

Institutional development and policy frameworks for pastoralism: from local to regional perspectives

B. Bonfoh^{(1, 2, 3)*}, G. Fokou⁽¹⁾, L. Crump^(2, 3), J. Zinsstag^(2, 3) & E. Schelling^(2, 3)

(1) Centre Suisse de Recherches Scientifiques en Côte d'Ivoire (CSRS), 01 BP 1303 Abidjan 01, Côte d'Ivoire

(2) Swiss Tropical and Public Health Institute, Socinstrasse 57, PO Box, 4002 Basel, Switzerland

(3) University of Basel, Basel, Switzerland

*Corresponding author: bassirou.bonfoh@csrs.ci

Summary

Pastoralists are among the most politically and economically marginalised communities in the world. They have less and less access to the natural resources on which their livelihoods depend and very limited access to basic socio-economic services and infrastructure. This paper builds on a number of studies carried out in the Sahel, the Horn of Africa, Central Asia and the Swiss Alps to address the institutional dynamics required for sustainable pastoralism. Specifically, the authors question the way in which institutions and policies are currently shaped and suggest that reforming these could contribute to new avenues for pastoralism. Among the main drivers of pastoralist marginalisation are poor public and private institutional arrangements. The consequences are violent conflict and increased mobility and relocation. Responses to the current weaknesses of pastoralism must encompass inclusive, comprehensive institutions which allow access to resources, economic viability and integration in the new socio-ecological space. The authors argue that those involved in pastoral development in national as well as international arenas, including pastoralist groups, states and agencies, are creatively engaged in a process of innovation for pastoralism, and this will contribute towards new forms of governance and improved institutional and policy frameworks.

Keywords

Conflict – Institutions – Pastoralism – Policy framework – Social services.

Introduction

Pastoralism is the best form of land and natural resource management in semi-arid and highland–lowland contexts, contributing to the livelihoods of millions of pastoral households (1). Observations from diverse parts of the world, including West Africa, Central Asia, the Swiss Alps and the Horn of Africa, show that mobility is vital for many pastoral communities in securing their livelihoods (2). However, pastoralists are also among the most politically and economically marginalised communities worldwide (1). They have less and less access to the natural resources on which their livelihoods depend, along with very limited access to basic social services and infrastructure.

Many misunderstandings and misconceptions have in the past labelled pastoralists as the main actors in the

'tragedy of the commons' (3). Today, 'the tragedy is over' (4), and concern focuses on contested access to and use of natural resources in pastoral areas where pastoral populations increasingly compete with stronger forces, e.g. land reallocation policies, and are pushed to the periphery. The main constraints are related to: legal access to and institutional regulation of scarce natural resources, securing mobility, investment in production infrastructure, the delivery of health and social services, and conflict mitigation. Unadapted, inappropriate development policies, ineffective institutional settings, unfair market relationships and increased pressure on pastoral ecosystems add to the challenges, increasing the vulnerability of many pastoralists. National policies and investment in development have often been aimed at reshaping pastoral resource management patterns, seriously undermining pastoralists' livelihoods and contributing to degradation of their environment (4). Constraints to sustainable pastoral development include

little and misdirected public and private investment, weak resource rights, a lack of human capital, an ineffective pastoral voice and poor governance (5).

In Africa, mobile pastoralists are often negatively labelled by local populations and state administrators, and continue to suffer from stereotypes, prejudice and exclusion. For many pastoralists, a mobile way of life causes them to be accused of many of the ills faced by society, particularly conflicts and insecurity (6, 7). As they live in fragile and conflict-prone areas, they are regularly accused of supporting armed insurgency groups (8) or carrying out organised crime (9). This kind of undifferentiated social discrimination leads to local and national political exclusion, which fuels resource conflicts. Although pastoral movements have a strong economic and ecological rationale, these benefits are often overshadowed by national security concerns which prevent their free movement. Conflicts continue to have a major adverse impact on human welfare and economic development.

Even though – or perhaps because – pastoralists are subject to cultural and spatial isolation and political marginalisation, they are increasingly targeted by supportive policies aimed at securing their livelihoods. Pastoralists manage to successfully contribute to numerous development efforts ‘at the margins’; these efforts often remain hidden – they are also sometimes illegal and are rarely aligned with standard development prescriptions (10). They are resourceful, entrepreneurial and innovative people (11). There are many innovative and dynamic changes (such as institutional reforms, new market structures, and social services provision) occurring in pastoralist areas in response to increasing opportunities in livestock markets at the national and regional level. These changes provide substantial, but often hidden, economic benefits (12).

Innovation is understood as the creation of new products, new processes, and new forms of organisation that affect the behaviour and performance of organisations, enterprises and individuals. Innovation includes the generation of knowledge, including demands for new types of knowledge and its use in new and valuable ways (13). In the pastoral context, innovation covers strategies to reduce uncertainty and initiatives for strengthening negotiating power. Those trends rely on exogenous and endogenous forces that are likely to contribute to better living conditions. Pastoralists are highly socially adaptive, supporting new technology systems and services which conform to their way of life and production systems. Those positive trends capturing the vitality and innovation of pastoral societies who make use of arid grasslands can be capitalised upon if they are based on robust institutions and policy frameworks that contribute to economically secure, politically stable and environmentally sustainable livelihoods.

