

Securing Pastoralism in East and West Africa:
Protecting and Promoting Livestock Mobility

Chad Desk Review

Final Version
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Sign for a livestock corridor - PRODALKA, GTZ

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Introduction

This is one of a series of desk reviews produced as part of the project 'Securing Pastoralism in East and West Africa: Protecting and Promoting Livestock Mobility'. Livestock mobility in Chad is important for both seasonal transhumance and access to domestic and international markets. This paper concentrates on the first of these, largely because it was more difficult to access documents on livestock marketing.

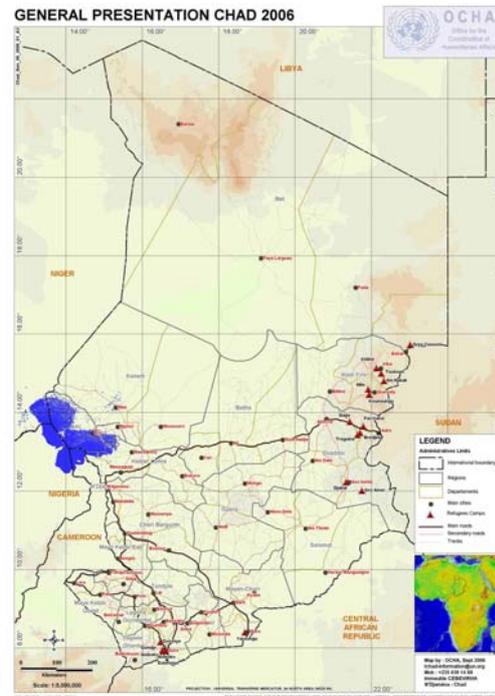
The methodology consisted of reviewing available literature in Europe and on the web, having a meeting with IRAM,¹ a French NGO, with extensive experience of the pastoral sector in Chad, and commissioning an in-country consultant to identify the key actors involved in supporting pastoral mobility.

The desk review was asked to focus on the context affecting livestock mobility and the work of key development and research actors involved in the promotion of livestock mobility.

The report has five sections:

1. A brief overview of the nature of pastoralism in Chad.
2. An analysis of the institutional context affecting livestock mobility in Chad.
3. An analysis of how livestock mobility is changing in Chad.
4. A summary of the work of key development and research actors in promoting livestock mobility in Chad.
5. An indication of the issues that need to be addressed.

We wish to acknowledge the very generous support of IRAM who freely shared their documents and ideas to help us prepare this paper.



¹ IRAM: Institut de Recherches et d'Applications des Méthodes de Développement.

1. The nature of pastoralism in Chad²

Chad, roughly three times the size of the state of California, is a major livestock producing country in the Sahel. The total number of livestock in Chad is, however, unknown; the last census took place in 1976. According to the FAO, in 2004, there were roughly 16 million animals in Chad composed of 6.4 million cattle, 735,000 camels, and 8.2 million small stock (FAOSTAT). It is further estimated that livestock support about 40% of the population and contribute 18% to GDP. Approximately 80% of livestock in Chad are reared under mobile pastoral systems. Although pastoralism is a livelihood for many people in Chad, the Toubous, the Fulani and various Arab groups are the ethnic groups that still predominate.

1.1 Seasonal transhumance and local diversity

Broadly speaking, pastoralists in Chad practice a seasonal pattern of transhumance between northern rainy-season pastures and southern dry-season pastures. These movements are in direct response to ecological and rainfall conditions found in Chad. At the height of the rainy season and in the months that follow, generally between August and November, livestock herds are concentrated in the arid north of the country on the fringes of the Sahara desert where short, but highly nutritious annual grasses and surface water predominate.³ But as surface water and pastures dry up livestock are gradually moved south to graze initially on crop residues and later natural pastures including browse. The cycle is repeated the following year with livestock gradually moving north as the rains arrive in June or July. The timing and amplitude of the movements vary between camel and cattle herds with the former able to remain for longer in north after the end of rains when watering becomes more difficult, but leaving the south earlier to avoid diseases associated with very humid conditions.

Chad, unlike other Sahelian states, still has relatively abundant pastoral resources (natural pastures, water, minerals and crop residues) even if in certain areas there are increasingly signs of degradation. These resources, however, are not evenly distributed over the whole country. There are three broad zones:

- **Sahara zone:** offers excellent quality pastures that are only accessible when there is sufficient rainfall to fill surface water points, particularly in the wadis (valleys and dry river beds) which cross the country from east to west. If the rains are poor, these pastures are not easily accessible for lack of water. The Sahara zone is thus not a permanent pastoral area save for some dromedaries who are able to stay near wells in the zone throughout the year.
- **Sahel zone:** covers most of the central band of the country and consists of two sub-zones: a purely pastoral area with extensive savannah rangelands where livestock keeping is the only viable activity and a southerly agro-pastoral area where higher rainfall allows rain-fed agriculture to be practiced with pastoralism. Pastoral resources are composed of both natural pastures and crop residues.
- **Sudanien zone:** to the south of the country receives on average between 500-1000mm of rain a year and has abundant if relatively low nutritional value pastures, particularly when they dry out after the rains. Crop residues are a major source of feed for local and transhumant livestock.

² This section draws heavily on the excellent work of Reoundji, F., Tchaoua, W. & Banzhaf, M. (2005).

³ Although only dromedaries travel as far as the 15th parallel.

This broader picture, however, masks a far more complex and varied situation. Table 1 presents a more detailed analysis of the different pastoral systems that are practised in these three climatic zones. Figure 1 shows where these systems are found in Chad.

