to transhumance and to improve the climate for this form of

production. In this regard, the ECOWAS regional agricultural policy has been a significant contribution through its leadership, which has made it possible to mobilize funds to develop initiatives to prevent transhumance conflicts in the region and in the Lake Chad Basin. He continued his speech by insisting on the complexity of transhumance, a phenomenon that integrates legal aspects relating to the movement of people and goods; social aspects (it is above all an issue of social identity before being economic) and economic aspects because millions of people are involved in the livestock sector. Nowadays, it is exposed to the security challenge. It was to address this new issue that ECOWAS organized a regional consultation in April 2018 in Abuja to which Chad, Cameroon and the Central African Republic were invited. The N'Djamena consultation follows the implementation of the recommendations made at this regional conference. Its conclusions will be fed back into the other consultations planned for 2019.

- d **The Director-General of Livestock, Dr MBAINDINGATOLOUM Molélé Fidèle** - After thanking the ECOWAS Commission and APESS for having chosen Chad to host this consultation, he commended and encouraged the organizers of the said meeting for the preparatory work achieved in such a short time. The purpose of the consultation in N'Djamena shows that pastoralism remains relevant and is an essential instrument for integrating people, fighting food insecurity and for economic, social and cultural development. It is, therefore, crucial to develop inclusive instruments and policies to find solutions to promote peaceful pastoralism and cross-border transhumance. However, there are challenges to overcome, such as the weakness of interregional trade in animal products due to the many tariffs and non-tariff barriers that hinder the movement of animals and their products towards promising markets; and the emerging and soaring insecurity affecting the population and their goods, which hampers the development of the livestock sector. With this in mind, he invited the participants in this sub-regional meeting to address with relevance the issues relating to the improvement of the management of cross-border transhumance flows to provide political decision-makers with the arguments to take strategic and operational decisions relating to the movement of animals between the countries involved.

#### Session 1. Review of the past 2018/2019 campaign and definition of actions to ensure a peaceful cross-border transhumance campaign in 2019/2020.

8. This session included several presentations by leaders of pastoralists' socio-professional organizations and experts from the States and institutions represented. **It began with a history of multi-stakeholder consultation as a strategy and means of creating an environment conducive to pastoralism in general and to peaceful transhumance in particular.**

#### 4.1. The dynamics of multi-stakeholder consultation for peaceful transhumance

9. ***Consultation for peaceful transhumance: origin, scope and place in the strategy for pacifying livestock movements in West Africa and the Sahel.*** This presentation was made by Mr Boureima Dodo, Permanent Secretary of the RBM. He introduced the history of this type of high-level consultation on peaceful transhumance. The RBM has

been one of the main promoters, based on the necessary dialogue between all the actors concerned, including the POs and political decision-makers, on the issue of livestock mobility and cross-border transhumance. For the Communicator, a community economy cannot do without a development lever as important as pastoralism because of its socio-economic contribution at all geographical levels of West and Central Africa. The Billital Maroobé Network also considered that solving the problems of cross-border transhumance will be an important milestone in building regional economic integration in West Africa and the Sahel. **This process of building the consultation strategy can be summarized in four main points:**

- a **The cross-border meetings, from 2000 to 2005.** The RBM focused on the three countries of the Sahel (Liptako Region). The meetings aimed to strengthen the capacities of herders in the three countries to better understand the provisions of the texts governing cross-border transhumance, as well as the opportunities offered by these texts.
- b **The turning point of the Gogounou forum (Benin).** It was no longer a consultation between herders. Political authorities and integration institutions were present in addition to the herders, and this in a coastal country: the governor of Kebbi (Nigeria), representatives of CILSS, UEMOA and ALGR, and representatives of countries such as Niger, Burkina, Mali and Benin were also present.
- c **Building institutional and strategic partnerships to conduct a political dialogue.** To conduct the political dialogue, the RBM has been building institutional and strategic partnerships. Protocol signed with the ALGR in 2011 on the critical analysis of texts on transhumance in the ALGR area. This phase marks the beginning of the preparatory phase of the organizations support programme (PRAOP), which is to build this dialogue with ECOWAS as a central partner. We no longer come to ECOWAS empty-handed.
- d **The advent of the high-level meeting, starting in 2014.** The high-level political dialogue on cross-border transhumance has benefited from several key success factors in its current form. Significant gains have been made, but the process still faces real challenges.

