



**MAKING RANGELANDS MORE SECURE IN CAMEROON: LESSONS LEARNED
AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY MAKERS, DEVELOPMENT ACTORS
AND PASTORLISTS**

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Abstract

In Cameroon, rangelands occupy about 20 % of surface area; provide critical habitat to many animal and plant species; offer many vital goods and services to society and are home to pastoralists, agro-pastoralists, crop farmers, fishermen and hunter-gatherers, who for centuries co-existed peacefully. In recent years this harmony is being threatened by changing land use patterns, poor land use planning and poor recognition of ownership rights. Despite efforts by state and non-state actors to improve pastoral tenure security little has been achieved because of poor coordination among actors and a complete absence of opportunities to document and or showcase these good initiatives. This study, supported by the ILC Rangelands Initiative, sought to identify, review and analyse the different initiatives that are contributing/have contributed in making rangelands more secure. A case study approach was used to document initiatives using primary and secondary sources and with choice predicated on the prominence, variety and indicated successes of the initiatives. Ten initiatives were showcased under five thematic areas ranging from: governance/decision making processes; resolving conflicts; land use planning; empowering communities; protecting pastoral resources. The results of this study will contribute to a more targeted development of future initiatives that build on past good practices.

Keywords: Cameroon; Land-use-planning; Pastoralists; Rangelands; Tenure-security



1. INTRODUCTION

Rangelands in Cameroon are one of the most predominant land use systems and cover around 20% of the country's surface area (World Bank, 2009). They provide a wide variety of goods and services desired by society such as forage for livestock, wildlife habitat, water and minerals, woody products, recreational services, nature conservation as well as carbon sinks despite their relatively unproductive nature and unpredictable climate. They are of grassland vegetation known as savannah with basically three types distinguishable: the Guinean savannah (found north of the rain forest in the Adamawa Region and parts of the Centre and East Regions and characterized by tall grass species and tall trees; Sudan savannah also known as derived montane grasslands found in the Northwest and West Regions and the Diamare flood plains in the North and Far North Regions with characteristic undulating hills and short grass species interspaced with shrubs; Sahel savannah in the semiarid North and Far North Regions of the country with limited precipitation and long dry seasons (Pamo, 2008) .

They are predominantly inhabited by Fulbe or Fulani pastoralists originally from the Senegambia areas but also agro pastoralists, sedentary farmers, as well as fishermen and hunters who depend on them for their livelihood and have interacted peacefully with each other over the centuries. The pastoralists share a strong ethos of open access to common pool resources (Moritz et al., 2015), which does not mean without any controls but rather operates through a self-organizing system allowing freedom of use by mobile pastoralists who maintain control by their understanding and needs to conserve the resource. This runs contrary to the famous Hardin's 'tragedy of the commons', which holds that 'freedom in commons brings ruin to all' (Hardin, 1968) and makes pastoralists responsible for overgrazing and subsequent degradation seen in commonly managed rangelands.

Pastoralists can be differentiated in several ways including: i) ethnically, the Fulani pastoralists are made up of three main groups namely the *Wodaabe*, the *Jafun*, the *Galegi* (popularly called the *Aku*). ii) functionally or into the pastoral systems themselves – the nomadic pastoralists who don't have permanent settlements but move about with their animals in search of better forage and water resources; the transhumance pastoralists who have fixed homesteads and herd their animals to dry season grazing areas but come back home when the rainy season returns; and sedentary pastoralists who live in fixed communities and graze their animals around the homestead without having to move for long distance in search of grazing resources. Sedentarisation is a recent trend that has happened over the past three to four decades and with it has come the practice of agriculture by some pastoralists referred to as



agropastoralists and these constitute an increasing number of rangeland users in the western highlands as well as the sudano-sahel zone in the northern regions of the country (Dongmo et al., 2012).

Conflicts between pastoralists and crop farmers abound and constitute the main form of conflicts between rangeland users despite their having peacefully coexisted for centuries before. Conflicts are also common between nomadic or transhumant pastoralists and fishermen in the Logone Flood Plain and other flood plains or ‘*yaayres*’ in northern Cameroon. These conflicts occur when pastoralists in search of pasture in the flood plains during the dry season find their transhumance routes blocked by fish canals dug by fishermen (Moritz et al., 2012). Conflicts between pastoralists and authorities for protected areas (national parks, forest reserves and wildlife sanctuaries) also abound. Faced with an ever dwindling resource base outside the protected areas, many pastoralists find it difficult to resist the lure of these now largely unused resources, and continue to take their livestock into the parks despite the risk of conflict with park scouts, fines and even confiscation of livestock. Conflicts also occur between local pastoralists and pastoralists visiting from neighbouring countries. With the recent increase in insecurity in the Central African region large numbers of pastoralists have moved into northern and eastern parts of the country. These pastoralists, effectively refugees, have conglomerated in these regions with their herds, thereby accentuating the pressure on existing pastoral resources (Kossoumna Liba’a, 2016).

A number of routes and mechanisms exist to resolve these conflicts including amicable resolution between the two (or more) parties; intervention by traditional authorities for example in a case of some major damage; and – usually as a last resort – the involvement of administrative, law enforcement and judiciary authorities (Kossoumna Liba’a, 2016). Encouragingly, most of the conflicts are resolved amicably between farmers and pastoralists, particularly where there has been no physical conflict or harm to persons or animals.

The land tenure system in Cameroon basically recognizes three types of lands: *private*, *public* and *national* (USAID, 2012). Under the current land tenure laws, private land rights are derived from possession of a ‘land title’ also known as ‘private personal land.’ This type of land can be transferred (through sales, gifts, marriage or inheritance). The transfer must however be accompanied by change of ownership to be recorded in the relevant land registry. All untitled, unregistered land is deemed to be to be ‘public land’, which is held by the state on behalf of the public or ‘national land’ which includes unoccupied land and land under customary tenure. Grazing land can be classified under national lands in accordance with Article 15 of Ordinance No 74-1. It is therefore administered, like all other national lands, by two related structures: the *Land Consultative Boards* and *Agro-Pastoral Commissions* both



headed by the Divisional Officers in accordance with Article 17 of Ordinance No 74-1 and Decree No 78/263 respectively (Sali et al., 2011). The Agro-Pastoral Commission (APC) is an 8 member committee, found at every sub divisional level with chairperson the Divisional Officer and secretary a representative from the Divisional Service for Lands and the other members coming from other government ministries with a stake in rangeland management as well as notables from the concerned villages and a grazer or head of the grazing community concerned. The APC has as functions: the demarcation of farmland and grazing land; the definition of conditions for the use of mixed farming zones; the supervision of the use of farm and grazing land; and the examination and settlement of conflicts between farmers and grazers.

Rangelands and rangeland management in Cameroon face several problems and challenges which are threatening the peaceful coexistence and harmony between the different rangeland users (Pamo and Pieper, 2000). The result is an increase in both numbers and scale of conflicts between rangeland users. The reasons for this are manifold but at the core is the declining resource base for pastoralists occasioned by increasing human population, changing land use patterns, poor land use planning and poor recognition of users' rights. Despite some well-meaning efforts from state and non-state partners to improve pastoral tenure security, these initiatives have tended to adopt a scattergun or trial-and-error approach, and have mostly been patchy, project or activity driven, lacked strategic planning or full analysis and or documentation. Also, there has been poor coordination amongst various actors, with the result being that some of the good practices developed were hardly shared, up-scaled or replicated. This study sought to identify, review and analyse the different initiatives that are contributing/have contributed in making rangelands more secure in order to contribute to a more targeted development of future initiatives that build on past good practices. The study was supported by the ILC Rangelands Initiative, which seeks to support ILC members working in rangelands to strengthen collaborative action to make rangelands more secure through influencing policy and legislation development and implementation.