Table 1: Diversity of pastoral systems in Chad⁴

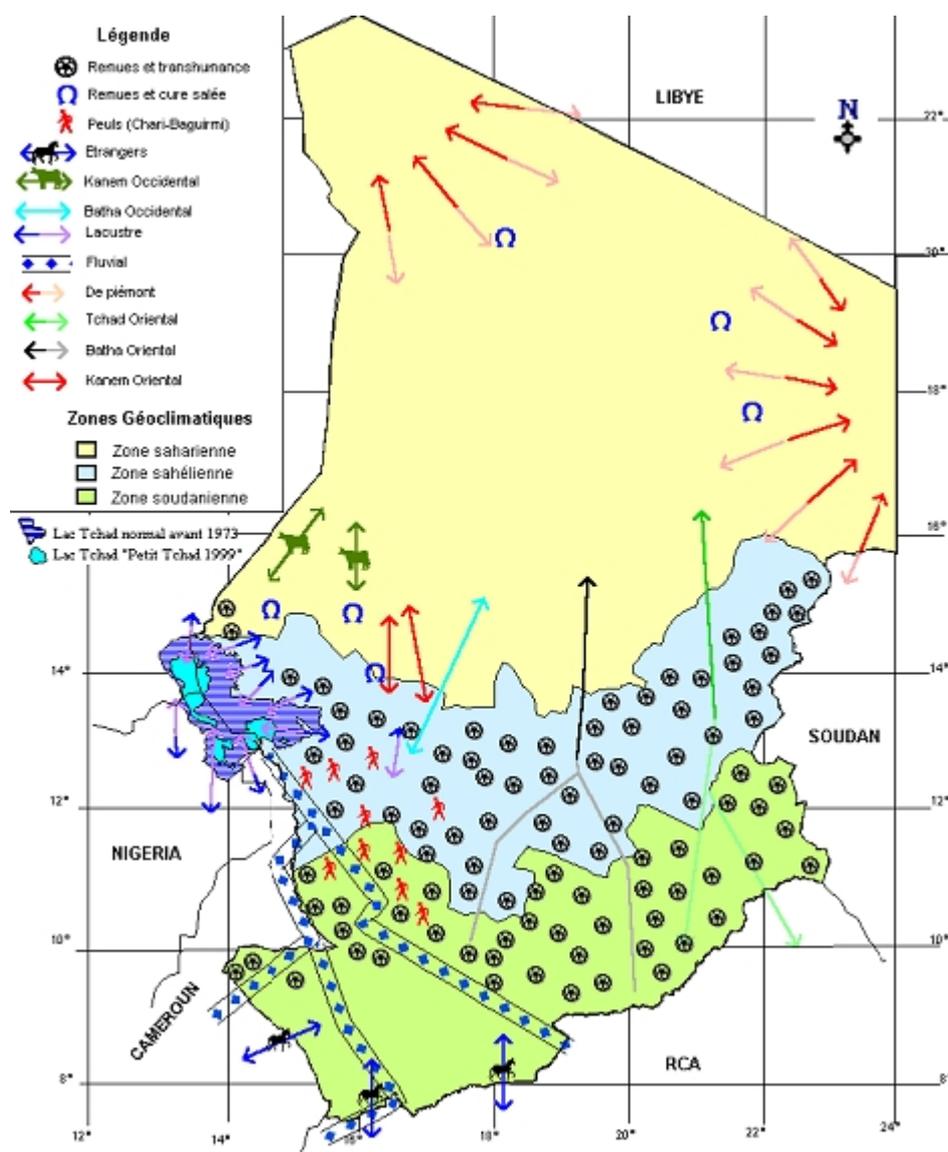
Climatic zone	Pastoral system	Key features
Sahara zone	Mountain-based pastoral system	During the dry season, livestock movement is limited. Animals are pastured near permanent water (wells, ponds) found in the mountains of Tibesti and Ennedi and to a lesser extent the hills of Kapka and the oases of Faya, Zouar, Bardaï and Fada. In the rainy season, livestock spread out in the vast plains and wadis to benefit from the rich pastures.
	Western Kanem pastoral system	Livestock movements are limited. Animals remain most of the year in sandy depressions where families also grow rain-fed crops. During the dry season, livestock are sometimes driven to lake Chad or further south to Chari-Baguirmi.
Sahel zone	Lake-based pastoral system	The Buduma and Kouri people among others graze their livestock on rich flood-plain pastures that appear as the waters in Lake Chad gradually recede over the dry season. When the lake levels rise from November on-wards, livestock are grazed in the surrounding area.
	Eastern Kanem pastoral system	Livestock are driven on long annual transhumance into Sudan towards the rich pastures in Bahr El Ghazal region, while the Kreda pastoralists move west as far as the region of Chari Barguimi in central Chad.
	Western Batha pastoral system	Livestock spend about 9 months of the year around lake Fitri in central Chad grazing off rich aquatic pastures traditionally controlled by resident farmers. During the rainy season, livestock are moved north to benefit from pastures in the Sahara zone, slowly returning to Fitri after crops have been harvested.
	Eastern Batha pastoral system	Livestock are grazed for most of year in the Oum Hadjer region in central eastern Chad moving further south to access the lakes and large ponds in the region of Salamat at the height of the dry season. Certain families drive their animals further south to the border with Central African Republic. As soon as the rains come, the livestock are driven back to Oum Hadjer.
	Eastern Chad pastoral system	Like the eastern Batha pastoral system, livestock stay in the north for as long as water is easily available from the deep wells. They are then driven south to the Salamat region using a chain of hand-dug wells in the seasonal riverbeds to facilitate their passage. Livestock remain the south until the arrival of the rains.
	Small-scale pastoral system	Many sedentary villages have families with large livestock herds. During the dry season, the animals are grazed close to the village. But once the rains arrive, the animals are confided to transhumant pastoralists to enable them to work their fields. ⁵
	Village-based pastoral system	Near the major towns, livestock are increasingly reared for commercial purposes. Relatively small, these herds are fairly sedentary accessing water and pastures within the confines of the town.
Sudanian zone	River-based pastoral system	Livestock remain close to permanent river systems all year except during the rainy season when they are driven a little distance away to protect the crops.
	Fulani based pastoral system	Livestock are herded within the region of Chari-Baguirmi in southwestern Chad during the dry season before going on transhumance to Lake Chad during the rains as well as to Batha (Haraze) to lake Fitri and to Kanem (Barh el Ghazal)..

⁴ This typology was proposed by the water ministry in Chad and reproduced in Reounodji, F., Tchaoua, W. & Banzhaf, M. (2005), p. 39-41.

⁵ Although some agro-pastoralists give their animals to transhumants to look after throughout the year.

	Non-Chadian pastoral systems	With the onset of the rainy season, cattle and sheep herders from Cameroon and Central African Republic move in a northerly direction through Chad to access pastures in the Sahel and sometimes Sahara zones returning south as the dry season progresses.
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Figure 1: Distribution of different pastoral systems in Chad



Source: Reounodji, F., Tchaoua, W. & Banzhaf, M. (2005), p. 41

1.2 A major contributor to the economy

Until crude oil production began in 2003, cotton and livestock were the major exports. In 2002, official livestock exports represented 30% of Chad's total exports rising to more than 50% if all exports including those that by-pass the control of custom services are taken into account (Liagre et. al. 2004). According to Koussou and Liagre (2003), only 35% of all livestock exports are officially recorded.

Contrary to popular belief, pastoralists have always been integrated with local and regional markets and have a long history of involvement in livestock trade outside their communities; and pastoralists in Chad are no exception. The livestock marketing system in Chad largely operates outside of government control and with minimal government investment. Animals are driven to national and export markets on the hoof. Major destinations are Nigeria and Central African Republic for cattle and Libya for camels. Exports to Nigeria are severely hampered by insecurity along the cattle corridors where cattle rustling by armed gangs is increasing. Unstable exchange rates between the Naira and the CFA bring additional uncertainties for both pastoralists and livestock traders. Exports of camels to Libya are mainly limited by the lack of infrastructure along the route – many camels die along the way for lack of sufficient water and pasture. The involvement of multiple intermediaries along the market chain result in pastoralists receiving relatively low prices for the animals they sell. Some studies indicate that they may only receive between 45-50% of the final price of cattle – see Table 2 below. Not included in these calculations are the costs the herders incur at the primary market at which they sell their animals. These costs include both legal taxes as well as illegal “back-handers” they have to give to the local authorities.

Table 2: Distribution of the value of livestock sales by actor along the Moshodi (Chad) - Lagos (Nigeria) circuit⁶

Market chain	FCFA	% of final value
Final sale price at the slaughter house, Lagos	381,699	100%
Original purchase price from pastoralist	185,000	48%
Taxes and other revenue collected	90,288	24%
Other direct costs (transport, food)	19,489	5%
Profit for intermediary	106,411	28%

Efforts to modernise Chad’s cattle marketing were attempted in the 1970s and 1980s. The Chadian Animal Resources Improvement Company (SOTERA), a mixed enterprise formed as a livestock company with participation by some traditional livestock traders, began operations in 1978. Its aim was to control live animal exports through a license system and to have a monopoly on exports of chilled meat and hides. It was hoped at the time that the association of traders to SOTERA would increase the effective collection of export taxes on livestock by 50 to 75 percent. By 1984, however, SOTERA handled only a small portion of the domestic market and less than 30 percent of the export trade. The failure to modernize the sector and in particular the difficulties encountered in exporting slaughtered cattle contrasts with the efficiency of the live cattle export channels largely under traditional control. Appropriate policy for the development of cattle exportation from Chad (and elsewhere in the Sahel) must fully involve the stakeholders of this trade in the decision making process.⁷

⁶ Source: Balami, D.H., Liagre, L., Ngaradoum, Koussou, M. (2004), cited in Reoundji, F., Tchaouna, W. & Banzhaf, M. (2005), p. 63.

⁷ It should be noted that on June 5, 2008 the Secretary General of the Presidency wrote a letter forbidding the export of livestock on the hoof and of fish to Cameroon in response to a ban on importing rice.

2. The institutional context affecting livestock mobility in Chad

Table 3 presents the key laws that have a bearing on pastoral mobility in Chad.