**10. The process has been successful for many reasons. The most outstanding and determining are:** (i) the renewed interest of partners in pastoralism through new programmes, especially with the N'Djamena Declaration (May 2013), (ii) the experience initiated by a coastal country, namely Togo, which has developed in collaboration with the Sahel countries, transhumance management tools (iii) the political will that is emerging in the host countries (as seen in their involvement in the preparation of PRIDEC and the hopes it holds for the countries not covered by PRAPS). All these factors have contributed to institutionalizing the High-Level Consultation on peaceful transhumance as the only regional framework that addresses the issue of pastoral development and management between coastal and Sahelian countries. The process has been sustained over time with the political support of ECOWAS, which has also decentralized the holding of these high-level meetings. The technical quality of the strategic role of the Rural Hub and the Secretariat of the Sahel and West Africa Club (SWAC/OECD) has been decisive in establishing the process and this dialogue tool.

**11. The achievements of the Political Dialogue on cross-border transhumance are numerous:** (i) the advent of national transhumance committees, initiated by Togo,

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which have been set up in many countries; (ii) the development of strategic thinking on pastoralism with the validation of feasibility studies for the ‘livestock feed’ component of the Regional Food Security Reserve, (iii) the facilitation of discussions on the preparation of PRIDEC (regional component, national components, work on GCP, etc.), (iv) the resumption of discussions of the Pastoral Livestock Farming Task Force at the regional level, (v) development of models for replicating this dialogue in other production and trade basins, including that of the East, supported by APESS, (vi) the strong leadership of ECOWAS, which has made livestock and pastoralism a strategic issue.

**12. However, challenges persist:** (i) the sustained involvement of non-state actors in discussions on the future of pastoralism and cross-border transhumance, (ii) (II) the policy tools and instruments developed to address cross-border transhumance by coastal countries are sometimes perceived as security measures that are not conducive to transhumance, (iii) the high cost of organizing these meetings and the low level of ownership of the recommendations by the states. As evidence of this, none of the countries carry out a national restitution of the high-level meetings’ recommendations.

**13. The debates that followed this presentation focused on:**

- a **The major constraints in the Lake Chad area: insecurity, animal theft and the fall of the naira. Based on its experience with PRAPS/CILSS support in this area, APESS highlighted the major constraints of the Lake Chad area: animal theft, child kidnapping, degradation of natural resources, animal health problems, poor road conditions, inadequate market infrastructure and the fall of the naira.** It also shared the priority themes and actions proposed by the stakeholders to develop livestock and pastoralism in the Lake Chad Basin. Recommendations were made, especially to build the capacities of pastoralists and develop operational models for the sustainable management of transhumance issues within local cross-border areas. APESS also addressed the possibilities, as discussed with local actors, of setting up a memorandum of understanding linking the border regions of the Lake Chad Basin
- b In this regard, **the Nigerian representatives mentioned the importance of education and citizenship** to promote the social integration of transhumants. This country is also working on grazing rights and has also developed an education programme for nomadic populations that should be used to good effect.
- c The need to involve the Central African Republic in the ongoing process. **The CAR delegation emphasized that it has not been involved in the regional dialogue so far, even though it regularly receives several herds from Chad,** despite the border closure. For the time being, APESS and NGOs are focusing on the West, but are not addressing the issue of transhumance in the Sahelian zone or on the Sudanese border. The issue highlighted is that of educating pastoralists to promote their social integration. The meeting recognized the importance of involving CAR in the APESS process.
- d **The President of the interprofessional organization of livestock farmers and the livestock sector in Chad –CONFIFET- stressed the terrible threats and violence suffered by livestock breeders and traders** (9,000 head of cattle kidnapped by Bako Haram). He insisted on the need to build more synergy between pastoralists’ organizations and other natural resource users. The leader of COPAFIB insisted on the partnership between FNEC and RBM/Chad and the preparation of a cross-

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border meeting planned with the support of FAO. The aim is to set up a space for cross-border dialogue between Chad and the CAR.