2. INTERVENTIONS TO MAKE RANGELANDS SECURE

Despite the general lack of action to ensure security of access to rangeland resources for local rangeland users and the improvement of rangeland management, there have been a number of valuable initiatives/processes/mechanisms and practices from which important lessons can be learnt to guide further developments. Efforts to improve tenure and resource security and rangeland management have involved and targeted different stakeholders and have employed different strategies to do so. These include awareness raising; negotiation/mediation; networking and lobbying; litigation; and demonstration. This section analyses a number of these as case studies (as also carried out in IUCN, 2011a), selected due



to their prominence, variety and indicated successes. Information and data was gathered from primary sources as well as from secondary data. We sought to understand each case study through its activities, strategies, impact and lessons learned. It presents 10 case studies under 5 thematic areas with an average of two per thematic area.

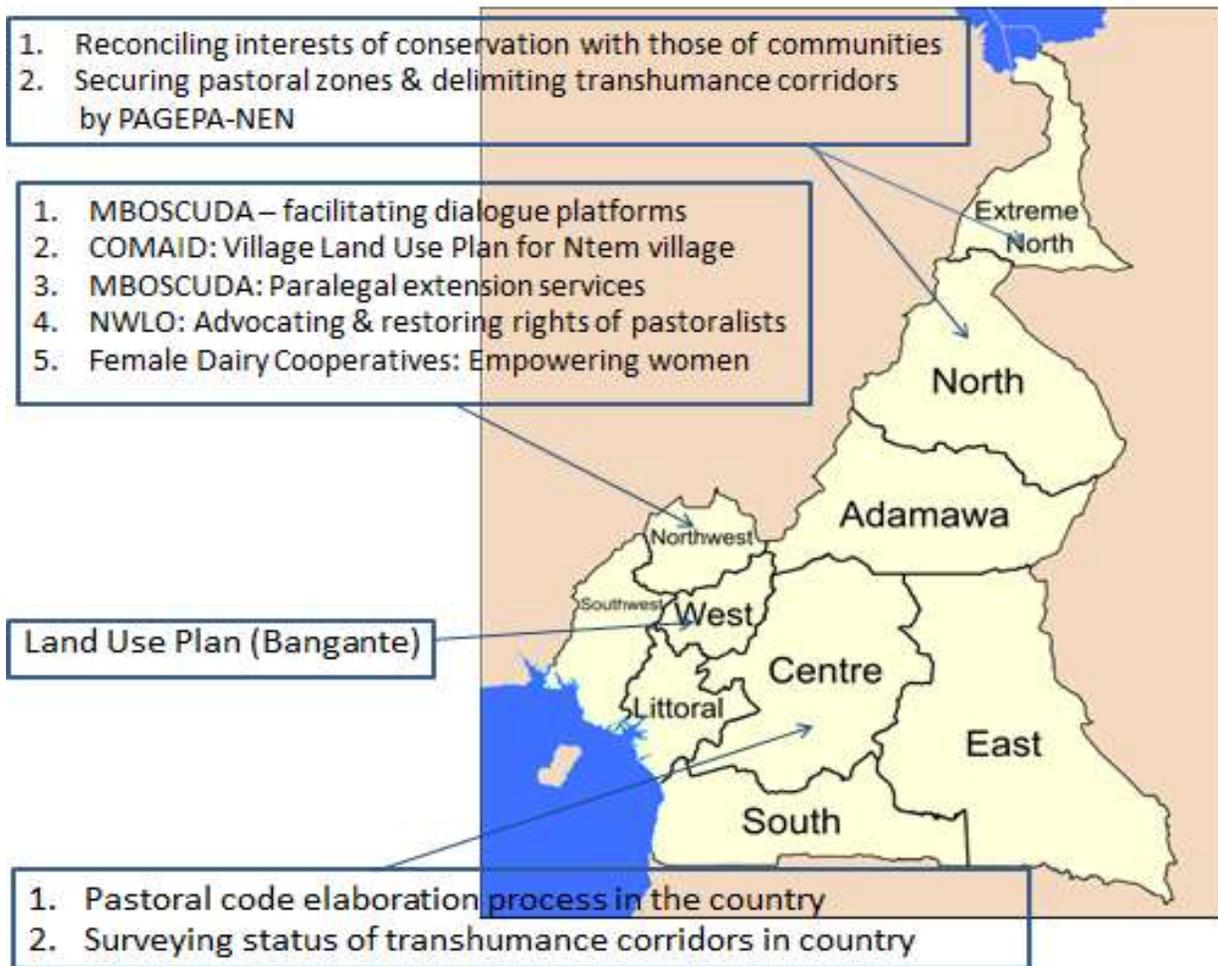


Figure 1: Map of Cameroon showing the distribution of case studies



2.1 Initiatives that Focus on Governance and Decision Making Processes

Here, the several programmes of the Mbororo Social and Cultural Development Association (MBOSCUDA), a lead CSO championing the cause of the Mbororo Fulani pastoralists, an ethnic minority group living mostly on the fringes of society and with little role in decision making processes outside their own circles, are presented. These programmes have registered advances in raising awareness on land rights as well as improving adult and children literacy. MBOSCUDA's flagship programme "In Search of Common Ground" runs a paralegal service which has been able to organise community education campaigns; counsel pastoralists who have been victims of various forms of abuse on the proper procedure to seek redress; and also assist victims through these procedures. These programmes have recorded many successes such as facilitating the acquisition of land titles by pastoralists, the restitution of money and cattle unduly taken from them (Musa and Fon, 2012).

Other Knock-on impacts include a marked improvement in enrolment of pastoralist children in school over the years; and the increased participation and integration of pastoralist communities in mainstream society with over 48 pastoralists taking seats as councilors in 30 councils of the Northwest Region. In addition there has been an increase of pastoralist participation in civic duties such as voter registration (Sali, personal communication), and members of the Mbororo community have reached positions of influence in the national government including a senator in the newly formed Cameroon Senate in 2013 and the Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Livestock, Fisheries and Animal Industries (MINEPIA)¹.

The other case study looked under this theme is the nation-wide mobilisation of pastoralists in the Pastoral Code elaboration process and increased advocacy for its adoption facilitated by some development partners. In the early 2000s a process was started by MINEPIA (Ministry of Livestock, Fisheries and Animal Industries) with financial support from FAO to develop a Pastoral Code for the country. Following the experiences of other countries in West Africa notably Niger Republic, a Pastoral Code is seen as a mechanism for bringing together different laws and regulations on pastoralism under one framework, whilst also redefining that framework to better serve pastoral needs.

Despite having started in the early 2000's, the process stagnated due to lack of funds and concerns that process had not been inclusive enough (Tah et al., 2015). In 2009 SNV, the Netherlands Development

¹ Presidential decrees N° 2013/149 of 08/05/2013 and N° 2015/595 of 22/12/2015 both appointed Mr Jaji Manu Gidado to the Cameroon's Upper House of Assembly (The Senate) and as Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Livestock, Fisheries and Animal Industries respectively.



Organisation, decided to reinject some life into the process but on the basis of taking a more participatory approach and partnered with MINEPIA through a Memorandum of Understanding on how to carry the process forward. SNV mobilised pastoralists and raised awareness on the stakes of the pastoral code in the National Confederation of Livestock Breeders in Cameroon (CNEBCAM). SNV provided CNEBCAM with training and mentoring in lobbying and advocacy activities on the pastoral tenure as well as in leadership. SNV facilitated the organisation of debates at national, regional and local levels on the pastoral code (its contents and implications) and collected feedback on it from pastoralists and other stakeholders. SNV disseminated the draft Pastoral Code through meeting/seminars/workshops, as well as supporting the development of enabling texts (by-laws) supplementing and supporting the Code. The draft code was then presented to government which had to table it before parliament.

Even though the Code is still being discussed and it would seem that it will be some time before it is passed, the process undertaken to develop the Code (at least in its latter stages) was considered to be inclusive and participatory (Boureima and Flury, 2016). At the very least it provided an opportunity for pastoralists to come together with a common vision, and to present this to policy makers and other stakeholders. It has opened up discussion, debate and dialogue that would otherwise not have taken place, and placed pastoralist issues more strongly on the policy 'map'. This was achieved through effective organisation, networking and facilitation. The greatest weakness of the process perhaps was in not placing enough emphasis on improving the enabling environment for the Code to be passed through advocacy and lobbying and for example, working with 'champions' within the government/parliament to take it forward. This is an area where a number of organisations (CSO, NGOs and others) are now consolidating their efforts. If and when it is enacted, many have high hopes that the Pastoral Code will go a long way in solving the increasing numbers of farmer-grazer conflicts that are occurring and provide pastoralists with a greater sense of security to their lands and resources.