To address challenges emerging from climate and institutional change, governments, regional and international organisations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), development agencies and the private sector have initiated institutional and policy reforms to help create a better future for pastoralism. Pastoralists who have previously been excluded from the decision-making arena are increasingly participating in local development processes. They have the capacity to adapt to innovative strategies and reforms, both institutional and legislative, which encompass their views and aspirations (10, 14). Various stakeholders are anchored along the spectrum from donor-driven development, construed as having a state’s perspective, to autonomous, pastoralist-driven development, perceived as having a pastoralist’s view (11, 15, 16). Several development initiatives that involve pastoralists have been introduced by national and international stakeholders, including the organisation of market and livelihood security; reform of those policy frameworks that regulate access to and the use of natural resources; pastoral insurance systems; access to basic social services such as health and the education; and the registering of vital demographic information.

Approaches

This paper addresses the fundamental issue of innovation in pastoral areas and questions inclusion strategies for pastoralists, whose mobility seemingly automatically makes them harder to reach (17).

In local development initiatives, statistics to support interventions are often missing (18). Thus, the authors draw examples from multi- and transdisciplinary studies carried out in global research partnership programmes. Focusing on local and national perspectives, as well as on regional and international institutional dynamics, this paper analyses three key innovations in the pastoral world. These innovations vary in scale and extent but each contributes towards a rethinking of mobility as a livelihood strategy and the legitimacy of pastoralism as a sustainable contemporary livelihood. Innovations, which may involve strategies to reduce uncertainty and initiatives to build negotiating power, include:

- multi-level institutional design
- market-driven pastoral innovations
- intersectoral partnerships to ensure that pastoralists gain access to basic social services.

To demonstrate how innovative institutions and policy frameworks constructed in partnership with pastoralists contribute to supporting pastoralism in both economic and social terms, this paper will focus on two innovative trends

of pastoralism which provide an important opportunity to improve relationships, efficiency, equity, and the environment in pastoral areas:

- institutional and policy reforms that form the foundation for the negotiating power required to gain access to natural resources
- strategies to reduce uncertainty to improve pastoralist access to markets and basic social services.

Results and discussion

Towards new forms of governance and institutional frameworks

Innovative legislation governing pastoralism

Mobility enables pastoralists to seek the best grazing land in semi-arid and arid regions and also in temperate zones where higher altitude pastures are available only in summer. This maximises the productivity of herds without the need to transport high-energy feeds. It is also an essential part of the pastoralist trading strategy. In many countries of Africa, Asia, South America and Europe, pastoral ecosystems go beyond national borders. Pastoralists have created, and continue to create, new settlement fronts. In West and Central Africa, mobile pastoralists from the Sahel are increasingly moving to the south, into grasslands previously seldom used by people and their livestock. They have increased their mobility to include latitudes where they were rarely present in the past. This necessitates institutional innovations to cope with new challenges related to the presence of other agricultural production systems (e.g. crops) and new health risks (7).

Despite a history of misunderstanding and neglect, rangeland management issues are generating renewed interest and attention in the policy arena (19, 20). Stronger pastoralist associations and the cumulative experience of government Ministries, donor agencies, and NGOs, along with research results, have convinced many policy-makers that a better understanding of pastoral systems is crucial in the areas of land reform, decentralisation and devolution for effective natural resource management, investment in infrastructure and the adaptation of social services (21). In addition, pastoral resource management is often based on different types of legal systems. Statutory and customary laws, and combinations of both, co-exist in the same territory, resulting in overlapping rights, contradictory rules and competing authorities (11, 22). In such a context, socio-economic dynamics, inappropriate political decisions and inadequate legislation have transformed the land-use system from common property to private ownership (23).

Several policy reforms have been initiated in various regions to support pastoralism (14). The most illustrative example is in West Africa where governments have passed a series of pastoral laws to secure pastoral land and enhance mobility (11). However, these policy reforms have not yet successfully contributed to participatory management of pastoral resources, and the gap between the objectives of these laws and decisions and the aspirations of those on the ground remains large. Nevertheless, a framework for regional integration exists in West Africa. In many other regions of Africa, e.g. eastern and southern Africa, there are no specific pastoral policies or laws that explicitly address pastoral land tenure issues. Instead, pastoral land tenure, when it is addressed, falls under policy instruments and laws such as the national constitution and poverty-reduction strategies, or becomes a sub-component of national sector-based laws on land, forests or the environment.

Policy processes in general, and in various pastoral regions, result in decentralisation, localisation and multifaceted pastoral development. This policy transformation in resource-poor countries intends to bring development closer to the people, enabling desirable outcomes when matched with corresponding empowerment and resources. However, when mobilising local participation in West African pastoral zones, sedentary social strata tend to be included and portrayed as 'local people', 'the population' or 'stakeholders', while others are defined as 'strangers' or 'outsiders' and excluded from the decision-making (24). Pastoralists often fall into this underprivileged population stratum. The majority of mobile pastoralists in Africa are not regarded as legal occupiers of any particular land because they do not have a designated territory which belongs to them (25, 26). In institutional terms, the decentralisation process requires a comprehensive pasture law that complies with state and livelihood norms and helps to sustain effective management of common grazing lands. Resource-sharing among various groups of users should be promoted, rather than only considering the rights of a single social group or a few powerful individuals. For example, in the past, in West Africa, direct resource-sharing negotiations among concerned parties were relatively simple. Now, there are more interest groups in the same pastoral areas, due to population growth and an increase in agriculture or other uses of grasslands, such as national reservoirs and mining. Increasingly, there are also 'absent livestock owners', meaning that herds are kept with hired herders and the owners remain in urban centres. These hired herders do not have the negotiating power to maintain sustainable livelihoods in pastoral areas. In other pastoral regions – for instance, Kyrgyzstan – policy reforms, influenced by the long-term effects of the Socialist legacy and the agrarian reforms of the 1990s, have created a hybrid institutional context in which many rural households struggle to secure and make use of the property rights they once retained (27).