- e The representative of the PRAPS coordinator spoke about the need to **strengthen the dynamics of cross-border dialogue between local and high-level officials**. How can we succeed in nesting these functional spaces at different scales, she wondered?
- f The Technical Assistant to the DADR recalled the **dialogue support strategy supported by ECOWAS: that of direct involvement of States and organizations structured at regional level RBM/APESS/CORET/COFENABEVI**. It is a bottom-up pyramid logic that ECOWAS wants to support through this dialogue. It must be anchored on local committees (national transhumance committees, cross-border committees and other inter-community committees), which are the basis for dialogue and consultation. ECOWAS does not want to replace the actors: States, regional organizations and CILSS.

**14. This session ended with a presentation by CILSS on the dialogue tools it promotes to facilitate the reduction and management of conflicts** over access to pastoral resources. Indeed, CILSS is implementing two of the three components of PEPISAO, a project that extends the actions of PASHA. These are Conflict Prevention Sensitive Tools (CPTs) implemented by the latter. These tools are essentially focused on preventing conflicts related to the exploitation of market infrastructures. It was noted that the initial analyses revealed the need to complement the tools by developing other complementary tools that would address not only the management of pastoral conflicts but also the prevention of conflicts related to the use of other pastoral resources, such as passage corridors, grazing areas, rest areas, etc. The process of establishing a sustainable operational capacity for preventing and managing pastoral conflicts within the CILSS was also highlighted.

#### 4.2. Assessment of the transhumance campaign in the Lake Chad Basin

- 15. The presentation of the assessment of the transboundary transhumance campaign was introduced by the Director of Pastoral Development of Niger.** In this country, 2018 was an exceptional year overall in terms of fodder balance, evaluated at +12%. Niger participated in the High-Level Meeting in September 2018. The objective set by the Ministry was “0 human losses in Benin “. To this end, Niger also organized a mission to Benin in January 2019 to meet Nigerien transhumant herders in that country. A protocol was signed between Benin and Niger to facilitate the passage between the two countries. Cross-border cooperation agreements were also signed between the Dosso Region and Kebi State, as well as between Maradi-Katsina in Nigeria. This resulted in a bilateral agreement to organize and manage cross-border transhumance between the Maradi Region (Republic of Niger) and the State of Katsina (Federal Republic of Nigeria). This agreement was proposed by the forum of parties held on 30 and 31 January 2017 in Maradi and was signed by the Governors of the Maradi Region and Katsina State.
- 16.** At the national level, Niger has also set up the International Transhumance Certificate (ITC) along the border while providing the relevant strengthened vaccination actions. Several actions, including the provision of livestock feed and pastoral hydraulics, and training in the regulatory framework have been carried out in four regions by the



Network of Pastoralists' and Breeders' Organisations of Niger. Finally, specifically in the Lake Chad area, a conflict prevention project is underway with support from the FAO and the LCBC. The greatest difficulties encountered are the lack of statistics on herd movements, the lack of knowledge and understanding of the texts, particularly the one defining the CIT, the increasing occupation of pastoral areas by fields, and the rise in livestock insecurity.