2.2 Initiatives that Focus on Resolving Conflicts between Land Users

The second theme focused on initiatives in resolving conflicts between land users with the first case study on reconciling the interests of conservation with those of pastoralists in the Benue National Park (BNP), one of the three national parks in North Cameroon which cover over 40 % of the total surface area of the region (WWF, 2010). Like most other protected areas in Cameroon, it was established without consulting the human population that were residing in the area, nor compensating them when they were told to move out. In Cameroon, all exploitation of National Park resources is forbidden and attracts a heavy penalty.



The shift from the fortress model of conservation which excludes border communities to a more participatory form of conservation is highlighted.

The BNP harbours lush sudano-savanna vegetation and abundant water resources highly coveted by pastoralists and agropastoralists resident in the area, as well as by transhumant pastoralists from both other parts of the country and from neighbouring countries. The resident pastoralists, with around 16, 500 cattle (IUCN, 2011b), have settled in the some of the so called ‘designated game areas’ or ‘zone d’Intérêt cynégétique’ (ZIC) in mainly the North of the park, which have been established on the borders of the Park as a buffer zone. In addition another 150,000 or so cattle enter the area when pasture is in good supply, brought by herders from other parts of the country. Conflicts between park officials and pastoralists abound, with fatalities occasionally recorded. The park officials blame pastoralists for the degradation of the Parks’ resources including its flora due to incursions of cattle in to Park; soil and water erosion as a result of trampling by the herds; disease transmission to wild ungulates; reprisal killings and poaching (WWF, 2010). Corrupt and poorly paid Park staff used to ‘sell’ those pastoralists willing-to-pay, ‘rights’ to enter the park and graze their cattle (Scholte et al., 1999).

Against this backdrop of acrimonious relations between the Park and pastoralists there was need for the fortress model of conservation of the BNP to be reviewed. Law No 94/01 of 20th January 1994 bearing on the Management of Forest, Wildlife and Fisheries created the space for the integration of participatory management strategies in the management of a park’s resources recognising the need for integrating conservation with development. This Law declares that communities living around a National Park or other protected area should be involved in the management of the Park and Park resources if meaningful and sustainable progress is to be made. Reflecting this, the Management Plan for the Benue National Park and its peripheral zones elaborated in 2002 had as specific objectives: to give to the local communities around the Park the responsibility of protection of natural resources and to put in place a sustainable management system for the Park. It was also recognised that local land users should be assisted in identifying alternative/diversified livelihoods (MINEF, 2002).

The second case study here looks at the dialogue platforms and mutual beneficial farming alliances between pastoralists and crop farmers in the Northwest Region (the hotbed of farmer grazer conflicts in the country) facilitated by development partners as a low stake conflict mitigation strategy. A number of these organisations have been investing in pioneering efforts to foster dialogue, and encourage mutually beneficial alliances between the two parties. This is on the belief that it is only through building such



alliances that are monitored and enforced by resource users themselves that the needs of both parties can be met.

For example, SNV facilitated the development of platforms bringing together pastoralists, farmers and traditional leaders to discuss peaceful solutions to conflicts, and developing annual plans that regulate crop and livestock activities so that a mutually beneficial integrated crop-livestock system developed. During the pilot phase of this project – 2007 to 2010 – a 65% drop in conflicts was noted in the Wum area, one of the conflict hotspots of the region (Pas and Tah, 2014).

MBOSCUDA is another organisation promoting the use of this strategy in solving or avoiding conflicts between pastoralists and crop farmers. After successfully piloting the scheme in three of the seven divisions of the Northwest Region between 2008 and 2010, it secured funding in 2012 from Village Aid, a UK based charity to replicate, upscale and extend this low-stake conflict mitigation strategy to the whole Northwest Region. The dialogue platforms are generally composed of 14 members and employ the Alternative Conflict Management (AMA) approach in resolving farmer-herder conflicts (MBOSCUDA, 2014).

An interesting and beneficial indirect impact of these dialogue platforms has been the emergence of a stronger integrated farming system strengthening synergies between crop farming and pastoralism. The more peaceful sharing of land and resources by the two sets of land users means that these multiple use, multi-scale landscapes are more productive than previously i.e. when the two land uses were separated. Now the crop farmer allows pastoralists to enter his/her land after harvest so cattle can feed off the crop residues. While feeding, the cattle deposit faeces and urine on the ground, which increases the nitrogen content of the soil and hence its fertility, ready for the later planting of crops. This is a win-win situation for both pastoralists and farmers, and also the environment. These dialogue platforms and alliance farming partnerships have been hailed as the flagship conflict resolution mechanism in the Region. By the end of 2014, SNV reported to have facilitated the creation of 375 registered farming alliances and well over 2 000 unregistered ones (SNV, 2014).

Negotiation, dialogue and collaboration have proved to be vital tools for pastoralists and farmers to define access to resources for themselves. Initiated through dialogue platforms, which brought various stakeholders together to talk, it has built confidence between the pastoralists and farmers and facilitated debate, negotiations and consensus amongst the two groups. These agreements are rarely written down but depend on trust. To give such agreements some kind of formal recognition dialogue platforms and



alliance farming are some of the proposed activities included in the draft Pastoral Code awaiting enactment by parliament.

2.3 Initiatives that Focus on Improving Understanding and Collecting Background Information for Land Use Planning and Land Management

Land Use Planning (LUP) and management in rangelands can potentially enable communities to have a say over the land they use and occupy. The two examples presented here – the participatory village land use map for Ntem Village and the council (LUP) for Bangante Municipality provide an opportunity to see how this process is carried out at two different scales and by two different facilitators and with varying degree of success.

Under an ILC sponsored project Enhancing Land Rights for Local Communities in the Mbaw Plain of the Northwest Region of Cameroon, COMAID, a local NGO facilitated the production of a participatory village land use map for Ntem Village. The processes commenced with the holding of a sensitization meeting, attended by various stakeholders in land governance including administrative, municipal and traditional authorities, villagers made up of men, women, youth and minority groups. The meeting also served as a forum for making a diagnosis of the poor land governance situation of the Mbaw plain, and making firm resolutions on bettering the situation notably employing land use mapping as a legitimate tool to improve the land rights of local communities. COMAID facilitated the participatory mapping of current land use by traditional authorities and the village project management committee. Selected local community members were trained on the use of GPS notably on spatial measurements who aided in producing the land use map. Landsat satellite images and landuse classes digitized in GIS environment with resulting database and hard copy landuse maps were employed in coming up with the land use map. Validation was made possible when the map was presented back to the community and other stakeholders by the mapping team.

This process led to very important outcomes (COMAID, 2015). Firstly, mapping using satellite technology was able to make real and palpable what was usually held only in people's minds. This laid bare through glaring spatial pictures the precarious land use situation of the village. It was evident from this that land grabbing was a big issue with about two thirds of all village land having been grabbed by rich and influential barons of the system who for the most part were non-natives. These barons are being aided by self-seeking traditional rulers who are the custodians of the land, through shady land dealings with resulting inequality in the access, ownership and control of land between the wealthy and small



holder farmers. Linked to this is the conversion of most of the grabbed land to oil palm and cocoa plantations, which threatens food self-sufficiency.

In the Bangante Council area, Nde Division, West Region the land use pattern has changed considerably over the years. A key driver of this has been increasing demographic pressure from both population growth and rural exodus. This has led to an over exploitation of natural resources in the area including soil degradation with a resulting stagnation or drop in agricultural production and productivity. Conflicts between different land users such as crop farmers and pastoralists have become more frequent and fatal. In 2009, The National Community Driven Development Programme (Programme National de Développement Participatif – PNDDP) agreed to work with the Bangante Municipal Council to pilot its Plan for Sustainable Use and Management of Land (Plan d'Utilisation et de Gestion Durable des Terres - PUGDT by the French acronym). The PUGDT is a tool that enables councils and communities to characterise and plan the use of their lands (PNDDP, 2010). It aims at creating the necessary conditions for communities to accede to a more sustainable management of their lands in an environmentally sound, socially acceptable and economically appropriate manner.