Table 3: Legislation with relevance to pastoral mobility	
1959	Loi N° 4 du 31 octobre 1959 portant réglementation du nomadisme
1967	Loi N° 23, 24, 25 of July 22, 1967 on the status of social assets, the land ownership and customary laws and limitations to entitlements to land
1999	Loi N° 016/PR/99 of August 18, 1999 portant Code de l'Eau.
2002	Loi N° 007/PR/2002 of June 5, 2002 on the status of rural communities
Draft	Code Pastoral

2.1 Legal alienation of pastoral rights to land and water

Pastoralism provides a livelihood for a significant proportion of Chad’s population as well as boosting exports. However, the pastoral system is under threat from other land users, not least through conflict with farmers over the expansion of lucrative Arabic gum cultivation, which has encouraged land privatisation (SWAC, 2006). Moreover, there is no specific legislation that protects pastoralists’ right to access land or water.

Chad’s legislative framework on land tenure has not been substantially modified since the 1960s. Three laws passed in 1967, and closely modelled on legislation from the colonial period, still govern the land tenure system today (CILSS, 2003). Laws N° 23, 24, 25 of 1967 (on the status of social assets, the land ownership and customary laws and limitations to entitlements to land) declare that all unregistered land is owned by the government of Chad, and gives the government the right to confiscate community land for public purposes (Law No. 25). The same law imposes strict productive land use clauses that discriminate against pastoral land uses in favour of agricultural uses (Bary, 1997). As regards customary practice, some recognition is accorded to it by these three laws, however, they do not recognise collective property rights, and require legal (statutory) registration and titling of customary land rights (SWAC, 2006). However, due to weak state capacity traditional chiefs in rural areas still largely manage natural resources (SWAC, 2006).⁸

The only statutory legislation governing livestock mobility dates from the colonial period, and aims to restrict transhumance.⁹ According to this law, a date is set each year before which livestock mobility is prohibited. Pastoralists must submit an itinerary of their movements before the beginning of transhumance with local administrative units (*cachimbet*), which must be approved by a commission staffed by elected district officials, herders and other notables. Traditional chiefs in the relevant areas are informed of the itineraries, and pastoralists should not deviate from this route, which reduces their ability to respond to environmental conditions. Sedentary groups are required not to block

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 : “In Chad, there is no :
 : legislation specifically :
 : concerning pastures and :
 : the right to graze cattle.” :
 : Sitta Bary, PRASET :
 :

⁸ There is a question around the role and potential of traditional management systems. It seems that traditional chiefs are best placed to manage natural resources and secure pastoral land tenure because of the many interests they have in welcoming pastoralists into their domains (salam, taxes on livestock markets etc...)

⁹ *Loi portant réglementation du nomadisme sur le territoire de la République du Tchad* of 1959,

livestock corridors, and conflicts are referred to criminal courts (Bary, 1997: 27-28). Networks of livestock corridors do exist, but they are not governed by a specific state policy (Guihini, pers com., 2008).

Legislation governing water resources is also of crucial importance to pastoralists. The 1999 Water Code envisions management of water points through settled communities and fails to take into account livestock mobility (Bonnet *et al.*, 2004). Full implementation of the Water Code, which has yet to occur, can be expected to have significant negative impacts pastoral livelihoods. Furthermore, the Livestock Ministry recently lost responsibility for pastoral water resources to the Environment and Water Ministry, which may result in a further alienation of pastoralists from these resources (Bonnet *et al.*, 2004).

2.2 Code Pastoral blocked; decentralisation stalled

Chad has recently followed other francophone countries in West Africa in drafting a Pastoral Code sponsored by the Livestock Ministry. The Code would recognise mobility as an efficient use of pastoral resources (Bonnet *et al.*, 2004). However, it does not provide for access to water points and other services along livestock corridors, which would tend to limit mobility.

This has been a sticking point in gaining civil society adhesion to the proposed legislation, and it has been blocked for the past three years due to a disagreement between the Livestock Ministry and the *Association des Eleveurs Nomade* (AEN) an NGO representing pastoralists. The AEN held workshops and consultations that judged the proposed legislation to be overly restrictive and biased in favour of agricultural interests (Guihini, pers com., 2008). In the short term, a reengagement with the Pastoral Code appears unlikely leaving pastoralists without statutory protection of their rights.

As regards decentralisation, despite passing the Rural Communities Act in 2002, no practical moves towards delegating more responsibility to local government have yet occurred, and none of the proposed rural communes have been established (Guihini, pers com., 2008). If implemented, the Act may allow pastoralist peoples more influence over the management of natural resources, as it aims to facilitate rural communities' participation in the protection and maintenance of *inter alia* natural areas, wildlife and vegetation and surface and ground water (CILSS, 2003).

However, decentralisation in itself is no guarantee that pastoralists' access to land and other key resources will improve, particularly since few if any pastoral communities have been actively involved in the design of the legislation. Major concerns include the issue of pastoral representation on local government councils in both pastoral and agricultural areas of the country to ensure government authorities adequately plan for and protect livestock mobility. Linked to this is the question of ensuring an equitable taxation system particularly for non-resident transhumant families passing through a series of rural communes on their seasonal transhumance routes. Evidence from Niger suggests that local government authorities overly tax transhumant families for using public water points or pastures on their territory as a way to reduce the level of taxation on voting resident populations. Such abusive and discriminatory practices further exacerbate tensions between transhumant and sedentary populations.

2.3 Some recent government initiatives

A number of government-led programmes and initiatives merit a brief description.¹⁰ The National Livestock Programme (PNE) had a large influence on policy in the 1980s and 1990s. It promoted institutional reform and civil society capacity building through the creation of *groupements d'intérêt pastoral* (GIP) (Bonnet *et al.*, 2004). The PNE also created and maintained public water points in order to improve the management of natural resources. However, this policy concerned sedentary herders in the main, and did not take into account livestock mobility (Bary, 1997: 24). Most recently the Ministry of Livestock has disseminated a circular addressed to regional livestock delegates on securing pastoral infrastructure (23 April 2008).

Recent programmes such as the Rural Development Intervention Plan (PIDR) launched in 1999, and the Project to Secure Pastoral Systems (PSSP) aimed, *inter alia*, to improve pastoral livelihoods through reform of the regulatory and legislative framework governing the sector, and to promote co-management of natural resources (Bonnet *et al.*, 2004). Also, worthy of note is the Pastoral Livestock Support Programme (PASEP) which began in 2004.

In the water sector, the Water and Sanitation Programme (SDEA) 2003-2020 devotes a chapter to livestock mobility. This element of the Programme aims to protect pastoralists' and agro-pastoralists' access to water points, and to reform the Water Code (Bonnet *et al.*, 2004).

Finally, the government created a National Land Observatory in 2001. The Observatory has a dual mandate (1) to improve, "knowledge and understanding of land related problems in order to support the development of relevant land policies and legislations"; and (2) to disseminate information to stakeholders and build local and national capacity in land tenure issues (CILSS, 2003). This institution could play an important role in securing pastoralists' right to mobility, but the extent of its influence is unclear.

2.4 Cross-border transhumance

Cross-border transhumance between Chad and neighbouring countries has been complicated by conflict, notably in the case of the Chad-Sudan border. Transhumance between Chad, Central African Republic, Cameroon and other states in the region (but not Sudan) is governed by an agreement through the regional economic organisation, CEMAC.

2.5 Key points

- The law governing livestock mobility was passed in 1959 and seeks to limit transhumance.
- There is no legislation protecting pastoralists' access to land or water resources.
- A draft Pastoral Code has been blocked due to lack of agreement between the Livestock Ministry and civil society organisations.

¹⁰ See Bonnet *et al.* (2004) for a fuller account

3. The changing nature of livestock mobility in Chad¹¹

Livestock mobility patterns in Chad are highly dynamic in response to changing ecological, economic and political situations. Not all of these changes are, however, positive or effective.