Security and mobility

The expansion of cultivated lands and increase in cattle herds have increased competition for natural resources and, as a result, pastoralists increasingly face security and transhumance problems (28). Mobility is also affected by factors such as climate change (21), which drives herders into remaining pockets of natural resources or to urban zones. Conflicts between pastoralists and settled communities have intensified because of socio-cultural and economic disparities, enlarging the 'window of conflict' (29). In many parts of West and Central Africa, pastoralists are still considered as strangers in territories where they stay for as long as eight months per year during dry-season grazing (30). They are strategically excluded from resources by the 'local people' and authorities who intentionally create conflict to gain additional benefits (30, 31, 32, 33). Mobility appears to be at once the cause and consequence of conflict and insecurity.

Pastoralists are also increasingly moving to cities where their traditional activities are impossible. Most of them take on new occupations, such as security guards or street vendors, which they consider to be degrading (34). Their solutions can also be very radical, with migration to Western countries or involvement in violent armed groups. Newspapers in Côte d'Ivoire, Mali and Nigeria report the recent emergence of violent Fulani armed bandits as a consequence of the political and economic marginalisation of this ethnic group, whose main livelihood strategy for centuries was animal husbandry (8, 9). Their exclusion from decision-making arenas constitutes a driver for rebellion, especially in the context of increased scarcity of natural resources and the proliferation of small firearms.

In several areas in Africa, pastoralists have recently been accused of joining rebellion and insurgency groups. They are affected by the emergence of Islamic terrorist groups whose activities of cattle raiding, rape and hostage-holding make pastoral mobility impossible. However, with this background of vulnerability, and when their problems rank very low in the strategic priorities of state administrations, pastoralists can easily join terrorist and rebel groups. In Central Africa, weak bilateral cooperation between Chad and the Central African Republic on transhumance has contributed to an increase in violence, a change in cattle transhumance routes, and the emergence of new groups of pastoralists and livestock farmers with different livelihood motives and more weapons (7).

Setting regional policy frameworks for economic viability and social integration

In addition to local and national strategies, regional and international strategies have also been initiated to promote pastoralism, including international

regulations and policy frameworks targeted at the economic viability and social integration of pastoralism. Innovative policies and regulations are often made possible through financial and technical support from international actors, enabling sustainable pastoralism.

Pastoral systems can make use of a wider approach in which pastoralists are integrated into regional and international markets which transcend pastoral groups and nations. This regional approach makes sense in terms of both economic integration and political integration, mitigating consequences such as regional crises. In recent years, instability in various regions of Africa as a consequence of socio-political crises and the emergence of terrorist groups, such as Al Shabab, Boko Haram and Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, have resulted in increased mobility for pastoralists, who were already vulnerable because of changing climatic conditions.

In recent years, there have been a number of initiatives designed to stimulate pastoralist economies. The African Union's 'Policy Framework for Pastoralism in Africa', adopted in 2011, was the first continent-wide measure which aimed to secure, protect and improve the livelihoods of African pastoralists. In this policy framework, dialogue with pastoral communities is central to the process of improving security and integrating pastoral areas into mainstream development policies and plans (14). Other regional initiatives also provide greater support to pastoralism.

Several areas have developed Regional Economic Communities, which provide a policy framework for cross-border mobility of pastoralists in search of better living conditions. The clearest example of these regional policy frameworks for sustainable pastoralism is in West Africa, with its 'free movement of people and goods'. In October 1998, in Abuja, Nigeria, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) agreed to provide a regional framework for cross-border transhumance among 15 Member States. The decision authorised cross-border transhumance within certain conditions, such as the granting of an international transhumance certificate. The ECOWAS agreement recognises pastoralists' rights to move stock from one region to another, protects their access to water in settled agricultural regions and facilitates cross-border trade (35). In Central Africa, cooperation agreements have led to the creation of the Economic Commission for Livestock, Meat and Fish (CEBEVIRAH) across countries of the Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CEMAC) (14).

The existence of regional policy frameworks and regulations shows the political commitment of African states as a region to supporting pastoralism, which is, by nature,

continuously changing. Mobile pastoralism in particular has potential to benefit from regional approaches to policy reform and harmonisation. These contribute towards better regulation of transboundary transhumance, protecting the environment, mitigating conflict, preventing transboundary diseases, and supporting the population's access to markets and basic social services.

Institutional transformations can be understood as non-linear, multidirectional and open-ended processes of structuration, in which actors at all levels recombine the old and the new to respond to particular challenges and opportunities. This multilevel institutional framework, which is a flexible blend of customary and statutory rules and national and international regulations, if backed up by effective incentives and good governance, could guarantee the sustainable use of resources and access to basic social services (11).