The phases through which the elaboration of this plan (Figure 2) went through were: the preparation and data collection phase; the elaboration and validation phase; the implementation phase; the reinforcement and monitoring phase. Within each of these phases are steps. Of importance is Step 4 – the analysis of data collected and production of resource management sector plans, which provide for sharing of resources. This step requires a detailed land occupancy map to be drawn showing agricultural, pastoral and other land uses and activities in a village. Then following strictly soil and climatic attributes criteria, maps for potential use to which the parts of the council can be put to were drawn and then superimposed on each other to see if there may be any conflicts in carving out zones for the various activities.

Additionally, Steps 9 and 14 were also important. These involve the officialising of the drawn land use plan and the zones for agriculture, pastoralism and forestry use. The former entails sending the draft land use plan (LUP) to the administrative officer who signs an order (arrête) recognising the LUP as a legitimate planning and development tool for the Council, marking the start of the implementation process of the land use plan. The administrative officer signs a second order formalising the reservation of the different land use zones e.g. agriculture, pastoralism, and forestry.

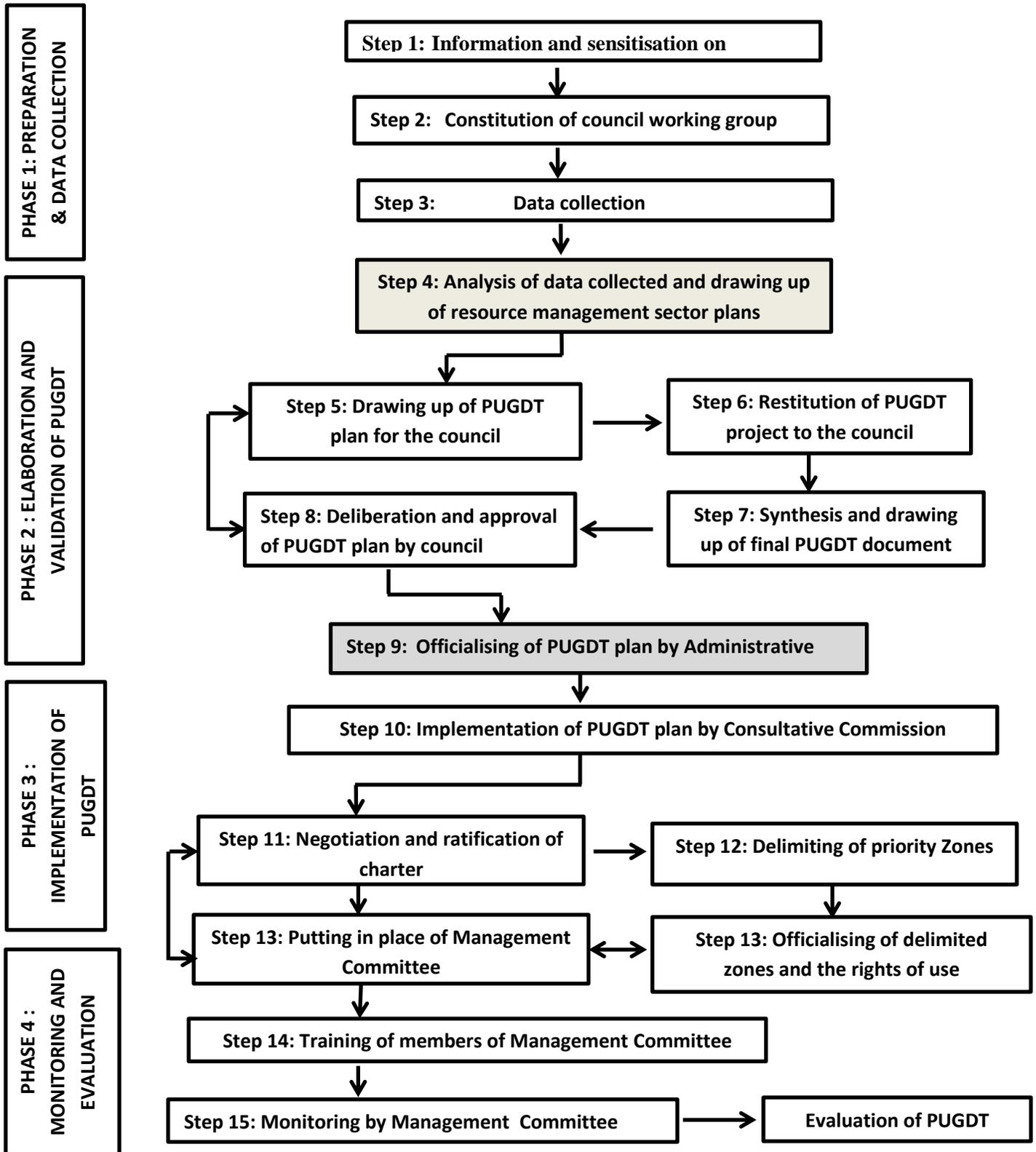


Figure 2: Phases and steps of the Land Use Planning process for the Bangante Council



2.4 Initiatives on Promoting Participation, Supporting Empowerment and Collective Action

Here, the efforts of the North West Land Observatory, a platform of 15 CSOs working on land governance issues and playing a watchdog role, in reversing the eviction menace hanging over the heads of 300 pastoralists from their ancestral lands was shown. This saga started in 2010 when the Catholic Archdiocese of Bamenda was awarded 46 Ha of land (which included part of the Mamada Hills, home to over 300 Mbororo pastoralists) as Temporary Grant by the Minister of State Property, Surveys and Land Tenure for the construction of a Catholic University. The Catholic Authorities went on to claim most of the Mamada Hills with a land surface area of close to 74 Ha. Between 2012 and 2014 the pastoralists were locked in a struggle with the Catholics over eviction from their ancestral lands. Having been rendered homeless, the pastoralists were advised by NWLO and MBUFONZAK Law Firm (their legal representative), to camp on the grounds of the Archdiocese of Bamenda. This drew a lot of public attention and sympathy. The NWLO also took the incident to the media who publicised the action nationally and internationally. Also the pillars planted by the Catholics were geo-referenced which led to the discovery that 74 ha were occupied rather than the 46 ha accorded to them by the Minister as a Temporary Grant.

The initial grant to the Catholic Authorities was attackable because the law provides for only 'Category A National Land' which is unoccupied and unexploited to be expropriated, and if otherwise (for public good and interest), benchmark procedures such as free, prior and informed consent should be sought and obtained. This was clearly not the case here. These facts were presented to the administrative authorities of the region. The Senior Divisional Officer called for a meeting on the crisis and a resolution taken for the Land Consultative Board to visit the site and map out the initial 46 ha as originally allocated to the Catholics. With the media attention generated, organisations such as ILC provided donations in cash and in-kind to all the pastoralists to rebuild their homes and to an extent, their livelihoods.

The success of this case study is due, at least in part, from the decision by the organisations involved to undertake a multi-strategy approach drawing from different sources of support. Firstly, political demonstration was used to raise awareness on the issue and to gain media and public attention. Secondly networking and lobbying targeted national and international organisations who provided financial and material support. Lastly there was initiation of administrative and legal procedures in the face of this injustice as evident in the actions of the administrative authorities to remap the 46 ha as detailed in the Temporary Grant.



The second case study here looks at the efforts of various development partners in empowering pastoralist women, who face double marginalization – for being pastoralists and for living in predominantly patriarchal communities – through the promotion of female dairy cooperatives. These efforts were seen to increase the income the women receive from the sale of milk which improves their voices within the household, their purchasing power and their overall confidence and not least their standing in the eyes of the menfolk and society at large.