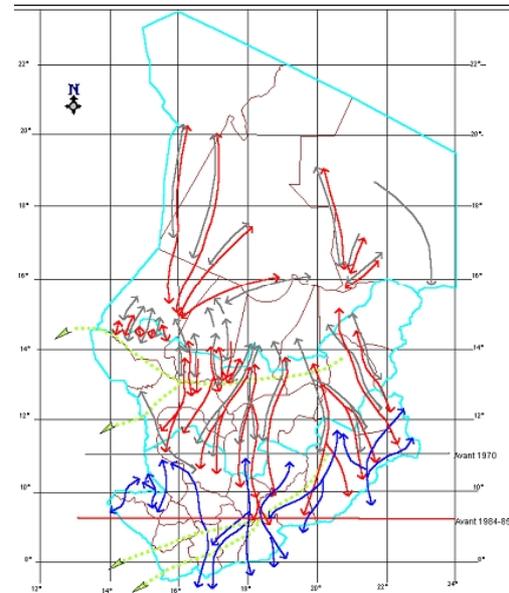
3.1 Southerly shift in transhumance patterns

Livestock movements have changed from before the 1970s to the present day. Two major changes are occurring.

First, pastoralists are driving their livestock further and further south and spending an increasingly longer time in these areas. Map 2 shows how the limits of southerly penetration by pastoral livestock have significantly increased since the two major droughts of the 1970s and 1980s. Reounodji et. al. (2005), cite a number of key examples to illustrate this phenomena:

- Camel herders from western Batha in central eastern Chad now moving with their animals as far south and west as the Mayo Kebbi bordering Cameroon.¹²
- The settlement of large concentrations of transhumant herders on the banks of the river Logone at Moundou from the Mayo Kebbi and Cameroon.
- The increasingly southerly penetration of Wodaabe pastoralists from the region of Chari Barguimi into Central African Republic and beyond into the forests of the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Map 2: Shifting transhumance patterns



Source: Reounodji, F., Tchaouna, W. & Banzhaf, M. (2005), p. 41

Second, an increasing number of pastoralists are now settling in these southerly areas and practicing new forms of livestock transhumance from their new base. For example, many Arab herders (Missirié) have begun to cultivate in the south and today no longer travel north to Batha during the rainy season.

These shifts, largely driven by several decades of poor or increasingly erratic rainfall, do not necessarily offer a sustainable future for pastoralism in Chad. Rainfall has decreased by between 11-14% since 1969. During the droughts of the 1970s and 1980s many Missirié herders adapted to transhumance within the sudanien zone. New social networks were created which offered the opportunity to access new grazing lands and to diversity their system of production (cultivation, trading etc). As a result, today despite an increase in rainfall in the north these “new” practices persist despite the fact that the environmental conditions in southern Chad are not ideal for raising Sahelian Zebu cattle. There is a prevalence of sleeping sickness (trypanosomiasis), and the pastures, though more abundant,

¹¹ This section draws heavily on the work of Reounodji, F., Tchaouna, W. & Banzhaf, M. (2005).

¹² Although there is a possibility that this phenomenon probably began much earlier and in addition it also involves is the Kreda groups from Kanem.

are of an inferior nutritional quality to those found in the north. Of equal concern is that while some of these areas are still able to absorb additional livestock, this is not the case in other areas, particularly those in the south-west of the country (e.g. Chari Barguimi). If the numbers of settled pastoralists in southern Chad continues to rise, these areas will lose their strategic value for more northerly pastoral systems as dry season and drought year refuges thereby compromising the future of pastoralism in Chad.

3.2 Agricultural encroachment and blocked livestock routes

Pastoral resources particularly in the more southerly agro-pastoral areas of the country are disappearing under the plough and the hoe. Settled farming communities and former pastoral groups who have turned to agriculture are relentlessly clearing new land for crops that otherwise would be used as grazing land. Toutain et al. (2000) estimate that in 20 to 30 years about 2 million hectares, 5% of the total land area of Chad, will have been lost to pastoralism because of agricultural expansion.¹³

In some areas, the rising practice of growing flood retreat sorghum in low-lying areas or along seasonal river beds (*ouaddis*), in response to more variable rainfall conditions, is depriving pastoralists of key strategic dry season resources. These crops with their later harvest times, some 2 or 3 months after the harvest of rain fed crops, seriously delay and/or disrupt the southerly movement of herds. Pastoralists are either forced to wait until these crops are harvested with the risk of failing to find sufficient surface water on their southerly trek or continue on their transhumance with the risk of damaging these crops and sparking conflict.

Another phenomenon is the increasing practice by farmers to hedge their bets against a bad rainy season by farming a scattering of fields over a wide area in the hope of some of their fields producing a harvest. This fragments the open grazing land making livestock mobility a much harder task as animals have to be supervised at all moments to prevent them from entering the fields and destroying the crops. In some cases, farmers deliberately cultivate such fields in areas they know they are highly unlikely to produce a crop in the hope to claim damages from a transhumant family.

Livestock, when they are driven south after the rains, follow precise itineraries often along old and well-established livestock corridors (known as *mourhal* in Arabic). The *mourhal* have existed for many years and are protected under customary regulations. In the more southerly agro-pastoral Sahel zone, they form a fairly dense network running roughly north south, with water points marking their points of convergence. Their richer soils due to livestock dung attract farmers who gnaw away at the edges of the corridors, resting areas (*manzal*) and rainy season grazing areas until they have disappeared; the fact that traditionally these corridors and areas are not generally demarcated in any way enables some farmers to claim (falsely) they were unaware of their existence. The progressive loss of these corridors is a major source of conflict between transhumant pastoralists and farmers forcing the herder to change direction if they want to avoid conflict.

In the southern Sudanien zone the problem is different. The southerly shift in livestock movements and rising competition for land as population levels rise, is increasingly leading to conflict. However, because historically this area did not have any pastoral corridors as land was abundant and livestock rarely penetrated so far south to warrant their

¹³ Quoted in Reounodji, F., Tchaouna, W. & Banzhaf, M. (2005), p.51.

development, the challenge is not of rehabilitating former livestock corridors, but of agreeing with resident communities of the need to define new ones.¹⁴ This is a major challenge given the increasing pressures on land not only for agriculture, but also for a rapidly rising sedentary livestock herd in the area as farmers invest in animals for traction and as a form of savings.

3.3 Competition and conflict rather than complementarity defining social relations

The growing trend of farmers increasingly investing in livestock is bringing other challenges. Whereas in the past, there was a significant level of exchange and inter-dependence between visiting pastoral and sedentary agricultural communities, increasingly this is no longer the case. Local farmers now are less inclined to allow transhumant pastoralists to graze their livestock on their fields after harvest in exchange for the manure they provided because first, they carefully guard crop residues for their own animals and second, they have less need for manure. Furthermore, as many of these southerly herds are relatively sedentary, local pastures are continuously grazed throughout the year. Transhumant pastoralists are thus competing with resident sedentary populations for access to a diminishing resource base, particularly in the dry season. In order to protect their pastures, local farmers are refusing permission to pastoralists to cross their land or are resorting to destructive strategies such as blocking-up existing water points used by transhumant herds.¹⁵ The relations of cooperation and complementarity that once existed between sedentary farmers and mobile pastoralists are progressively turning to mistrust and conflict.¹⁶

Blocked well in the Kanem area following disputes over its use



Source: Reoundji, F., Tchaouna, W. & Banzhaf, M. (2005), p.54

3.4 Inadequate conflict resolution

Despite the existence of customary conflict resolution mechanisms, tensions between sedentary farmers and mobile pastoral communities is growing.¹⁷ . There is no formal legislation to manage disputes over crop damage by livestock or the encroachment of farms into livestock corridors. Traditionally, the farmer and the herder in question initially managed disputes of this nature. If they failed to agree, they called on local leaders (e.g. village elders, pastoral camp leaders, the Canton chief) to plead their case and act as intermediaries in finding a consensual solution to the problem. Formal state authorities (e.g. District commissioners, the judiciary) were only approached as a last resort. Today, there is an increasing tendency among protagonists to go straight to the government authorities to complain, often using bribes to support their claim; if this becomes widespread it will undermine the more traditional processes of seeking consensus and maintaining social

¹⁴ It is likely however that livestock corridors did exist in these areas due to the presence of fields but have since “disappeared” under the hoe.