Incentive- and compliance-based regulation

In Switzerland, the policy framework builds on the multifunctionality of agriculture. According to the Constitution, 'sustainable agriculture' means that it must contribute substantially towards providing the population with food, conserving natural resources, maintaining rural landscapes, and encouraging decentralised settlement of the territory (36). Thus, the state provides strong support to pastoralists, particularly in alpine highlands and remote areas (37). Swiss agriculture is supported by a two-stage payment system. General direct payments are intended to ensure the use and maintenance of agricultural land across Switzerland. In addition, farmers' efforts in difficult terrain are rewarded. To obtain general direct payments, farmers must comply with certain minimal ecological requirements on, for example, livestock husbandry or soil protection, and every farm must manage 7% of its land as an ecological compensation area (38). Farmers are provided with incentives to use pastureland in an environmentally friendly way, and approximately 80% of gross farm income can be attributed to government intervention (39). The Swiss farming system is regarded as one of the most sophisticated in the world, made possible by robust decentralised institutional frameworks, the compliance of farmers with existing regulations, direct payment incentives, and ease of access to basic services. Such conditions are lacking in many pastoral areas.

Reducing pastoral uncertainties with institutional and policy reforms

Privatisation and market dynamics in pastoral systems

Pastoral mobility is increasingly related to market opportunities. Historically, the livestock trade has been

more or less invisible as the infrastructure consists of livestock corridors which are unmarked, or designated with non-permanent 'natural fences' – for example, made of branches from acacia trees. The capital in the informal livestock trade is human capital, consisting of traders, intermediaries and drivers (14). Pastoral products that were less financially unpredictable in the past, e.g. milk, are increasingly acquiring commercial value and contributing towards enhancing pastoralist livelihoods. More intensified marketing is taking place for such products as live animals and their milk, hides, skins and wool. However, many factors still limit the commercialisation of livestock products, such as quality, price and bargaining power.

Pastoral production is increasingly market-oriented, aimed at contributing to food security while providing sustainable livelihoods (12). The marketing of live animals from production zones to consumption centres – for instance, from rural areas to urban centres or from the landlocked Sahel to coastal countries – is highly dynamic. Yet the gulf between rural and urban is becoming less clear, since considerable numbers of livestock products are now being produced and sold in urban centres. Long-distance trade has increased but is still affected by seasonal mobility. Transhumance in West Africa is more often combined with selling cattle between the Sahel and coastal countries (40). Internal and cross-border livestock marketing has intensified as a result of policies of economic liberalisation and regional integration. Such policy reforms have led pastoralists in several areas to combine their access to market and land use. In Kyrgyzstan, for example, big urban markets are driving nearby rural areas to diversify their cropping and feeding strategies to produce fresh milk, vegetables and fruit to meet urban demands (41).

The globalisation of markets and trade has been accompanied by increasingly stringent international quality and safety standards and control systems. Growing livestock and meat exports from countries such as Sudan, Somalia and Ethiopia to the Middle East indicate that food safety and disease control standards tend to enhance production quality alongside demand, with prices regulated by bilateral arrangements between countries (14). With more pastoralist access and connections to international markets, controlling highly contagious livestock diseases, such as foot and mouth disease, also becomes increasingly important.

Countries such as Chad, together with international partners such as the Permanent Interstates Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel (CILSS), the French Development Agency (AFD), the World Bank Programme and the European Union, have undertaken to secure cattle migration roads, amend the pastoral code and reinforce the cattle-farming sector (7). The role of international NGOs, such as *Vétérinaires Sans Frontières*, has been central in

developing pastoralism in several countries. This support has been tremendously important in promoting and setting up local pastoral business models in the dairy sector (in Mali, Senegal, Niger, Burkina Faso, Togo, Gambia and Guinea, for example) which contribute to livelihood diversification and producer specialisation while improving the quality of livestock products. This type of intervention is also important for capacity-building and structuring local organisations.

Adapted interventions in pastoral zones: marketing institutions matter

In the dairy sector, integrated approaches based on private interventions, by individuals or through cooperatives, which involve technical innovation, microfinance and training in milk hygiene, help to improve access to markets for dairy products and increase farmer revenue. In general, two approaches are seen: a business-oriented approach (from an individual entrepreneur and based on industrial or semi-industrial dairy processing) and a community-oriented approach (in which the business is run by a producer cooperative) (2).

The first approach is illustrated by the Tiviski Dairy Company's achievements in Mauritania. Founded more than 20 years ago, Africa's first camel-milk dairy now includes over 1,000 suppliers with 200 employees. Tiviski sells milk, yogurt and soft cheeses directly to small retailers within the country and occasionally to other countries (35, 42). The basic concept of the Tiviski dairy plant is to establish a connection between the dairy potential of pastoral stock and city-based consumers who cannot easily purchase fresh milk. Several other entrepreneurs in urban consumption centres have followed this model. Alternatively, there are producer associations in which pastoralists themselves play key roles in producing, processing and marketing dairy products in urban/suburban settings. For example, in peri-urban Bamako, the pioneering Kassela cooperative, Bagan Yiri Waton, has taken a large share of the local milk market, with improved processing methods (43, 44).