Several female dairy cooperatives exist in the Northwest Region of the country. Examples include the Wum Industrial Dairy Cooperative (WIDC) found some 65 km from Bamenda and formed by a score of pastoralist women in 2010 and the Sabga Dairy Cooperative (SDC) found about 25 km from Bamenda, which was established in the late 1990s with about 66 members. These cooperatives have received institutional, material and financial support from several development partners such as the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the EU, FAO and Land O Lakes USA. Also organisational support in training topics such as marketing, group dynamics, leadership skills, milk hygiene and processing have been given to these cooperatives by local NGOs such COMINSUD, Sustainable Livestock Foundation (SLF) and Society for Initiatives in Rural Development and Environmental Protection (SIRDEP).

2.5 Initiatives on Mapping, Delimiting, Protecting Transhumance Corridors and Grazing Areas.

The first case study here is the *Projet d'Appui à la Gestion Equitable et durable de l'Espace Agropastoral dans le Nord et l'Extrême Nord du Cameroun (PAGEPA-NEN)* project which aimed at reinforcing and consolidating dialogue between pastoralists' and farmers' organisations and councils to sustainably manage agropastoral resources in order to promote livestock production. It was a cooperation agreement between the Cameroon Government and the EU for 650 million Euros. It started in October 2012 and ended in December 2015, covering 15 Councils in the North and Far North Regions of the country with an estimated population of over 345 000 inhabitants (PAGEPA-NEN, 2015).

Decentralisation provided the opportunity for greater decision-making and financial resources to be devolved to lower levels of government, making Councils responsible for managing livestock infrastructure and development. Through the efforts of the project, pastoralists organised themselves into two federations: the Federation of Common Initiative Groups of the North (FEUGELDNORD) and Federation of Cattle Herders of the Far North Region (FEB). The Project Coordination Unit of PAGEPA-NEN built the capacity of FEUGELDNORD and FEB through seminars, meetings, information and education sessions and also radio programmes. These two federations of pastoralists now have five-year



activity/development plans. Results on the ground include the digitised mapping of about 565.73 km² of pastoral zones; delimiting and securing with concrete pillars of about 102 km of transhumance corridors; and the establishment of local oversight (or management) committees to continue dialogue between the different user groups and support the participatory management of the corridors (PAGEPA-NEN, 2015).

The second case study looks at the recently concluded exercise carried out by MINEPIA to map transhumance corridors or livestock routes and related pastoral infrastructure found along their path. These routes are needed by pastoralists to move between grazing areas and exploit the spatio-temporal variation in forage availability characteristic of rangelands; to access livestock markets and for moving livestock away from crisis such as droughts, floods and insecurity. Pastoral infrastructure along the corridors is critical in supporting pastoral mobility and includes campsites, watering points, vaccination crushes; markets etc. The ultimate aim of the exercise was to have a georeferenced map and solid database for the upcoming agricultural and livestock census in Cameroon and for possible future delineation and improvement of service delivery along the corridors.

Sixty cartographic agents, eleven controllers and ten surveyors undertook a mapping of the routes. Local guides with a good mastery of the terrain were engaged for this exercise (Djienouassi, personal communication 2016)². Mapping was done with help of GPS, surveys were used to collect information along the transhumance corridors and cameras used to take photos, GPS coordinates were taken for the locality and name of the locality, the length of the corridor, state of corridor and the nature of the surface of the corridor. Pastoral infrastructure along the corridors was also georeferenced and the type and state noted.

The results from the mapping exercise indicated that transhumance is carried out in nine out of the ten regions of the country mostly between the months of October and April. Around 19 000 km of transhumance corridors were mapped out with more than 85 % of the corridors not having been secured. The results also revealed that 80 % of the transhumance carried out in the country is national with transnational transhumance taking place mostly in the East and Northern Regions. There are about 5517 different types of infrastructure along the routes. These include 797 camping sites, 2198 natural watering points, 114 constructed wells and 106 hand-dug wells (MINEPIA-INS, 2015)

² Mr Sebastien Djienouassi is Head of Inquiries and Statistics Unit at the Ministry of Livestock, Fisheries and Animal Industries (MINEPIA), Yaounde, Cameroon.



3. LESSONS LEARNED

3.1 Education, Capacity Building and Awareness Raising

Pastoralists need to be informed of and educated on their rights and how to assert and defend them. Pastoralists are ‘victims’ of their tradition and for the most part have not received formal education or been exposed to matters of importance beyond their local area. Capacity building especially through functional literacy programmes for adults and formal education for children has proven to be a crucial break-away from the vicious cycle of marginalization, exploitation and low self-esteem most of the communities face. At the same time illiteracy and other gaps in skills and capacity should not be barriers to engagement on land issues – communities faced with these challenges may require extra support but their limitations can be overcome. The development of the women’s dairy cooperatives is a good example in this regard.

Raising awareness and understanding amongst pastoralists on the rights that they currently have has not only been a vital first step in asserting those rights, but also built up a positive identity amongst the pastoralists who realise that they do indeed have rights and that there are routes to exercise those rights – this has given them greater feelings of identity and citizenship. Pastoralists are now more willing to participate in decision-making forums, and to fight for their place to do so. They are increasingly seeing the need to participate in mainstream society and sit in legislative and municipal bodies as well as get nominated in key administrative positions.

Equally important has been the awareness raising targeted at traditional, administrative, law enforcement and judiciary authorities, general public and most especially to groups which are in direct competition with pastoralists including their farming neighbours. Through the facilitation of workshops and also use of mass media, the public has come to know more about the Fulanis and their culture, which has improved perception of pastoralists generally.

Government officials still wield a lot of influence in land matters, despite there having been a decentralisation process taking authority of land matters to lower levels. This influence is evident in the role they play in both the Land Consultative Boards and the Agro-Pastoral Commissions, and even in the various phases of land use planning, which require the administrative authorities to officially approve them. Though governments’ approval is of course important, it should not mean that communities are not able to influence this approval. Too often, government still holds on to more power than it should –



persuading them to relinquish some of this power and to place trust in the decisions of local communities is not easily achieved.

At the same time though there are enabling laws in place to protect and enforce pastoral land and resource rights, their implementation is hampered by a lack of motivation of government staff who are poorly paid and often inadequate in number and skills for the tasks required of them. This makes them easy targets for rich elite who are able to influence land decisions made by government through financial and other rewards.

3.2 Developing and Seeking Legal Recourse

As communities have become more aware of their rights, they have realized the need to develop and seek legal recourse. Building capacity in understanding rights has been important (see above) and developing systems that allow pastoralists to better exercise those rights is the next step. As pastoralists have gained knowledge and practice in how the system works, they have become more confident in it and more willing to invest time and resources in it. Fulanis today now feel more able to challenge unjust and unfair treatment and the practices of corrupt and self-seeking authorities.

At the local level, legal recourse has most successfully been achieved through the establishment of programmes supporting paralegals. Paralegals are local community members trained in legal matters, ready to give advice to pastoralists and other local land users on what rights they have and how to best exercise those rights. With relatively little legal training and backstopping from more expert legal advisers, paralegals are able to play a vital role at the local level working directly with community members, for little cost. The paralegals and community resource volunteers live and work in the communities, brave the difficult living conditions to give counsel and advice to pastoralists needing their services. This has led to improved accessibility and affordability of legal services for most pastoralists and has enabled conflicts to be more quickly and efficiently resolved than they would otherwise have been.

Sometimes working through the legal system is not enough however and more challenging action may be required. This was exemplified in the challenge of Fulani pastoralists to the ‘grabbing’ of land by the Catholic authorities in Bamenda. Though a challenge was made through the courts, greater attention was brought to the issue through the civic action taken including the protests and ‘sit-ins’ that took place on the ground.



3.3 Organisation, Mobilisation and Networking

Developing ‘group power’ is an important component of empowerment. When individuals or groups work together it can help to build confidence, foster a sense of common identity and solidarity, and also helps create a common voice, stronger than many individual ones. Examples provided above including the strengthening of already existing groups as evident with MBOSCUDA, and the creation of ad hoc organisations of pastoralists to deal with specific problems as seen with CNEBECAM during the Pastoral Code elaboration process. Organisations such as these found a space to establish and grow thanks to the political and civil liberty reforms of the 1990s in the country, which guaranteed some degree of human, civil and political rights.