¹⁵ Other practices consist of planting mango trees or starting up small gardens in the vicinity of water points.

¹⁶ Similarly many herders have begun to cultivate south of the 13th parallel. This is a source of many conflicts because of the proximity of hers to fields during the rainy season (particularly in areas where rainy season pasture has progressively been cultivated).

¹⁷ Although it should be noted that this does not happen everywhere. It is particularly prevalent in the Sudanien zone, around N'Djaména, in the Fitri zone, around Abéché and for reasons of insecurity in Salamat.

harmony . The formal judicial process generally creates a situation of winners and losers, which aggravates tensions often contributing to act of revenge and counter revenge.

Violent conflict is also exacerbated by the proliferation of small arms after many years of civil war. Minor events quickly escalate as young men resort to the use of guns rather than dialogue to enforce what they perceive to be their rights. In such a situation of insecurity, owners of large livestock herds, particularly in the south of the country, are arming their herdsmen not only to protect their livestock, but also to gain access to key resources by force rather than through negotiation.¹⁸ Banditry, cattle rustling and hostage taking are increasingly a feature of seasonal transhumance in Chad, which not only threatens life but also has a major impact on livestock mobility. Herders, in order to avoid armed robbery, often avoid livestock corridors, driving their animals through the bush with the risk of damaging crops thereby further contributing to conflict.

3.5 Weak pastoral leadership

The absence of a representative and effective pastoral civil society movement capable of articulating and defending its members' interests is a major limiting factor in securing livestock mobility in Chad. Although traditionally pastoral groups do cooperate with each other, such instances of solidarity focus on specific tasks such as creating "nomadic units" to facilitate long livestock treks. These, however, tend to be temporary arrangements not suited to defending pastoral rights of access to pastures and water in areas far from home.

There is an emerging pastoral civil lobby composed of recently established pastoral associations and non-governmental organisations, often supported by international organisations funding projects in pastoral areas. Some of the key organisations include: *Association des Eleveurs Nomades* (which generally represents Arabic herders); *Association des Jeunes Nomades pour le Développement Rural et la Protection de l'Élevage au Tchad* (which generally represents Fulani herders); *Association pour la Défense des Droits des Eleveurs de Massakory*; and *Association des éleveurs de Ouaddi-Rimé*. While these groups are beginning to have some influence on national policy debates, they lack the skills to articulate and defend the interests of their members, have difficulty in establishing a common front with each other or forging strong institutional links with other groups, and have limited financial resources and management skills. More importantly, many do not have a genuine constituency at the local level, particularly among transhumant groups.¹⁹

¹⁸ Many of the owners of large herds of livestock are « new herders» civil servants or military who invest their savings in livestock and benefit from general impunity.

¹⁹ This division is characteristic of this context. Pastoral groups are divided into three groups (Arab, Gorane and Fulani) but there are also divisions within these groups. Their history is marked by many conflicts between clans or lineages. These divisions were exacerbated by colonialisation (and the often destabilising alliances which were forged during this period) as well as by the establishment of the cantons in 1923 which gave the opportunity to tribes to acquire territory (this process of division and territorialisation of space is still happening reinforced by the often anarchic sinking of wells particularly in Batha).

4. Actors supporting livestock mobility and lessons learned

All of the organisations listed in Table 4 (see below) have active projects relating to livestock mobility in Chad. However, the number of projects directly aimed at promoting and securing mobility is very small. The majority are rural development, conflict resolution or pastoral water projects, which have an element related to livestock mobility. Due to the limited experience of projects directly supporting livestock mobility, this section is based on an analysis of pastoral projects in Chad carried out by IRAM, the Chadian Ministry of Livestock and the French Foreign Ministry (Reounodji et al, 2005) and telephone interviews.

Table 4: Organisations working on areas related to livestock mobility in Chad

Name	Type of organisation
ACRA - Association pour la Coopération Rurale en Afrique	International NGO
AFD - French Development Agency	Development Agency
AMECET - Association de Médiation pour l'Entente entre Cultivateurs et Eleveurs au Tchad	Local NGO
AEN - Association des Eleveurs Nomades au Tchad	Local NGO
GTZ - German Development Agency	Development Agency
IRAM - Institut de recherches et d'applications des méthodes de développement (France)	International NGO
SECADEV - Secours catholique de développement	International NGO
SDC - Swiss Cooperation	Development Agency
World Bank, Chad Country Office	Donor

4.1 Mobility approach

IRAM, a French NGO which specialises in technical development assistance, has the most experience of implementing projects with the specific aim of protecting livestock mobility and securing pastoralism in Chad.

They have worked with AFD (French Development Agency) on three such projects, of which two are currently active.

1. AFD's *Programme d'hydraulique pastorale Tchad Oriental "Almy Bahaim"* in Eastern Chad, running since 1995;
2. A Programme in Central Chad "Almy Al Afia", operational since 2004 (phase 1 2004-08; transitional phase 2008-09 and second phase is still being negotiated 2009-2013; and
3. PHPK (*Programme d'hydraulique pastorale du Kanem*), active from 1999 to 2003, and expected to be re-launched shortly (Demante, pers com., 2008).

These projects have experimented with the establishment of joint committees for the management of wells, as well as joint committees at the regional level, to monitor activities and mediate in the case of conflicts.

The projects were focused on pastoral interests and attempted to improve the availability and conditions of access to natural resources through the construction of water points, marking livestock corridors, securing livestock stationing or resting areas on livestock

corridors, as well as the creation of permanent structures of conflict prevention (similar to the AMECET experience below).

One important lesson learned was the success of using the strategic placing of water points to improve distribution of livestock away from ecologically sensitive areas and towards under-exploited areas. The marking of livestock corridors was found to reduce conflict. Stationing areas along corridors were also found to be necessary on sections without sufficient grazing land. The areas are marked off to stop agricultural encroachment and sometimes include a water point to allow animals to rest for several days. As Reounodji et al, (2005) note the group of measures taken in the context of AFD's pastoral hydraulic projects in Chad contributed to a reduction in animal mortality, helped secure mobility by marking out of livestock paths, and increased social dialogue between different resource users. Pastoralists in areas adjacent to existing projects have asked for the projects to be expanded; one measure of success (Kahane, pers com., 2008).

However, a major "gap" in the project architecture is the lack of a general approach to the securing of pastoralists' land and halting the expansion of rainfed agriculture into pastures. According to Reounodji et al, (2005) this shows the utility of combing projects operating in the mobility approach with spatially defined approach such as local conventions or *gestion de terroir*.²⁰



Sign for a livestock corridor - PRODALKA, GTZ

Source: <http://www.gtz.de/de/dokumente/fr-PRODALKA-chad.pdf>

4.2 Local Development

A new recently launched programme is **PROADEL** (*Projet d'Appui au Developpenment Local - Local Development Program*) implemented by the World Bank, and partly funded by AFD. The programme looks at the holistic local development of rural areas. Planned actions in the livestock sector include (Ahouissoussi, pers com. 2008):

- Creating pastoral wells and livestock corridors
- Supporting communities in the management of conflicts
- Support in managing village land
- Carry out studies into pastoralism and transhumance

The beginning of activities has been postponed due to a delay in establishing a local project implementation unit in N'Djamena. This officially began operations on 23 April 2008 (Ahouissoussi, pers com. 2008). Some interviewees were sceptical as to the commitment of the project to securing livestock mobility, and the degree of their understanding of the pastoral system.