17. **After Niger, the representative of Cameroon** gave a fairly comprehensive presentation of the different livestock systems using the agro-pastoral areas of the north of the country. Actions for managing pastoral areas and resources have been developed by the local development programme (PRODEL). The programme also supported the creation of a national transhumance committee. As part of the PASGIRAP programme's support, consultation frameworks have been developed, and a decree setting out the terms and conditions for regulating agro-pastoral areas has also been prepared.
18. **The situation in CAR, which hosts transhumant herders from Chad, Cameroon and Sudan, remains complex.** The 2012–2014 crisis has greatly disrupted all livestock systems, and transhumance corridors are no longer respected. A new mapping of transhumance corridors was launched in 2015 with FAO support. In 2015, a national platform on pastoralism and transhumance was launched. It was to meet once a year in the presence of the various ministries involved. The positive development of the context led to the validation of a multi-party agreement in 2019. This agreement includes a specific chapter on transhumance that draws attention to the threats posed by armed groups. The CAR Ministry of Livestock also intends to organize an annual meeting to ensure that transhumance goes smoothly. It planned to invite representatives from Chad, but this meeting was postponed due to the President's agenda constraints. A meeting was also organized with the DRC, where many pastoralists have taken refuge but where pressure, violence and disease are additional risks. Prospects for a peaceful transhumance campaign in 2019/2020 include (i) the mapping of animal movement corridors to secure the livestock trade, (ii) the resumption of the annual organization of the transhumance meeting, (iii) the organization of the hosting of the next meeting on transhumance between CAR and Chad (in 2019 in Chad and 2021 in CAR); (iv) finally, the revision of the FNEC bylaws and the organization of its general assembly.
19. **The Nigerian representatives made a brief presentation mentioning the country's new livestock policy aimed at adapting to the pressure on pastoral resources and water points.** The issue of educating pastoralist societies was also emphasized as a fundamental element in the integration of pastoralists.
20. **The representative of Chad made a brief presentation** mentioning the numerical importance of the country's livestock in the area under consideration, confirmed by the results of the latest livestock census. However, this is combined with the dynamics of the monopolization of pastoral resources. This situation drives the ongoing efforts to prepare a land tenure code, with the support of the Pastoral Platform supported by the PASTOR project. This work aims to include the elements contained in the Pastoral Code, which could not be completed in 2014. On the ground, several programmes are involved in dialogue, but also in hydraulic pastoral development and animal health works to prevent health problems.
21. Following these rather varied presentations by the livestock ministries of the five countries, the national POs were invited to present their assessment of the actions conducted to prevent the risks of cross-border transhumance-related conflicts. **ROPEN-RBM** reported on the visits it had organized in this context to transhumant herders from Niger

present in Benin in the framework of the partnership with ANOPER, a mission which ended in Cotonou to exchange views with the Ministry of Livestock. The aim was also to support the establishment of the National Transhumance Committee, which was still in the pipeline. The mobilization of the regional committees stimulated stakeholders at the national level towards the set up of this national committee. In addition, the organization participated in the national land tenure conference and in the debates for the preparation of the land tenure policy.

22. **FNEC of CAR**, which is currently in a restructuring phase following the 2012 crisis, emphasized the importance of working within the framework of this type of meeting with the neighbouring countries of Niger and Chad. It believes that the challenge for the next season is to be able to better inform herders, which is essential for peaceful transhumance.
23. **In Chad, CONFIFET**; the interprofessional livestock association, underlined the recent tensions in the east of the country and welcomed the experience and dynamism of the POs in Niger. **COPAFIB, another Chadian umbrella organization**, in turn stressed that it has been carrying out several activities to promote peaceful cross-border transhumance, particularly around Lake Chad and along the Central African border, with the support of several partners, the FAO, the IOM and IFAD.
24. **In Cameroon, POs have been promoting the set-up of an observatory that monitors herd movements** between the departure, transit and host councils in the Far-East region. This observatory has held four meetings, particularly at the beginning of the rainy season. The herders also mentioned a development with the early arrival of camels from Chad. The difficulty encountered by the leaders has been the involvement of community leaders in the dialogue.
25. **The RBM permanent secretary concluded this session by stressing the relevance of the dialogue platform set up to deal with cross-border transhumance between coastal and Sahelian countries and therefore with agro-pastoral and farmer-herder conflicts. In the platform centred on the Lake Chad Basin, we are faced with new challenges, including insecurity.** These new challenges have received little attention in the discussions, even though they are at the heart of the pastoral problems in this area.
  - a The insecurity of people and goods is linked to the actions of armed groups, as well as in some cases to the practices of the armed forces, which sometimes intervene in an inappropriate manner. In addition, the humanitarian aid provided in these areas through refugee camps is not adapted to the herders and their livestock.
  - b The land issue is highly contested, and the threat of pastoral land grabbing remains an increasingly acute threat. The texts are insufficiently applied, and there is a fear that some achievements will be undermined to the detriment of pastoralists.
  - c **ECOWAS has created spaces for dialogue in which civil society organizations participate in the construction of public policies.** Still, much remains to be done in the countries to ensure that the States are involved in this effective dialogue with civil society.
  - d Finally, pastoral monitoring is also concerned, as most early warning tools are based on the agricultural calendar.
26. **The APRESS representative** recalled that the need to improve livestock services has always been raised, but never sufficiently for livestock farmers. However, the challenge

is to develop services for livestock farmers, among which access to education must take a more critical place. Insecurity is indeed a major threat in the Lake Chad Basin. It also extends into Cameroon and CAR. In the Adamawa region, for example, herders are being killed or taken hostage for ransom.