In West African Sahel countries, development strategies for marketing local milk led to the establishment of a network of mini-dairies and producer cooperatives to supply consumers with an adequate quantity of high-quality dairy products. Innovations include the modernisation of infrastructure and processing, more rigorous observation of hygiene standards, access to veterinary care, and increased productivity through genetic improvement (43, 44, 45, 46). These innovations enhance the economic performance of the production system and also the power relationships between stakeholders in the dairy sector (34). However, it is also important to note that commercialisation of pastoral milk and milk products favours an income shift away from women selling milk to a cash-producing business for men.

The result is that there is insufficient milk for families and their cash income is less often invested in health and well-being, especially in large families (39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46).

In all these schemes, the aim of the various actors – through creating a market for fresh milk and processed dairy products, such as cheese, yogurt and butter – is to enable pastoralists to participate in local markets and increase their income. At the same time, the new dairy commodity chain has enhanced the livelihoods of producers and facilitated their access to basic social services, such as health and information, while also providing a powerful tool for mitigating zoonoses in the milk consumed (2).

One Health and intersectoral partnering: towards an integrated approach to sustainable pastoral development

The One Health approach promotes collaboration and synergy in all aspects of pastoral concern, so that development strategies cut across sectors, combining social and ecological interventions into one collaborative approach governed by strong institutions (47, 48). It has been shown that the mobility of pastoralists in arid and semi-arid zones makes access to basic social services difficult; despite this, states have thus far paid little attention in their social policy to the universal rights of mobile populations to access health, education and welfare (25). In the past, interventions in the pastoral setting have been sectoral, focusing on specific issues such as pastoral hydraulics (e.g. water supply and engineering), marketing pastoral products, land tenure reforms (pastoral codes) or access to fodder. However, from experience gained in joint human and animal health interventions in Chad and Mali, it is evident that the problems of mobile pastoral people cannot be tackled effectively in an isolated manner but must be dealt with holistically, through a unified approach in which the various sectors communicate fully with one another.

As for access to health facilities, several options have been initiated for nomadic and transhumant populations, such as mobile clinics or fixed health centres in strategic towns, but these solutions are not ideal (26). There is a need to integrate mobile populations themselves into the medical system. Services provided to these populations should match their own desires and needs. This has been made possible in some countries through research, to gain a much better understanding of health determinants and the community's own health priorities (49). Examples from intersectoral programmes in Chad and Mali over the last decade show how the social demands of pastoral communities can be translated into an integrative policy framework which provides basic social services. This framework can also help to secure mobility through

consolidated pastoral contracts, which reduce the number and intensity of potential conflicts. This process has been made possible by collaboration between all the various stakeholders, including state and non-state, public and private, and national and international organisations, as well as with the local communities themselves. Various interventions, such as dairy markets and the joint provision of human and animal health services, have been designed and implemented, based on the One Health framework.

Conclusion

The context of pastoralism and the problems of pastoralists have changed, so solutions must be devised accordingly, by including pastoralists in initiatives and policy designs. Innovative institutional solutions are likely to fail if they are not undertaken in an holistic manner, considering the pastoralist perspective as well as the state's view. This paper describes positive trends capturing the vitality of pastoral societies.

Key innovations in pastoral production systems identified through One Health approaches – specifically, institutional and policy reforms, markets for pastoral products and integrated health systems – provide opportunities to improve relationships, efficiency, equity and the environment in pastoral areas. Institutional and policy reforms form the basis of pastoralist negotiating power for access to natural resources and strategies to reduce pastoral uncertainties, enabling better access to markets and basic social services. Pastoralists, even when they are continuously mobile, are not 'harder to reach' if adapted strategies are adopted, especially in a context in which international human rights legislation and new initiatives insist on the right of mobile populations to have access to resources and services. Pastoral areas where successful and sustainable development takes place are those in which local governance is legitimised, resource rights are secured and economic development incentives prevail.

Développement institutionnel et cadres d'élaboration des politiques traitant du pastoralisme : du point de vue local à la perspective régionale

B. Bonfoh, G. Fokou, L. Crump, J. Zinsstag & E. Schelling

Résumé

Les communautés pastorales comptent parmi les plus marginalisées au plan politique et économique. Les pasteurs peuvent de moins en moins accéder aux ressources naturelles dont ils tirent leur subsistance ; leur accès aux services et aux infrastructures socio-économiques de base est également très limité. À partir d'une série d'études conduites au Sahel, dans la Corne de l'Afrique, en Asie centrale et dans les Alpes suisses, les auteurs cherchent à déterminer la dynamique institutionnelle nécessaire à la pérennisation du pastoralisme. En particulier, ils remettent en cause la manière dont les institutions et les politiques sont conçues à l'heure actuelle, estimant que leur réforme permettrait d'ouvrir de nouvelles perspectives pour le pastoralisme. La médiocrité des dispositifs institutionnels tant publics que privés compte parmi les principaux facteurs de la marginalisation des pasteurs. Celle-ci entraîne des conflits violents et une mobilité et relocalisation accrues. Les réponses aux faiblesses actuelles du pastoralisme passent nécessairement par des institutions à l'action inclusive et exhaustive, garantissant l'accès aux ressources, la viabilité économique et l'intégration dans le nouvel espace socio-écologique. Les auteurs estiment que les acteurs du

développement du pastoralisme sur la scène nationale autant qu'internationale, y compris les groupes de pasteurs, les états et les agences de développement sont engagés de manière créative dans un processus d'innovation en faveur du pastoralisme, ce qui contribuera à créer de nouvelles formes de gouvernance et de meilleurs cadres institutionnels et d'élaboration des politiques.