GTZ is heading up two programmes that are aimed at supporting rural decentralisation in East and West Chad, PRODALKA (*Programme de développement rural décentralisé du Mayo Dallah, du Lac Léré et de la Kabbia*) project which started in 2002, and PRODABO (*Programme de*

²⁰ This approach can also lead to the exclusion of mobile groups whose interests are not always well represented or defended by such mechanisms.

développement rural décentralisé d'Assoungha, Biltine, et Ouara). These programmes' activities include marking out of livestock corridors, and establishing 'local conventions' on natural resource access between land users.

These local development projects are inspired by the decentralisation process and attempt to synthesise different local projects into Local Development Plans. However, the major problem with these projects is that livestock mobility and pastoralists in general have tended to be marginalised. Whilst they do give more responsibility to local people, they are often geared towards short-term goals (Reounodji et al, 2005).

4.3 Conflict Resolution and Local Conventions

AMECET (*Association de Médiation pour l'Entente entre Cultivateurs et Eleveurs au Tchad*) is working in alternative conflict management and social dialogue and are most active in Southern Chad. They set up joint committees of farmers and herders to create a framework for discussion, as well as local awareness-raising workshops. Some people have criticised the group for defending farmers' interests more than those of pastoralists, but the organisation does welcome all land users to agree mutually beneficial rules. Their success varies from one region to the next due to the difficulties of incorporating transhumant herders in the organisational structure.

Other groups include **SECADEV** (*Secours catholique de développement*) that works with farmers and herders to establish joint committees to resolve land use disputes. However, some interviewees suggested that the organisation has a conservative attitude to pastoral mobility. **ACRA** (*Association pour la Coopération Rurale en Afrique*) is an international NGO that has run projects in Chad for a number of years, particularly in the region of Chari Barguimi. They help local resource users elaborate local conventions to regulate access to strategic natural resources (forests, water points etc.) based on existing practices. They also help to set up a management and monitoring body.

These projects, and the previous GTZ projects, have all worked through the local conventions approach, which aims to clarify rights of access to natural resources. These approaches are based on consolidating traditional rules and mechanisms that regulate rights of access. A key strength is that they tend to be more flexible, and do not rigidly follow a preordained set of project actions, but modify their actions in line with experience gained through the project.

Local conventions have provided examples of spectacular rehabilitation of natural resources, and they are cost effective and efficient. However, they are fragile and when the programme structure is absent (between programmes or after its completion) the weak respect of the conventions have been noted including fraudulent behaviour by the local administration who are supposed to guarantee impartiality. Experience from the PRODALKA project suggests that enforcement and monitoring of conventions is important. Experience in other countries, such as Burkina Faso, has shown that local conventions can reduce conflicts by 75% in six years (Reounodji et al, 2005).

4.4 Lessons learnt on the organisation of pastoralists

Projects led Oxfam and SECADEV in the 1980s in Chad can be used to draw up some important lessons about the organisation of pastoralists. This experience has shown that organisation can be beneficial in the negotiating of rights of access to water points and livestock corridors but that a number of obstacles are evident. A local resource person, normally someone of a certain social status, from a pastoral environment and with a large

experience, can help to build a bridge of trust with pastoralist groups who may be wary of development programmes. Their presence in the project reassures the pastoralists, and he or she communicates to herders in a language they understand the methodology and activities carried out by the project.

In Chad, the **AEN** (*Association des Eleveurs Nomades au Tchad*) is the primary pastoralists' civil society organisation, albeit a disparate one according to one account. Although they do not carry out social or material development work, they have successfully lobbied the government on behalf of pastoralists, most notably by organising a series of workshops on the proposed Pastoral Code in 2005.²¹

Another significant pastoral programme is run by **SDC** (Swiss Cooperation) but operates under a different methodology that tends to limit livestock mobility. They have four Regional Development Programmes (PDR - *Programmes de Développement Régionaux*) with pastoral aspects, in Wadi Fira in Eastern Chad, Ennedi in the far North, and two in the central region in Batha and Kanem (Guihini, pers com., 2008). The projects provide training and education to pastoralists via an ' ancrage point', where crops are cultivated and health services provided. Transhumance continues but on a reduced scale. This clearly does not operate in the same methodological understanding as the work of IIED and SOS Sahel.

4.5 Analysis of approaches

4.5.1 How to make development of transhumance rights sustainable? What kind of management system should we support?

As stated above pastoral civil society is weak. Pastoralists are divided into three large groups Gorane, Fulani and Arab and these groups have a history of conflict and disagreement. This compromises efforts collaborate and co-finance projects which involve pastoralists, the state and donors.²²

In this context 2 approaches (neither of which has yet been successful) have been tried.

- The first aims to ensure that users take ownership of pastoral resources (particularly wells) in order better to maintain them. Pastoralists are asked to contribute financially, materially and physically to their construction and to organize a committee to manage the revenue gained from users (through fees, fines, other charges...). Third party access is allowed on payment of a fee which is determined according to the size of the herd and the duration of their stay at the well.²³ This approach was piloted by the PNE and since then it has become very fashionable in local development and NGO projects, and in participatory and community approaches (largely in the Sudanien zone, Hadjer Lamis, Fitri and Chari Baguirmi).
- The second, in contrast, emphasises the maintenance of social ties and promotes the shared management of resources. This is generally incompatible with user pays principle and with the idea of sharing capital costs. This approach is principally used in AFD projects as implemented by IRAM. Therefore, at the numerous State owned

²¹ See, for example, http://epe.cirad.fr/fr/doc/appel_ndj_2005.pdf

²² Only l'AJN (association d'éleveurs peuls - Fulani pastoral association) discusses the possibility of supporting the creation of a federation of pastoralists in Chad, following the example of FNE in the Central African Republic (which should be in place by the end of 2008). It is envisaged that this association will be responsible for collecting taxes on pastoral production (production and marketing as a way of limiting corruption).

²³ In accordance with the Ministry of Livestock, DOPFE approach for pastoral water supply.

modern wells (*hakouma*) in Kanem and in Batha, water is free and the maintenance (especially of surface water points), the rehabilitation and the replacement of water points (*parc hydraulique*) is the responsibility of the State. The management of these wells has remained customary (following the practice at many traditional wells such as in Kanem or in Batha). It is the Canton Chiefs who nominate the managers for the wells, a kind of “village chief” for several pastoral camps. This management relies on well known mechanisms for sharing access to water among lineages and for regulating access to third parties (right to drink, right to negotiate, reciprocity...) ²⁴. It should be noted, as emphasised by B Bonnet in his analysis of the impact of pastoral water projects supported by AFD (2004), that although traditional, this management is no less current or relevant because it has been observed in almost all of the traditional and modern wells in the pastoral zones of Kanem and of Batha (respective home areas of the Gorane and Arab transhumant groups).

These two approaches are the subject of heated debate, each with its own proponents. The Ministry of Livestock uses the first approach. And pastoralists have criticised it claiming that the introduction of fees for access to water causes a large degree of exclusion and feeds tensions in the Sahelian zone (in the Fitri and Daba departments where among others SECADEV and PNE have constructed many agro-pastoral wells). The second approach, taken by the Ministry of Environment and Water with the assistance of AFD, is in fact the default position when the incapacity of the State to maintain pastoral resources constructed projects is considered. In addition, the pastoral population is often ill equipped to take responsibility for the maintenance of these water points which in their opinion are State wells (B. Bonnet & al., 2004).

But many questions, for the State and for development partners remain unanswered: ²⁵

- **The first approach (user pays)**

Before starting work, is it necessary to ask for financial contributions, in cash or in kind, to the State-led construction of pastoral resources in the sahelian zone? If this is the case, are these resources public (*hakouma*), community or private? And how can we know that in the place of villagers, it is not the elite, village chiefs, and canton chiefs who are able to “buy” these wells (AEN, 2008).

In the same vein, the creation of management committees and the development rules to govern access by projects could be instrumentalised. Thus calling into question traditional management based on reciprocity, a founding principle for social relations where rather than fees there are negotiation, mutual help and credit. Questioning traditional systems may result in a kind of privatisation of resources which favours economic rather than political ends (such as the maintenance of social ties and peace...).