27. **Finally, the CEBVIRHA representative** mentioned that in Congo, a passport for livestock is being set up, which should enable better control of cross-border movements.
28. All in all, at the end of the various presentations, the stakeholders agreed that the 2019 transhumance campaign went well overall, as it was marked by numerous initiatives for inter-stakeholder consultation and sustained support measures with structural investments. The actors nevertheless recognize the persistence of tensions in many places, despite the absence of figures to illustrate the various claims.

### Session 2: Implementation of regional initiatives to promote peaceful transhumance

29. Presentation of the main regional projects PRAPS, PEPISAO, PREDIP, FAO. These programmes and projects work on several aspects, information, dialogue for preventing conflicts of access to resources, setting up hydraulic and market infrastructures, monitoring and combating transboundary diseases, and building public choices in this sub-sector. The results are interesting, particularly concerning the fight against cross-border diseases, the pacification of cross-border transhumance, and livestock marketing.
30. The discussions at the end of these presentations provided additional information on several of the actions carried out, particularly by the POs. The theme that attracted the most attention was land governance, following a question from the Chadian Association of nomadic cattle breeders on the right to recognize home territories in Niger. Niger POs pointed out that the ordinance on pastoralism (after 12 years of discussion, has not been passed as a law), has 12 implementing decrees in preparation. Still, only four have been completed so far. This law states that mobility is a right of livestock farmers, which is fundamental. It is true that with the implementation of the rural code, especially the departmental land commissions (COFODEP) and then the communal land commissions, much has been done in Niger since the beginning of the 2000s to demarcate grazing areas and corridors. The preparation of regional land use plans is also underway in most regions to characterize pastoral areas and clarify the purpose of each of these areas. However, despite these land-use plans, it is clear that pastoral enclaves continue to disappear under the pressure of fields, and the pastoral area continues to be nibbled away. The challenge is, therefore, to continue to monitor and alert whenever respect for pastoral law is undermined.

### Session 3: Building a shared vision of mobile livestock systems in West Africa and the Sahel.

31. **The Livestock and Pastoralism technical assistant presented the strategy for building a shared vision of mobile livestock systems that PEPISAO is supporting.** This is one of the actions that PEPISAO component 3 can do best at the level of the fifteen ECOWAS countries, as well as the two associated countries of Mauritania and Chad. In order to build it in dialogue and to incorporate the diversity of livestock system problems in these areas, four major stages are planned, one per year.

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- a **Year 1 is currently devoted to a better shared knowledge of the pastoral context through:** (i) analysing the scope and limits of the regulatory frameworks governing transhumance, (ii) analysing the perception that the various stakeholders have of transhumance and understanding what the margins for change might be, (iii) assessing the socio-economic and environmental impacts in the host areas, but also in the departure and transit areas, (iv) conducting forward-looking reflection to place the shared vision in a medium-term perspective.
- b **Year 2 is part of the process of formulating the strategy,** which is based on the construction of several substantiated scenarios to make choices about the vision to be developed. During this year, the following will be carried out: (i) an analysis of the impact of some phenomena such as: the sustained demographic boom, the evolution of the livestock population, the evolution of the demand for animal proteins, climate change, the increase in the insecurity of goods and people on the livestock systems. Particular attention will be paid to the seeds of change that can be harnessed and scaled up. This analysis will culminate in the construction of trend scenarios which will be discussed.
- c **Year 3 will focus on renegotiating the regional regulatory framework,** if necessary, by integrating regional policy instruments and appropriate measures.
- d **Year 4 will focus on supporting countries to adjust national frameworks to the regional regulation.**