Mots-clés

Cadre d'élaboration des politiques – Conflit – Institutions – Pastoralisme – Services sociaux.



Desarrollo institucional y principios normativos para el pastoreo: de la óptica local a la regional

B. Bonfoh, G. Fokou, L. Crump, J. Zinsstag & E. Schelling

Resumen

Las comunidades que viven del pastoreo están entre las más marginadas tanto política como económicamente. Cada vez les resulta más difícil acceder a los recursos naturales de los que dependen para vivir y disponen de un acceso muy deficiente a la infraestructura y los servicios socioeconómicos básicos. Los autores, partiendo de una serie de estudios realizados en el Sahel, el Cuerno de África, Asia Central y los Alpes suizos, examinan la dinámica institucional necesaria para que el pastoreo llegue a ser sostenible. En concreto, tras cuestionar los procedimientos por los que actualmente se forjan instituciones y se formulan políticas, sugieren que la reforma de estos mecanismos podría ser útil para abrir nuevos horizontes al pastoreo. Entre los principales factores que determinan la marginación de las sociedades pastorales figuran las carencias de los dispositivos institucionales públicos y privados, lo que tiene por consecuencia conflictos violentos y un mayor grado de movilidad y relocalizaciones. Toda respuesta a la actual situación de fragilidad del pastoreo debe acompañarse de instituciones integradoras y completas, que hagan posible el acceso a los recursos, la viabilidad económica y la integración en el nuevo espacio socioecológico. Los autores postulan que todas aquellas instancias que intervienen en las cuestiones de desarrollo pastoral en foros tanto nacionales como internacionales, en particular los propios grupos de pastores, amén de los Estados y organismos, son componentes creativos de un proceso de innovación al servicio del pastoreo, proceso que ayudará a alumbrar nuevas formas de gobernanza, así como regímenes institucionales y parámetros normativos más eficaces.

Palabras clave

Conflicto – Instituciones – Pastoreo – Servicios sociales – Sistema de principios normativos.



References

- Blench R. (2001). – ‘You can’t go home again’. Pastoralism in the New Millennium. Overseas Development Institute, London/Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Rome.
- Bonfoh B., Zinsstag J., Fokou G., Weibel D., Ould Tableb M., Ur-Rahim I., Maselli D., Kasymbekov J. & Tanner M. (2011). – Pastoralism at the crossroads: new avenues for sustainable livelihoods in semi-arid regions. *In* Research for sustainable development: foundations, experiences, and perspectives (U. Wiesmann & H. Hurni, eds). Geographica Bernensia, Bern, 549–570.
- Hardin G. (1968). – The tragedy of the commons. *Science*, **162** (3859), 1243–1248. doi:10.1126/science.162.3859.1243.
- Nori M. & Neely C. (2009). – The tragedy is on, the tragedy is over: pastoral challenges and opportunities for conservation agriculture. *In* Proc. of the 4th World Congress on Conservation Agriculture: innovations for improving efficiency, equity and environment, 4–7 February, New Delhi. Available at: <http://bit.ly/2dm1u7N> (accessed in January 2016).
- Davies J. (2008). – Turning the tide: enabling sustainable development for Africa’s mobile pastoralists. *Nat. Res. Forum*, **32** (3), 175–184. doi:10.1111/j.1477-8947.2008.00190.x.
- Bukari K. & Schareika N. (2015). – Stereotypes, prejudices and exclusion of Fulani pastoralists in Ghana. *Pastoralism: Res., Pol., Pract.*, **5**, 20. doi:10.1186/s13570-015-0043-8.
- International Crisis Group (2014). – The security challenges of pastoralism in Central Africa. Report No. 215. Crisis Group Africa, Brussels.
- De Bruijn M., Dokkala E.L., Sangaré B. & Amadou A. (2016). – Mobile pastoralists in Central and West Africa: between conflict, mobile telephony and (im) mobility. *In* The future of pastoralism (J. Zinsstag, E. Schelling & B. Bonfoh, eds). *Rev. Sci. Tech. Off. Int. Epiz.*, **35** (2), 649–657. doi:10.20506/rst.35.2.2546.
- Omitola B. (2014). – Between Boko Haram and Fulani herdsmen: organised crime and insecurity in Nigeria. A paper presented at the 5th Institute of Security Studies Conference on Crime and Crime Reduction, 14–15 August, Sandton, South Africa.
- Catley A., Lind J. & Scoones I. (eds) (2013). – Pastoralism and development in Africa: dynamic change at the margins. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.
- Fokou G. & Bonfoh B. (2016). – Institutional development: from legal pluralism to institutional bricolage in West African pastoralism. *In* The future of pastoralism (J. Zinsstag, E. Schelling & B. Bonfoh, eds). *Rev. Sci. Tech. Off. Int. Epiz.*, **35** (2), 533–541. doi:10.20506/rst.35.2.2540.
- Rueff H. & Rahim I.U. (2016). – Enhancing the economic viability of pastoralism: the need to balance interventions. *In* The future of pastoralism (J. Zinsstag, E. Schelling & B. Bonfoh, eds). *Rev. Sci. Tech. Off. Int. Epiz.*, **35** (2), 577–586. doi:10.20506/rst.35.2.2542.
- World Bank (2006). – Enhancing agricultural innovation: how to go beyond the strengthening of research systems. Agriculture and Rural Development, World Bank, Washington, DC. Available at: http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTARD/Resources/Enhancing_Ag_Innovation.pdf (accessed on 28 June 2016).
- African Union (AU) (2010). – Policy framework for pastoralism in Africa: securing, protecting and improving the lives, livelihoods and rights of pastoralist communities. AU, Addis Ababa. Available at: www.achpr.org/files/instruments/policy-framework-pastoralism/policy_framework_for_pastoralism.pdf (accessed on 6 June 2016).
- Scott J.C. (1998). – Seeing like a state: how certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed. Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut.
- Moritz M. (2013). – Review of ‘Pastoralism and development in Africa: dynamic change at the margins’ (A. Catley, J. Lind & I. Scoones, eds). *Pastoralism: Res., Pol., Pract.*, **3**, 19. doi:10.1186/2041-7136-3-19.
- Dyer C. (2013). – Does mobility have to mean being hard to reach? Mobile pastoralists and education’s ‘terms of inclusion’. *Compare*, **43** (5), 601–621. doi:10.1080/03057925.2013.821322.
- Randall S. (2015). – Where have all the nomads gone? Fifty years of statistical and demographic invisibilities of African mobile pastoralists. *Pastoralism: Res., Pol., Pract.*, **5**, 22. doi:10.1186/s13570-015-0042-9.
- Niamir-Fuller M. & Turner M. (1999). – A review of recent literature on pastoralism and transhumance in Africa. *In* Managing mobility in African rangelands (M. Niamir-Fuller, ed.). Intermediate Technology Publications, London, 18–47. doi:10.3362/9781780442761.002.
- Butt B. (2016). – Ecology, mobility and labour: dynamic pastoral herd management in an uncertain world. *In* The future of pastoralism (J. Zinsstag, E. Schelling & B. Bonfoh, eds). *Rev. Sci. Tech. Off. Int. Epiz.*, **35** (2), 461–472. doi:10.20506/rst.35.2.2530.
- Herrero M., Addison J., Bedelian C., Carabine E., Havlik P., Henderson B., van de Steeg J. & Thornton P.K. (2016). – Climate change and pastoralism: impacts, consequences and adaptation. *In* The future of pastoralism (J. Zinsstag, E. Schelling & B. Bonfoh, eds). *Rev. Sci. Tech. Off. Int. Epiz.*, **35** (2), 417–433. doi:10.20506/rst.35.2.2533.