These two organisations (MBOSCUDA and CNEBECAM) share some commonalities as well as differences: they have a predominant core pastoral membership and both champion the pastoralists’ cause, although one (MBOSCUDA) is acting on a more sustained longer-term raising awareness and building capacities, while the other (CNEBECAM) focused on a specific action – to further the Pastoral Code. As long as these groups work together for a common goal – their strategies and routes to that goal can be different. Such diversity provides opportunities for groups to utilise their different strengths, and to target different stakeholders. MBOSCUDA for example has been able to utilise both national and international partners in order to support such as the evictions of the pastoralists of Mamada Hills. Working through the NWLO has meant that MBOSCUDA as an individual organisation limited its role in the spotlight, which could have been dangerous when challenging the government and other stakeholders. NWLO was also able to form alliances with organisations such as ILC at the international level to gain greater global attention, and to secure material and financial assistance. Many CSOs have followed suit in this regard – working through an umbrella organisation such as NWLO, rather than making such challenges outright.

Linked to the above is the need for social cohesion and legitimacy. A closer look at most of the organisations supporting pastoral causes in the country will reveal that they are predominantly manned and run by a few educated members of the pastoralist communities, and that there are commonly tussles in leadership and legitimacy. MBOSCUDA has proven itself as a veritable champion of the pastoralists cause in the North West Region of the country. However, at the same time it is embroiled in a long rivalry with the Socio-Cultural Association for Livestock Breeding and Development in Cameroon (SODELCO), another umbrella pastoralist organisation with a similar agenda. This rivalry is not helping



the pastoralists who need united representation for fostering their interests and securing the gains already achieved.

Specialist organisations can bring necessary expertise to a group such as digitising of maps and use of satellite imagery. The long standing cooperation between the legal consultant of the local law firm (MBOFONZAK Law Firm) and MBOSCUDA has been important for expert and unbiased legal counsel in land rights cases and in the backstopping of the activities of paralegals. International organisations can bring a different set of knowhow, competence and expertise. SNV for example has leveraged its experience in people-centred development in mobilising pastoralists to get their voices and interests taken on board in the development of the Pastoral Code. Care should be taken however that reliance or ‘dependency’ on such international organisations does not result – this requires effort in building the capacity of indigenous organisations to fend for and lead processes themselves. Resolving land use conflicts and building good governance requires long term investments of resources if the roots of problems are to be resolved and sustainable solutions are implemented – this means looking beyond short-term donor funding and rather the development of a longer-term strategy of engagement and change to which donors can contribute.

3.4 Locally-generated Conflict Resolution Mechanisms Work

As these case studies have shown pastoralists are capable managers of rangeland resources, because not only are the rules well matched to the physical environment but they are well matched to the social and cultural environment too (as suggested by Ostrom and Schagger 1996). Though today pressures have increased and pastoralists are faced with challenges that are new, they are still able to deal with these if given the right support and access to opportunities that can work for them. The success recorded by low stake solutions like the dialogue platforms is enough proof of this assertion. These platforms show how local methods of conflict resolution can be built on to provide a greater opportunity for rangeland users to contribute to, even control, decision-making processes. In Cameroon, despite there having been functioning customary conflict resolution mechanisms the State has developed its own mechanisms for resolving conflicts that are less (if at all) embedded in local institutions. The Agro-Pastoral Commission (set up by the government Decree No 78/263) is the statutory body that adjudicates conflicts between herders and farmers, yet it has limitations in its interventions, which have more often than not led to outcomes that are ineffective and unsatisfactory to all parties involved. As a result the APC has lost any credibility it might have had, particularly with the general populace and civil society.



Sometimes external support or facilitation is required to develop new ideas or ways of doing things. The development of pastoralist-farmer alliances is one example of this. The pressures on land use and resulting conflicts between the two parties required a new way of working. With support from NGOs and CSOs access to farmers' fields post-harvest was negotiated, and now both farmers and pastoralists are benefiting, not only in resolving conflicts but in creating an interdependency between the two that adds further legitimacy and reasons for maintaining pastoral livelihoods. Reaching such agreement can take significant time – in this case there was deep-rooted animosity, developed over centuries, between the two parties and stereotypes that needed to be broken-down, before a new shared vision and respect for each other could be built up. Often results are not quickly and easily seen, building good governance requires long-term investments and monitoring of changes over time – this can often be a problem for those initiatives that depend on project-based funding.

Resolving conflicts also requires working at different levels, as part of a coordinated strategy of engagement. Some issues need to be resolved at local levels and others can only be resolved at national or even international levels. For example resource and land use conflicts at the local level in northern Cameroon are clearly being aggravated by the influx of hundreds of thousands of refugees from the Central African Republic and Nigeria. This situation can only be resolved by a dual pronged strategy that involves engagement between countries at international level as well as between communities and land users on the ground.

Occasionally external facilitation can cause conflicts, particularly if there is not a good understanding of the different stakeholders, their positions, interests and needs. As such, facilitation must come with a good understanding of these if favouring of one group over another is to be avoided, and/or the root causes of conflicts are really to be addressed. Conflicts at a household level for example can be reduced by ensuring a good understanding of relations between a husband and wife. The development of the female dairy cooperatives was built on such an understanding that showed that women had absolute rights over milk in the household, and so could be provided with support in this area leading to improved self-confidence, wellbeing, status and purchasing power without causing conflicts between them and the male members of the household. Indeed the livestock sector is a good entry point for raising gender issues, as it is a sector that tends to have greater equity in relations and access to resources than other sectors.



3.5 Mapping is a Powerful Tool for Legitimising Land Use and Guiding Planning and Development

Mapping makes palpable and real what is commonly held only in people's minds. Mapping can take several forms: the use of technology (GPS, GIS, Google Earth maps etc) combined with indigenous knowledge can save time and costs and can greatly help improve community buy-in and the extent of the depth of the community's knowledge about their environment. The use of satellite imagery in the Ntem village land use mapping process for example enabled communities to see the extent of land use change that had occurred, and particularly the increase in commercial crop farming. The mapping and later protection of livestock routes is an important step in maintaining the pastoral system and to avoid conflicts with other land users. These routes then require services provided along them such as resting places, veterinary posts and grazing to ensure that livestock arrive at their destination in good condition. By mapping, marking and protecting these routes as well as other pastoral land use, it also makes them and pastoral land use generally more visible to other land users, and improves their legitimacy in the eyes of government.

Mapping and participatory land use planning however is still a novel activity for many, and yet to be taken seriously by for example government planning authorities. Though most councils in the country have a council development plan (CDP), very few have land use plans. Land use planning is a new approach, which demands new ways of working, roles, and responsibilities that are challenging to build. Equally challenging has been adapting land use planning to accommodate for temporal and spatial variability – a requirement of planning in the dynamic environments that rangelands and pastoral areas are with secondary and tertiary uses of land as well as primary.

Indeed, it can be challenging to reflect such multiple use and sharing of resources in land use plans: land use plans promote the zoning of land, which can encourage and reinforce single land uses and rigidity in application. Pastoralism however requires a degree of flexibility to optimise land and resources that can change on a regular (and irregular) basis in terms of quality and quantity. Care is therefore required in how land uses are defined i.e. as 'priority' uses and not as 'only' or 'single' uses. In addition different tenure regimes need to be accommodated for - individual and communal. The key lesson therefore is not to protect resources but the rights to those resources (as has been proposed by Moritz et al. 2013). Ntem village LU mapping and the Council plan for Bangante have shown how such issues can be addressed, albeit to varying degrees.



Once land use plans are produced, they then need to be implemented – in fact this is usually the most challenging part – as has been seen with the plan for Bangante Council the lack of financial and human resources has meant its implementation has stalled. Little if any funds come from the central treasury for local level land use planning, despite its clear advantages – therefore such activities remain a donor-funded and externally-facilitated initiative. Six million CFA francs (over USD 9000) – the cost of the Ntem village land use plan – is prohibitive for most local authorities. This means that they may not be taken seriously by government: incorporating them into government development plans can assist with this, but requires government buy-in to the land use planning process from the start.