### 32. Several points of discussion emerged from this presentation:

- a **CAR representatives** insisted on the need for their country to be included in the process of building a shared vision so that this policy is built coherently, incorporating the realities of the CAR, an important host area for Sahelian livestock. CAR also expressed its desire to regain control of the policy and action to secure mobility, as today, some international non-governmental organizations control a large part of the resources without necessarily mastering the issue.
- b The ECOWAS representatives reaffirmed their institution's willingness and availability to involve ECCAS and CEBVIRHA to fully address the issue of support to pastoralism in the Lake Chad area, with the objective of having a ministerial session in 2020 following the technical session of this high-level meeting on peaceful cross-border transhumance.
- c The APRESS representative stressed the importance of the role of POs in the process underway, whose organization has been entrusted to the RBM and APRESS to address as closely as possible the elements of the problem and build adapted proposals for public policies to support pastoralism.
- d For the RBM permanent secretary, the process of building a shared vision must overcome obstacles, especially that of a clear understanding of pastoralism in its true community and state dimension by all stakeholders. For him, the key is to ensure that the actors truly take ownership of the strategy. Can we build an endogenous vision without external support? Is there not a risk of being confronted with this contradiction? For him, the first task is to deconstruct prejudices about pastoralism. When people will really understand pastoralism, they will not be able to relate to the texts and therefore, these will have to be reviewed.

- e The ECOWAS representative indicated that the process of building this shared vision is methodical and not rushed. The community nature of livestock farming is not a reality for one reason: the region is not yet in a common market, which explains why, for the time being, we are obliged to have this movement of animals recognized as a community public good. The analysis of stakeholders' perception of the livestock systems should progressively enable the actors to integrate the various net gains from cross-border pastoralism into their vision. This must be done gradually and methodically, bearing in mind that PEPISAO alone does not have a third of the resources needed to carry out such a process.

## V. Closing of the consultation

- 33. **The closing ceremony** was marked by four interventions: (i) the representative of the President of APESS, (ii) the representative of the Executive Secretary of CILSS, (iii) the representative of the ECOWAS Commissioner for Agriculture, Environment and Natural Resources and (iv) the Director-General of Livestock of the Republic of Chad. All the speakers welcomed the quality of the results obtained at the end of the consultation and the prospects set by the participants. The Director-General of Livestock promised to report the conclusions of the consultation to the Chadian authorities in general and to the Minister in charge of livestock and animal production in particular.
- 34. At the end of the consultation, a delegation led by the Technical Assistant for Livestock and Pastoralism at ECOWAS DADR went to the office of the Minister of Livestock and Animal Production. It was able to report on the main conclusions and recommendations of the consultation and to listen carefully to the Minister's remarks on the actions that the Government of Chad is taking to promote livestock and secure pastoralism in this country. The Minister made recommendations for a better organization of the dialogue in the coming years.

## VI. General conclusion of the meeting

- 35. This meeting was a first and particularly strategic opportunity to discuss cross-border transhumance in the Lake Chad area. It brought together representatives of the States and pastoral organizations of Nigeria, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad and Niger for a first meeting to take stock of the situation, exchange information and look ahead.
- 36. Given the relevance of the topics discussed and the commitment of the participating actors, this first meeting marked **the birth of a space for dialogue on cross-border transhumance in a sub-regional area straddling the ECOWAS and ECCAS spaces**. This area is characterized by very strong disturbances in pastoral systems both in the Lake Chad area and in part of the Central African and even Chadian territory.
- 37. **The meeting fulfilled its objective of laying the foundations of a space for dialogue, allowing these various exchanges between States and POs**. Several points of improvement will be included in the next edition to ensure that the process is structured and participates in the shared vision of the problem between States and POs.

38. While maintaining the principle of organization empowering the Regional POs, it will be necessary to **involve ECCAS much more significantly** to consolidate the crossroads character of this space for dialogue between Central and West Africa.
39. **The preparatory stages in the five countries concerned must be effectively carried out with the joint support of ECOWAS/ECCAS and the POs.** This should lead to a more coherent structure of the shared assessments and roadmaps of the countries and the POs focused on facilitating cross-border transhumance.
40. If the next edition is confirmed in Chad, **the Chad Pastoral Platform should be an essential asset for the organization and facilitate the preparation of the next consultation.** This type of regional dialogue activity should be placed in the framework of **the implementation of some of the key recommendations developed by the N'Djamena Declaration** in May 2013 (particularly on governance and security).