22. Cotula L. (2005). – Can research bridge the gap between local rules and national legal frameworks? The case of local conventions for natural resource management in the Sahel. *In Bridging research and policy* (A. Reenberg & H.S. Marcussen, eds). University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, 125–132.
23. Chinara A. & Bonfoh B. (2007). – Pastoral law in Kyrgyzstan and its potential socio-economic and environmental impacts: report of the transversal package project on pastoral production systems. Swiss National Centre of Competence in Research (NCCR) North–South, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan.
24. Hagberg S. (2010). – Decentralisation and citizen participation in West Africa. *Bull. APAD* [online], **31–32**. Available at: <http://apad.revues.org/4056> (accessed on 2 January 2016).
25. Gilbert J. (2007). – Nomadic territories: a human rights approach to nomadic peoples' land rights. *Hum. Rights Law Rev.*, **7** (4), 681–716. doi:10.1093/hrlr/ngm030.
26. Gilbert J. (2014). – Nomadic peoples and human rights. Routledge, New York.
27. Steinman B. (2011). – Making a living in uncertainty. Agropastoral livelihoods and institutional transformations in post-Socialist rural Kyrgyzstan. Human Geography Series 26. Department of Geography, University of Zurich, Zurich.
28. Haller T., van Dijk H., Bolling M., Greiner C., Shareika N. & Gabbert C. (2016). – Conflicts, security and marginalisation: institutional change of the pastoral commons in a 'glocal' world. *In The future of pastoralism* (J. Zinsstag, E. Schelling & B. Bonfoh, eds). *Rev. Sci. Tech. Off. Int. Epiz.*, **35** (2), 405–416. doi:10.20506/rst.35.2.2532.
29. Moritz M. (2006). – Introduction: changing contexts and dynamics of herder–farmer conflicts across West Africa. *Can. J. Afr. Stud.*, **40** (1), 1–28.
30. Fokou G. (2008). – Gestion communautaire des ressources naturelles et relations de pouvoir. Etude anthropologique des changements institutionnels dans les plaines du Logone et du lac Tchad. University of Yaounde I, Yaounde, Cameroon.
31. Moritz M., Scholte P. & Kari S. (2002). – The demise of the nomadic contract: arrangement and rangelands under pressure in the far north of Cameroon. *Nomad. Peoples*, **6** (1), 127–146. doi:10.3167/082279402782311013.
32. Fokou G. (2010). – Tax payments, democracy and rent-seeking administrators: common-pool resource management, power relations and conflicts among the Kotoko, Musgum, Fulbe and Arab Choa in the Waza Logone Floodplain (Cameroon). *In Disputing the floodplains: institutional change and the politics of resource management in African floodplains* (T. Haller, ed.). Brill, Leiden, the Netherlands. doi:10.1163/ej.9789004185326.i-454.33.
33. Haller T., Fokou G., Mbeyale G. & Meroka P. (2013). – How fit turns into misfit and back: institutional transformations of pastoral commons in African floodplains. *Ecol. Soc.*, **18** (1), 34. doi:10.5751/ES-05510-180134.
34. Fokou G., Kone B.V. & Bonfoh B. (2011). – Innovations technico-organisationnelles et relations de pouvoir dans les systèmes de production pastorale au Mali : dynamique des acteurs de la filière laitière périurbaine de Bamako. *Rev. Elev. Méd. Vét. Pays Trop.*, **64** (1–4), 81–87. doi:10.5751/ES-05510-180134.
35. Pye-Smith C. (2012). – Protecting and promoting pastoralism in Africa. CTA Policy Brief No 6. Technical Centre for Agricultural and Rural Cooperation (CTA), Wageningen, the Netherlands.
36. Swiss Federal Office for Agriculture (FOAG) (2004). – Swiss agricultural policy: objectives, tools, prospects. FOAG, Bern.
37. Liechti K. & Biber J.-P. (2016). – Pastoralism in Europe: characteristics and challenges of highland–lowland transhumance. *In The future of pastoralism* (J. Zinsstag, E. Schelling & B. Bonfoh, eds). *Rev. Sci. Tech. Off. Int. Epiz.*, **35** (2), 561–575. doi:10.20506/rst.35.2.2541.
38. Maurer K. (2005). – Natural and anthropogenic determinants of biodiversity of grasslands in the Swiss Alps. University of Basel, Basel.
39. Gerber J.-D., Nahrath S., Thomi L. & Reynard M. (2008). – The role of common pool resource institutions in the implementation of Swiss natural resource management policy. *Int. J. Commons*, **2** (2), 222–247. doi:10.18352/ijc.44.
40. Tezike M. & Dewa-Kassa A.K. (2008). – La transhumance inter-Etats entre le Togo et les pays du Sahel : causes, organisation et conséquences au Togo. Université de Lomé, Lomé, Togo.
41. Ur-Rahim I., Maselli D., Rueff H. & Bonfoh B. (2014). – Market access and herders' strategies to pass through lean winter periods in post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan. *APCBEE Procedia*, **8**, 323–328. doi:10.1016/j.apcbee.2014.03.048.
42. Gaye M. (2007). – Tiviski dairy: Africa's first camel milk dairy improves the livelihoods of semi-nomadic herders in Mauritania. United Nations Development Programme, Growing Inclusive Markets, New York.
43. Bonfoh B., Sall A., Diabaté M., Diarra A., Netoyo L., Mbaye Y., Simbé C.F., Alfaroukh O.I., Farah Z. & Zinsstag J. (2003). – Viabilité technico-économique du système extensif de production et de collecte de lait à Bamako. *Rev. Etudes Recherches Sahéliennes*, **8** (9), 173–184.
44. Bonfoh B., Ankers P., Sall A., Diabaté M., Tembely S., Farah Z., Alfaroukh I.O. & Zinsstag J. (2006). – Schéma fonctionnel de service aux petits producteurs laitiers périurbains de Bamako (Mali). *Rev. Etudes Recherches Sahéliennes*, **12**, 7–25.
45. Bonfoh B., Fokou G., Ould Taleb M., Fané A., Woirin D., Laimaibao N. & Zinsstag J. (2007). – Dynamiques des systèmes de production laitière, risques et transformations socio-économiques au Mali. *Rev. Elev. Méd. Vét. Pays Trop.*, **60** (1–4), 67–76.