For those that argue that it is necessary to charge for access at pastoral water points in order to be able to maintain them (despite the absence of a pump), what guarantee exists to ensure that a fee based system really does make it sustainable? Is the money taken really reinvested? Does this system serve private interests or those of all users? And how are prices fixed? Does this not enable speculation during difficult years?

²⁴ For more information refer to the document from Almy al Afia (2008) or the analysis of the impact of pastoral water projects supported by l’AFD (2004).

²⁵ Which could be the subject of further research.

- **The second approach (water as a public good)**

It is pastoralists (and the Ministry of Livestock) who judge that it is the State's responsibility to ensure sustainable provision of public services. But is the government really in a position to achieve this?

The creation of the FONADEL (*Fonds National de Développement de l'Élevage*), could provide funds for infrastructure, but how will these funds be maintained? Through taxes on livestock marketing? Will it be managed more effectively than existing funds²⁶ whose use seems to be rather discretionary (PHPTC, 2008)?

4.5.2 What are the strengths and weaknesses of negotiated agreements or conventions for the management of pastoral corridors? What are the roles and responsibilities of different stakeholders?

In Chad there are neither democratically elected decentralised government structures (regional assemblies, municipal councils) nor are there pastoral associations. In this institutional context where the participation of citizens in public life is still unstructured²⁷, most actors work for natural resource management and local development projects (PROADEL, PDRD2, ACRA,...) and they recognise the difficulties in involving transhumant pastoralists in the decision making processes. They are all, therefore, confronted by similar questions:

- How can we enable the participation of pastoralists in the often long process of developing local management agreements for resources along transhumance routes?
- Who are the credible representatives from the multitude of groups who should be involved? The presence of these groups varies in time and space, and is unpredictable from year to year. In addition they are particularly secretive with regard to their origins.

Is it the *khalifa* (who represents the tribal canton Chiefs dispersed throughout the country) who should be involved, as in the Almy Bahaïm and Almy al Afia projects? Although legitimate, they are not very mobile and do not know the transhumance routes well. Or, like many projects, should we rely on agro-pastoralists (groups which have been coming to the North in successive waves for centuries)? The problem is that they are often confounded with true transhumants, although they do not have the same strategies and are no longer as mobile.²⁸ In this context, transhumants as a result of their diversity and their lack of visibility are in fact generally underrepresented (PROADEL, PDRD2, ACRA,...).

The risk of local agreements for natural resource management being instrumentalised was a question during the interviews. Are they used by villagers as a new way to exclude transhumants, following the example of what has taken place in « gestion de terroir » approaches in the 90s (Marty)? How can we therefore judge, the enthusiasm for these agreements when it comes to demarcating livestock corridors (PDRD2, 2008)? Do villagers see these agreements as a way of forbidding pastoralists to stop when they pass close their

²⁶ Such as the FIR (Fonds d'Intervention Rural) financed by the taxes on civil servant salaries and the FDE (Fonds de Développement de l'Élevage) financed by taxes on veterinary services.

²⁷ The establishment of the ILOD (Instance Locale d'Orientation et de Décision) in the sudanian zone, a kind of municipal council created from the initiative of many projects like PRODALKA or PROADEL.

²⁸ In addition, contrary to villagers which in certain cantons give their livestock, many agro-pastoralists are very able to herd their animals. There is therefore, very little complementarity between transhumant pastoralists and agro-pastoralists and a great deal of conflict (as we have seen in 2007 and 2008, in Fitri, between the Djaatné from sultanat and the Djaatné from Djeeda or in the Arabes Imar zone (au Guéra et à Bokoro)).

villages (in order to reserve pastures or stop the trampling of fertile lowlands). Pastoralists in the Sudanien zone pass close to villages for security resources (to avoid bandits, blockades of livestock routes etc.). What will happen if they are obliged to stay away from villages?

In fact, among all the approaches observed, only the pastoral water projects financed by AFD really worked to improve the representation of transhumants.²⁹

- By identifying the tribes,
- By organising collections in pastoral camps during meetings,
- By asking the canton chiefs and *khalifa* to designate the transhumant pastoralists who know the livestock corridors well to lead negotiation processes.

These efforts have resulted in an improvement in the representation of and information from transhumants during negotiations (PHPTC, 2008). However there are two important limits to this approach.

- Sectorally, this approach has difficulty in addressing problems holistically in the agro-pastoral zones (such as Fitri or Dababa). In effect, it only takes into account pastoral zones and even if it provokes negotiation between transhumants and settled villagers, it does not address conflicts related to other natural resources (gum Arabic, flood plains etc). In agro-pastoral zones where population densities are often relatively greater, this increasing pastoral representation is generally not appreciated by villagers who see in these projects the opportunity for transhumants to strengthen their use rights without other forms of compensation.
- The approach also risks reinventing « villagisation » around wells as was seen in Salamat, where the well water from Almy Bahaïm has become a new source of revenue for agro-pastoralists in search of land in order to settle or in Barh Siniaka where subterranean water in the dry season is very rare and where the Almy al Afia well (due for completion by end 2008), will be highly coveted. In the same sense, one of the major limits of the approach is that up until now it has not contributed to securing pastoral zones in their entirety, in the sense of stopping anarchic colonisation of space notably where flood plain agriculture is possible. This demonstrates the benefits and complementarity of projects working on different scales. (PSSP, 2005).
- The approach has also encountered real difficulties in the east of Chad in establishing joint management committees (pastoralists and farmers) for pastoral wells in zones where the risk of conflict is high. The management committees for these wells, which are often farm from villages, have in fact never really functioned as was observed during the assessment of the section phase of Almy Bahaïm in 2003 as well as during the study to assess the project's impact in 2004. In fact, transhumants and villagers only meet occasionally in order to resolve precise problems (conflicts, presence of cultivated fields...). The daily management of the well is in fact assured by pastoralists themselves, whether he is of sedentary or pastoral origin. Management is not necessarily joint but relies on priority of rights depending principally on the length of time pastoralists have been in the zone.

²⁹ PSSP (2005) : working within an agricultural and forestry logic the PCGRN/PRODALKA did not take seriously questions concerning the management of pastoral grazing lands. Local agreements for grazing lands were established by their monitoring was weak to the point where today it is difficult to say that this approach is replicable in contexts other than Chad.

In conclusion, we cite B. Bonnet & al when they state in their analysis of the impact of the pastoral water projects supported by AFD that securing pastoral mobility sustainably remains uncertain as long as there is no process for associating or federating pastoralists enabling them to defend the achievements to which these projects have contributed: securing pastoral mobility, access to new water points, guaranteeing pastoral use for pastoral resources, negotiation of rules governing resource use and management and which could serve as a recourse when agreements and rules are not respected.

4.5.3 What are the strengths and weaknesses of conflict resolution mechanisms?

Before analysing the different approaches we should note that:

- Demarcation of corridors is dispersed throughout the country without being formalised or legalised:
 - In the Sahelian zone : pastoral water projects financed by AFD which work in eastern (Ouaddaï, Salamat, ...) and central (Batha, Guéra,...) Chad, ACRA which works in the Hadjer Lamis (Massaguet) region, PASEP qui will work in all of the Sahel (but for the moment has not started) and PROADEL which will work during a second phase with the support of MEC, in Chari Baguirmi, in Hadjer Lamis, and in Barh Al Ghazal.
 - In the Sudanian zone the MEC in Sarh and in Kara in the eastern Logone and PDRD2 in Pala.
- The emergence of a network of associations called « Réseau d'information et d'échanges pour la régression des conflits inter communautaires en milieu rural au Tchad » (network for information and exchange for the reduction of rural intercommunity conflict in Chad) was established, on the one hand by the MEC (AMECET, ACTI, ATNV), and on the other by ACRA and SECADEV (which are part of the Peace and Justice Commission of the Catholic Church). This network represents a real hope for building on synergies amongst different methodologies and training. This may in the future be useful for pastoralists.
- The negotiations undertaken by AJN to see with EIRENE to what extent it could participate in the mediation activities. This is important because the involvement of the pastoral representatives in this programme will be welcome. This would provide a certain credibility to the joint approach used by the MEC which has not really been implemented (Banzhaf, 2006)³⁰.