## VII. Recommendations from the meeting

41. The participants maintain that the process underway must be strengthened and intensified given the stakes of the space for dialogue formed.
42. The meeting recommended that the continuation of this facilitation process should directly involve regional integration organizations such as ECCAS and ECOWAS for better political support, on the one hand, and technical cooperation institutions (LCBC and CEBEVIRHA) for better internalization of local development issues, on the other.
43. They recommended that the high-level consultation be fed by and linked to local consultations on strategic sites for transhumance. The problems of transhumance are managed on the ground. Here, the nature of the issues to be addressed concerns transhumance, but also the security of pastoral populations and support for herders who are victims of these conflict zones. Each of these three themes should be specifically addressed in the respective reviews and roadmaps.
44. Both countries and POs should improve the preparation of this annual dialogue by using a structure to present the results of activities supporting cross-border transhumance, conflict prevention and the improvement of the security of people and goods in the areas concerned.
45. The issue of securing pastoral land tenure generated a lot of discussion following the presentation of the governance of pastoral land project and the experience of Niger and Chad. This theme should be explicitly developed at future meetings to incorporate the work underway in Nigeria, Chad and CAR especially.
46. The participants recommended that technical institutions and regional programmes (CILSS, LCBC, PRAPS) carry out an in-depth mapping of the very diverse interventions in this area (humanitarian, security and development) to promote greater synergy and relevance of the actions carried out in favour of the livestock farmers affected by this crisis.

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- 47.** The participants invited the RBM and APSS to strengthen their organizational base in the five countries and to boost their cooperation and interaction to ensure better support for civil society consultation initiatives at the local level.
- 48.** The meeting confirmed the importance of focusing the dialogue within this space centred on Lake Chad and proposed to organize the next meeting in Ndjamena at the intersection of ECCAS and ECOWAS.
- 49.** The participants in the first edition of the High-Level Conference for peaceful transhumance in the Lake Chad basin expressed their gratitude to the Government and the authorities of the Republic of Chad for the facilities granted to them.

## International Conference of Ministers of defense, security and protected areas on the fight against poaching and other cross border criminal activities

### N'Djamena Declaration

*On the need to guide regional transhumance dynamics by giving greater consideration to issues relating to security, management of large fauna and the increasing degradation of ecosystems resulting from climate change.*

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The countries and organizations meeting during the high-level political dialogue held in N'Djamena from 23 to 25 January 2019, convened jointly by the Facilitation of the Congo Basin Forest Partnership, the Central African Forest Commission (COMIFAC) and the Government of the Republic of Chad, under the Distinguished Patronage of His Excellency, Mr. IDRISS DEBY ITNO, President of the Republic of Chad, Head of State:

**Reaffirm** their ongoing commitment to work towards the sustainable economic and social development of all the local communities of the central regions of the Sahel, the Lake Chad Basin and the forest and savannah regions extending north of the Congo basin, in a manner consistent with the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development Goals;

**Acknowledge** that sustainable economic and social development is built on models that vary depending on the region under consideration and that each of these models deserves to be developed and supported by the public authorities;

**Consider** that regional transhumance dynamics, whose local socio-cultural roots run deep and have long played a role in maintaining the economic and food balances of the Sahelian regions and their outskirts, should be a key investment of national and sub-regional policies and therefore deserve attention within the cooperation programs of the sub-region's international partners;

**Stress** that the areas affected by these regional transhumance dynamics are also home to major hotbeds of biodiversity whose conservation and sustainable management hold potential as a major driver of inclusive economic growth and job creation for all the local communities in the regions concerned;

**Note, however, that owing to the cumulative impacts,**

1. of climate change which is exacerbating aridity levels in an ever-larger part of the main grazing areas in Sahelian regions, leading to the geographical spread of transnational transhumance dynamics southwards;
2. of growing financial investments in livestock by local non-pastoralist economic actors, with a resultant increase in transhumant livestock numbers;
3. of persistent hotbeds of terrorist instability in several parts of the subregion, which help maintain and promote armed trafficking fueled by the illegal exploitation of natural resources (including large fauna), notably as part of transhumance dynamics, including some which are preyed upon and whose legitimate foundations are threatened;



4. of transhumance dynamics between the Sahel region and northern Equatorial Africa that are likely to jeopardize prospects for development, peace and security, and biodiversity conservation in some areas where they are currently not adequately monitored.