3.6 More Participatory Management Approaches in Managing Protected Areas Create Win-win for both Conservation and Pastoralists

There is an increasing adoption of more participatory approaches in the management plans of the Benue National Park case studied here and other protected areas in the country on the understanding that this will benefit both conservation and pastoralists. Conservationists have come to realise that the “fortress conservation” model which excludes local communities from park resources is no longer tenable; and has in fact led to increased poaching and hunting as well as exploitation of forage resources through the sale of exploitation ‘rights’ to pastoralists by poorly paid game wardens.

The establishment of buffer zones around the Benue NP for example offers some compensation to those communities no longer able to use Park resources; whilst transhumance corridors through the Park allow the pastoralists to continue accessing required forage and water resources on the Eastern side of the park. These efforts are geared towards sustaining livelihoods of rural communities, promoting biodiversity conservation and reducing poverty and landlessness and thus creating a win-win for both communities and conservation. Pastoralist communities are now seen as a partner in conservation objectives rather than a barrier or a problem, with roles and responsibilities reflecting this. Their activities are included in the management plan so giving them a degree of legitimisation. Pastoralists are given increasing opportunities to contribute to decision-making processes as legitimate land users and citizens, so also contributing to improved self-esteem and confidence. Though there have had to be some compromises here (on both sides) for the pastoralists in particular the gains made in formal recognition and legitimisation of land use are significant. Often it is wiser, more strategic, and successful in the long-term to advocate for these relatively low-lying fruit and achieve them, before aiming for higher and more challenging (perhaps even unreachable) targets (as proposed in Yhankbai et al., 2014). This not only gives those fighting for their rights something tangible on which to build, but it also gives all involved time to



adjust to new ideas and arrangements, build confidence, reach consensus, and for example put in place appropriate governance structures.

4. IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1. Implications for Future Policy and Legislation Development: Recommendations for Policy and Decision-Makers

1. Policy and legislation must provide an enabling environment for community-led rangeland governance

Rangeland governance does not exist in isolation or in a vacuum. Its effective functioning will depend on the existence of an enabling environment including policy and legislation that guarantees the implementation of principles of good governance. Good governance entails an enabling policy and legislative framework that is implementable given available resources and capacities; responsiveness of public policies and institutions to the needs of citizens; accountability and the role of law and respect for basic freedoms and citizen's rights.

Though there appears no intention by the state to systematically discriminate against pastoralists, events and processes like those described in this volume undermine the rights and livelihoods of pastoralists. If positive change is to result with the rights of pastoralists as citizens of Cameroon fully recognised and supported, then it has to start at the top (national government level) as much as at other levels. Providing a more enabling environment for community-led governance will be a step in the right direction.

It is recommended that the Government of Cameroon fully assumes and plays its role as protector and guarantor of human rights and freedoms for all its citizens by putting in place effective monitoring mechanisms and institutions of human rights abuses and by also punishing defaulters.

2. Recognition and where appropriate formalisation of customary systems of rangeland management is required

Local rangeland users, pastoralists and others, are best placed to manage their resources and land. To do this including making required investments, communities need to perceive that they have security to these resources and land. How best to reach this level of security will depend on the context, the resources or land use involved, and the access that pastoralists have to different types of capital (human, financial, social, natural and physical). What is clear is that an appropriate land tenure system that will support pastoralism as well as other land uses must be accommodating of different scales of use and governance,



multiple layers of use and multiple users, and be flexible enough to facilitate movement and regular or irregular use of spatial and temporally variable resources. Reaching agreement on what an appropriate system or systems could look like should be defined with the input of the rangeland users these systems are meant to serve. This must be facilitated in a way that avoids elite capture. Dialogue platforms as described in this volume are one way of bringing different stakeholders together in order to reach such agreement(s).

It is recommended that the Ministry of Livestock, Fisheries and Animal Industries work with the Ministry of State Property and Land Tenure to review and develop tenures systems for the rangelands that will secure land and resource rights for different land users, including those who are normally marginalised from such processes. CSOs and development agencies can support this process by creating dialogue/consultation mechanisms with land users, and by piloting and/or upscaling successful innovations.

3. The enactment and promulgation of the Pastoral Code must be speeded up

The Pastoral Code offers a legislative framework that can address and resolve many of the land use conflicts seen in the rangelands today. The draft of the code with its 62 articles subdivided into seven major headings amongst other things recognises pastoralism as a rational and sustainable livelihood activity; defines the fundamental principles and general rules governing pastoral livestock activities; fixes and defines the rights of pastoralists and other actors in matters of animal movement and access to pastoral resources as well as their main obligations.

To date rangeland access and management has been undertaken through various laws (formal ordinances to by-laws to customary rules and regulations), depending on required outcomes and perceived benefits of these by different parties. The enactment in Parliament and subsequent promulgation by the Head of State of the Pastoral Code will bring some sanity to this management, whilst contributing to a resolution of the conflicts that are increasingly seen between different land users. The financial provisions of the Code can make it possible for government to subsidise pastoral actions that will contribute to this resolution such as the fencing of crop areas or night paddocks to prevent livestock from straying onto farms particularly in agropastoral zones. The governance provisions of the Code will help establish the appropriate institutions that are required to authorise, enforce and oversee implementation of the Code including roles and responsibilities for different stakeholders. The main reason that has stalled the enactment and promulgation process of the code is the on-going land reforms that the country is presently undertaking.



It is recommended that in order to move forward with the approval of the Code, government should speed-up the on-going land reforms by setting up timelines for this activity and mobilising efforts and means towards their achievement. Any discrepancies between the revised land laws and the draft pastoral code should thereafter be harmonised thus paving the way for the passing of the Code.

4. The capacity of lower levels of government must be built up to effectively implement rangeland-related policy and legislation and the necessary coordination of different stakeholders in this regard

Though policy and legislation supports decentralisation of financial and administrative decision-making and resources (human, technical and financial) to the lower levels of government (municipal councils), these have not been implemented. A key reason for this is the lack of capacity in government at this level to take this forward: despite the fact that the decentralisation process started almost 20 years back, very little has to date been achieved. The fear of the loss of the many prerogatives and advantages that go with centralisation by top-level government functionaries is partly to blame, but there is also a general lack of political will from the ruling class. These will have to change in order to get good rangeland governance in place, and the capacities of lower levels of government built up to take on their new roles and responsibilities.

Coordination on the other hand implies that decisions reached by one branch of government on pastoral tenure rights will not be violated by another branch of government. In Cameroon there exist two different line ministries responsible for agricultural and livestock issues, which has contributed to the stalling of some issues and mechanisms. For example, the Ministry of Livestock, Fisheries and Animal Industries led the development of the Pastoral Code, and has been criticised by the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development for not adequately including the opinions of crop farmers. Another case in point is the management of protected areas which is undertaken by two different ministries – Ministry of Environment and Nature Protection and the Ministry of Forestry and Wildlife – with the observed overlap, conflict and duplication of functions. This lack of coordination is a major challenge in governance as a whole and not only in land and pastoral tenure governance. This has been solved elsewhere by the development of high level planning tools, supported by nation-wide legal frameworks for all government departments, that compel all relevant branches of government to participate in a process or at least accept its results (Herrera et al., 2014).



It is recommended that a similar mechanism is established in Cameroon at different levels of government that will coordinate processes and activities across ministries as well as with other stakeholder such as donors and NGO/CSOs.

5. De-gazetting and down-sizing of some protected areas is required.

At a country level about 11 % of the land is covered by some kind of conservation designation (natural parks, forest and game reserves, sanctuaries etc). Under Law N° 94/01 of 20th January 1994 bearing on the Management of Forest, Wildlife and Fisheries, NPs should be free of people and habitation. In the North of the country, parks occupy almost 40 % of the total land surface area and with an annual human population growth of over 2 % in the region, land is increasingly needed for agriculture, livestock and other activities. This situation requires revisiting and it is proposed, a de-gazetting and down-sizing of some of the protected areas. A starting point for this could be those protected areas that are only protected ‘on paper’ and in reality have little or no fauna or flora left because of poaching and weak institutional support over the years.

In addition, the success of initiatives that have introduced co-management of resources (as developed in Benue NP) need to be scaled-up where communities are willing. To achieve this, benefits to communities need to be clear, even if ‘low-hanging’. For example by legitimising community use of land in a buffer zone of a Park it can contribute to greater security of tenure for those communities or in situations of serious drought.