46. Schneider M., Kouyaté H., Fokou F., Zinsstag J., Traoré A., Amadou M. & Bonfoh B. (2007). – Dynamiques d'adaptation des femmes face aux transformations des systèmes laitiers péri-urbains en Afrique de l'Ouest. *Rev. Elev. Méd. Vét. Pays Trop.*, **60** (1-4), 121–131.
47. Zinsstag J., Schelling E., Waltner-Toews D., Whittaker M. & Tanner M. (2015). – One Health: the theory and practice of integrated health approaches. CAB International, Wallingford, UK. doi:10.1079/9781780643410.0000.
48. Zinsstag J., Waltner-Toews D. & Tanner M. (2015). – Theoretical issues of One Health. *In One Health: the theory and practice of integrated health approaches* (J. Zinsstag, E. Schelling, D. Waltner-Toews, M. Whittaker & M. Tanner, eds). CAB International, Wallingford, UK, 16–25. doi:10.1079/9781780643410.0016.
49. Schelling E., Wyss K., Diguimbaye C., Béchir M., Taleb M.O., Bonfoh B., Tanner M. & Zinsstag J. (2007). – Toward integrated and adapted health services for nomadic pastoralists and their animals: a North–South partnership. *In Handbook of transdisciplinary research. A proposition by the Swiss Academies of Arts and Sciences* (G. Hirsch Hadorn, H. Hoffmann-Reim, S. Biber-Klemm, W. Grossenbacher-Mansuy, D. Joye, C. Pohl, U. Wiesmann & E. Zemp, eds). Springer, Heidelberg, 277–291.
-