**Undertake** to halt this downward spiral by implementing joint operational strategies based on:

1. The establishment and operationalization of an observatory of cross--- border transhumance movements;
2. Implementation of concerted intersectoral initiatives to combat cross--- border poaching, notably involving the Ministries of Environment and Forestry, Defence, Agriculture as well as the Ministries of Justice and Internal Affairs;
3. practical and efficient implementation of cross---border anti---poaching agreements (LAB);
4. Information exchange by means of appropriate tools such as Africa---TWIX developed by COMIFAC and TRAFFIC;
5. A stronger role for relevant protected area management units as part of Public---Private Partnership (PPP) models to be established or strengthened, in close collaboration with the relevant State agencies in the countries concerned;
6. Enhanced support for transhumance dynamics, particularly by establishing relevant corridors equipped with beacons and the requisite infrastructure.

**Recall** that the success of these operational strategies will hinge largely on the effective implementation of applicable legal and regulatory frameworks and the establishment of effective governance frameworks in the countries concerned, notably entailing the active involvement of civil society, indigenous peoples, local communities, women stakeholders and youth;

**Undertake to:**

1. Help establish and operate multi---stakeholder, multi---sectoral platforms at the regional, national and local levels to ensure concerted management of issues relating to transhumance, poaching, protected areas and other cross---border crimes;
2. Establish and secure national and cross---border transhumance corridors;
3. Prioritize management methods that ensure protection and added value of protected areas, especially Public Private Partnerships (PPP);
4. Operationalize agreements on the fight against poaching and concerted management of protected areas and cross---border corridors;
5. Conduct concerted diplomatic efforts entailing advocacy and awareness raising in poachers' countries of origin and in transit and destination countries for illegal wild-life products;
6. Develop integrated income---generating programs and projects for the benefit of local communities in protected areas and transhumant pastoralists.
7. Hold a consultation to assess the existing conservation services of the States Parties to Agreements involved in the Fight against Poaching (LAB) in order to take steps to address their operational deficiencies especially those relating to intelligence and appropriate responses by specialized anti---poaching units;

8. Conduct studies on economic, social, political and security dynamics to promote better understanding of issues associated with transhumance;
9. Develop an appropriate legal framework to ensure better governance and efficient management of transhumance.

**Request:**

1. That His Excellency IDRISS DEBY ITNO, President of the Republic of Chad kindly appeal to his peers to organize the third Summit of Heads of State and Government of the COMIFAC countries.
2. that ECCAS, within the framework of the fight against cross---border poaching and eco---security, organize a meeting of authorities in charge of protected areas, security and defense, with the purpose of understanding and implementing the "Convention for the Control of Small Arms and Light Weapons";
3. that UNESCO, within the framework of the Man and Biosphere Program (MAB), in collaboration with technical and financial partners, help establish and operate a consultation framework on transhumance that would allow analysis of key issues relating to cross---border transhumance and come up with appropriate solutions;
4. That the OCFSA member States and technical and financial partners strengthen the institution to enable it to properly fulfil its mandate;
5. that the LCBC, COMIFAC, ECCAS, ECOWAS, the CILSS and technical and financial partners facilitate the construction of watering points, fodder production and pasture management in order to restore ecosystem function in the Lake Chad Basin area;

Furthermore, the countries and organizations meeting in Ndjamená extend special thanks to His Excellency IDRISS DEBY ITNO, President of the Republic of Chad, Head of State, for his leadership and call on him to work with his peers to follow-up on the implementation of this declaration.

N'Djamena, 25 January 2019:

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