It is recommended that a review of national conservation policies, laws and protected areas together with their status is carried out. This review should then be presented at a meeting of all key stakeholders in order to initiate debate and dialogue as a first step to finding more sustainable solutions to the conflicts between conservation and land users seen today.

6. Develop and institutionalise land use planning at different levels including delimiting of livestock corridors

Cameroon does not have a national land use plan, nor has it institutionalised lower levels of land use planning. Though some pilots have been carried out, these are limited in both scope and impact when not part of a national programme. This means that land use decisions are still made in a haphazard manner with plenty of opportunity for the elite and/or corrupt to sway decisions in their favour. Additionally major livestock routes are not known or protected – this is a key contributing factor to conflicts between different users.



In rangelands there is the danger that land use planning will prioritise land uses less favourable for pastoral production, and/or limit the opportunities for multiple use and sharing of resources. As such, as the land use planning processes are being developed there is a need for awareness-raising on the special needs and requirements of land use planning in pastoral areas.

It is recommended that the Cameroon government develops a national land use plan or strategic framework that will guide development decisions at the country-level. As part of this, the livestock corridors recently mapped should be delimited and serviced. Since many development partners have facilitated this activity in the northern part of the country, other livestock producing regions like the Northwest, West and East should be prioritised in this process of delimiting and servicing. An independent commission or other body should produce this, with the input of all government sectors. This will then be replicated at lower levels of government including counties.

It is also recommended that the Cameroon Government through the National Community Driven Development Programme (PNDP) replicates the process of participatory village/council land use planning in many more localities, that can be supported by development actors, learning from the experiences of such planning already undertaken in the country. In order to maintain sharing of resources across village/council boundaries and to save costs, joint village/council land use planning by several villages and councils at a time should be carried out where appropriate.

4.2. Implications for Future Project Development and Interventions: Recommendations for Donors and Development, Pastoral and Land-focused Organisations

1. Open up spaces for and build up the capacity of pastoralists to engage in dialogue and decision-making rather than continuing to ‘represent’ them

Donors and development/land-focused organisations can only do so much to influence the establishment of an enabling environment for the securing of pastoral land and resource rights. Though there is indeed room for improvement in this regard, donors and such organisations should also think beyond their own support, interventions, and role they play as ‘representatives of pastoralists’, and how best the capacity of pastoralists themselves can be built to participate in dialogue and to take up a leading role in land/resource-related decision-making processes. Superficial consultation and needs assessments are common among NGOs, who may have already decided what activities and interventions they are going to support. Indeed, pastoralists themselves are better-placed to know their needs, and to adapt to changing conditions and contexts that they face. If pastoralists are not involved in processes to develop an enabling



environment or to plan and implement a project from the start, then they are unlikely to have the knowledge and skills to continue influencing it. If there is the need to work through an organisation then the mandate of this organisation to represent and work on behalf of a given pastoralist group should be confirmed by that group. International development partners in particular should pay attention to the development of true and strategic partnerships with local organisations and/or service providers, and take practical steps not to dominate these.

It is recommended that donors, and development and land-focused organisations pay greater attention to the building of the capacity of pastoralists themselves to engage in dialogue on land and resources, and to take a leading role in related decision-making processes. International organisations working with local organisations and/or service providers should enter the partnership on an equal basis and ensure that they are not dominating decision-making or other processes.

2. Institutional weaknesses seen in pastoralists' organisations should be addressed.

MBOSCUDA and other pastoralists' organisations in the country such as Centre for Support to Research and Pastoralism (CARPA), Federation of Cattle Breeders of the Far North Region (FEB) and Association pour la Promotion de l'Élevage en Savane et au Sahel (APESS) may have legitimacy to represent pastoralists but they will have to work on their own institutional weaknesses and developing more sustainable sources of funds to avoid over-dependence on funds, which may come with challenging conditionalities. MBOSCUDA is a membership organisation, yet members are not paying their membership fees, which suggests some disconnect between what MBOSCUDA is doing and what members are willing-to-pay for. Lobbying and advocacy roles of all pastoral organisations needs to be strengthened and this should commence with a resolution of the differences and divides between these organisations, and a strengthened common voice and representation for pastoralists developed. With a strengthened common voice, there will not only be greater opportunity for influencing policy such as the enactment of the Pastoral Code but also the possibility of getting pastoralists appointed to key positions in government or elected to parliament and senate. Having a pastoral parliamentary group or government pressure group at president and/or prime minister level will provide a route to policy-makers to take pastoralist concerns.

It is recommended that pastoralist organisations pay concerted effort to resolving their institutional weaknesses, and the differences between them. Once this is achieved they should develop a common message for presentation to government, develop alliances with 'champions' of the cause, and lobby for pastoral representation in government at highest levels.



3. Development project funding cycles.

Development funding cycles are usually characterised by limited and rigid funds; short timeframe; pressure for immediate and tangible results; uncertainty about renewal; high turnover of staff and over-dependence on short-term expatriates; and are limited in tracking evidence of what really works and what doesn't including in different contexts and why. For projects that intend to build good governance these types of development funding cycles are extremely limiting and instead, longer-term, flexible, adaptive funding cycles that strive to build on the knowledge and experiences of local communities rather than reliance on 'external' expertise are more appropriate.

It is recommended that donors and development agencies adjust funding cycles that target good governance to be longer-term, and more flexible and adaptive in nature, and which genuinely builds on the knowledge and experiences of local land users. These land users as well as other stakeholders involved should be part of tracking or monitoring systems that effectively generate evidence of what works and why, and what the long-term (as well as short-term) impacts are.

4. Promote a holistic approach to development

A holistic or integrated approach to development is more likely to be inclusive of all stakeholders, and thus to be sustainable in the long-term. Not only is this important at national level (see above) but also at local levels ensuring the inclusion of all land users and other stakeholders. By taking such an approach then one is more likely to identify innovative solutions that benefit a host of stakeholders rather than one alone – for example by taking an integrated approach to resolving land use conflicts farmer-herder alliances were developed that now benefit both groups.

An integrated or holistic approach would also lead to identification of technical challenges as well as governance challenges in rangeland access and management. Though the emphasis of this volume has been on addressing the latter, this should not be understood as suggesting that technical challenges and solutions are not important – they are; and if an integrated or holistic approach is taken to rangeland management and access then they will be addressed. Indeed having good land governance is all very well, but without technical solutions and the input of rangeland science to address issues such as soil degradation, loss of palatable species and/or replacement of invasive or alien species then successful rangeland management will not be achieved. Such issues of national importance and that require a degree of coordination, should be supported by a national strategy and framework.



A similar approach should also be taken in regards to addressing gender. A holistic approach to resolving gender inequities involving both men and women is likely to be more successful than only involving one or other. Understanding household dynamics from both the perspective of women and men will be more likely to result in the identification of suitable entry points for interventions. Rather than an external agency ‘empowering’ men or women – it should be the role of the external agency to build up the capacity and opportunities of men or women to empower themselves.

It is recommended that development agencies and NGOs work through a holistic and integrated approach to problem-solving and intervention development with rural communities, without preconceived ideas about what works and what doesn't. This works equally for land use conflicts, the development of good governance and technical interventions, as it does for addressing gender inequalities.

It is recommended that a national strategy for dealing with invasive species (and other issues of national importance) is developed, to ensure a coordinated approach is undertaken and to provide guidance for action on the ground.

5. Development of innovative learning tools

The case studies described here are a rich source of learning for different stakeholders. Learning is a key component of influencing, advocacy and lobbying work. By taking those that you wish to influence to practical examples in the field and where communities or other stakeholders can describe their experiences themselves, one is likely to gain more than relating such experiences in a classroom environment. In addition, innovative learning tools such as ‘learning routes’ have other advantages including building solidarity and positive relations between those who participate in the experience, whilst also building up the self-confidence and self-esteem of communities visited.

It is recommended that a programme of learning is developed for different stakeholders to share the experiences described in this volume and to contribute to a critical masse of people who have been through the same experience and have had the opportunity to learn from these.



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