Regarding these approaches, two tendencies were identified:

- The first recommends in the sahelian zone, direct support to traditional conflict management mechanisms which rely on customary rights and intercommunity alliances (Almy al Afia, 2008). This traditional management works well in many parts of the country (such as Guéra) but in other parts such as Dabab or Fitri it has been superseded, where the competition between transhumants and agro-pastoralists over resources is fierce or in the south between groups how have weak relations.
- A second in contrast states that it is necessary to reorganise conflict management because the traditional system no longer function such as in the sudanian zone or in eastern Chad where the resolution of conflict between herders and farmers has become a way of generating income for government administrators and the military (MEC, Almy Bahaim,

³⁰ In many cases, pastoralists do not really seem to participate; it is the farmers which carry out the mediation (Banzhaf, 2006).

...). For the proponents of this approach it is a question of creating committees (*committees d'entente, of dialogue, mixed, ad hoc and joint committees...*) at different levels (village, cantons, *sous-préfecture*) in order to enable the different protagonists to resolve the conflicts themselves without involving the authorities.³¹

This second approach in the sudanian zone has been the subject of severe criticism from traditional chiefs who see this as a way to undermine their legitimacy.³² With the creation of the MEC programme (2000), the AMECET and EIRENE have intelligently defused the debate by convincing the ACTT to join them to create a vehicle for resolution which falls below the level of the traditional chiefs (EIRENE, 2008).

In addition until the end of the 1990s pastoralists did not easily accept to use these new committees because they felt their interests were better defended by the military. The *Associations de Défense des droits de l'Homme* (associations for the defence of human rights) therefore firmly denounced this phenomenon and this tendency progressively reduced. The authorities found that pastoralists were generally more solvent than were simple farmers. Today many pastoralists recognize local committees as the first conflict resolution mechanism to which they should turn and they prefer to live together with farmers instead of using their networks of influence (AMECET, 2008).

However, despite some relative success³³, this approach also has recurrent problems:

- It relies on voluntary contributions from members as the activities carried out by the committee members are not paid. In the beginning this was viewed as a strength because it showed the involvement of the wise elders. However this did cause problems as the committee members found that they were regularly obliged to leave their work, to travel at their own cost to the conflict sites and to expose themselves to certain risks without compensation. Some questions therefore remain in particular for the AMECET which is investigating the possibility of developing financial resources and who these should be obtained (self financing, or co-financing).
- The problem of recognition by the administration of mediation by local committees (so that they do not undermine decisions taken in favour of influential pastoralists)
- The problem of the sustainability of these committees which are often very dependent on projects because:
 - Of the constant need for resources,
 - Of the fear of personal exposure in the management of conflict without the support of and NGO or a project to give legitimacy to an intervention (risks of incarceration...),
 - Of the risk of coming into conflict with administrators and the military for whom fines are a source of revenue.

Methodologically, during the 2003 and 2006 evaluations of the MEC the consultants voiced some doubts with regard to:

³¹ As has been recommended elsewhere by the President himself in a letter address to the territorial administrators in 2001.

³² This was not the case in eastern Chad where mixed commissions in Abéché, Mangalmé and Am Timan were created with or without the support of Almy Bahaïm, by the canton chiefs themselves.

³³ As in the southern zone of Abéché, where deadly conflict between communities has resulted in 12 murders between 1998 and 1999 and zero in 2001 (Bonnet & al, 2004).

- The agronomic evaluation of damage to crops developed by the ONDR and taken as a training theme by the MEC. Pastoralists opposed this method as they found the fines too high (this approach does not take into account the stage of development of the plant in contrast to customary systems). This approach was abandoned as much as it reinforces the position of those who prefer to deal with the administration instead of traditional authorities.
- The position of some actors (*démultiplicateurs*) preselected by *sous préfets*, who thought they could transform the management of conflict into income generation (as in the case of the *sous-préfecture* of Goré in western Logone) (Banzhaf, 2006).
- Requiring actors involved in conflict management to speak French which was felt by pastoralists to be a form of discrimination because they largely speak Arabic. As a result some pastoral elders refused to participate in the peace committees.

Some people also criticize the AMECET for defending too strongly the cause of the rural farmer (PSSP, 2005). Favouritism of farmers is also noted in the statements of some its members for whom the resolution of conflicts consists of bringing pastoralists to see reason and helping farmers to have their right recognized (Banzhaf, 2006).

In conclusion, this conflict management approach only partially addresses the question of consultative management of pastoral resources (PSSP, 2005). Because there is a real lack of understanding of pastoral realities on behalf of the associations discussed and an unhealthy discourse persists regarding the necessity of intensifying livestock production systems. This position contributes little to a better understanding with pastoralists as is demonstrated by the content of the training module proposed by MEC for agro-pastoralists on the holistic management of natural resources (pastoral zones, cultivation of fodder, cultivation of hay and the introduction of new breeds...).

5. Conclusion: issues to be addressed

The following issues need attention if livestock mobility in Chad is to be protected and promoted.

- **Improving livestock marketing.** International livestock trade is a significant source of revenue both for the State and pastoral communities. The full benefits, however, are being lost for lack of government investment in basic infrastructure along trekking routes, the failure to provide security and prevent animal losses from banditry along livestock corridors routes and the inability or unwillingness to rationalise taxation and curb illicit fines. The lack of credit, the involvement of multiple intermediaries and the uncertainties of the Nigerian Naira are other inefficiencies in the system that needs to be addressed. Building on the informal livestock system in collaboration with all stakeholders is however critical.
- **Supportive land and decentralisation policy and legislation.** Despite the significance of pastoralism to local livelihoods and exports, there is no specific legislation protecting pastoral land from agricultural encroachment or pastoralists' rights to move to access land or water in non-pastoral zones. The existing land laws discriminate against pastoralism, particularly their bias in favour of agriculture when defining what constitutes productive land use and the non-recognition of

collective property rights in land. The passing of a pastoral law is urgently required specifying the rights of pastoralists to move with their livestock coupled with clear provisions to protect grazing lands and livestock corridors from encroachment and to secure herders' rights access key resources in areas other than their homelands. Such provisions need to be reflected in other sectoral laws (e.g. water, forestry) and those regulating local government reform (e.g. decentralisation) including the adaptation of the latter to accommodate the characteristics of pastoralism to ensure adequate participation by mobile herders in local government decision-making processes.

- **Promoting peaceful co-existence.** The rising levels of violence between mobile pastoral and sedentary farming communities are of great concern, under-mining local livelihoods and trade and perpetuating a climate of mistrust and insecurity. While an improved policy and legislative environment in support of pastoralism should contribute to reducing disputes, there is also a critical need for practical tools and approaches to facilitate the shared management of common property resources among different groups. This includes developing local agreements for the use of resources, the design and implementation of consensual conflict resolution as well as the continued demarcation of livestock corridors, particularly in agricultural areas with good pastoral potential and high population densities.
- **Making the economic argument for pastoralism.** The true value and contribution of pastoralism to local and national economies is neither captured nor fully recognised by government in Chad. This contributes to on-going levels of under-investment and the promotion of policies and practice that undermine rather than support livestock mobility.
- **Strengthening pastoral civil society.** Development experience in Chad and Africa more broadly has clearly shown that pastoral people tend to lack the knowledge, political clout and resources with which to fight their own cause, and thus remain vulnerable to other people's interpretation of what is best for them. In particular, policy makers continue to impose on pastoralists what they perceive to be good for them with little or no reference to the communities themselves. Building the capacity of pastoral civil society to represent the interests of their members and to argue, from an informed point of view, for their inclusion in the design and implementation of policy is critical.

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