

PASTORALISM ROADMAP RESEARCH QUESTIONS

ARTISANAL MINING AND PROPERTY RIGHTS (USAID AMPR) TASK ORDER UNDER THE STRENGTHENING TENURE AND RESOURCE RIGHTS II (STARR II) IDIQ



MARCH 2020

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AMPR	Artisanal Mining and Property Rights
CAR	Central African Republic
FNEC	Federation of Livestock Producers
MINUSCA	United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The USAID Artisanal Mining and Property Rights (AMPR) Year II workplan stipulated that under Objective II: Strengthen Community Resilience, Social Cohesion, and Response to Violent Conflict in the Central African Republic (CAR) and under Intermediate Result 2.1: Support Inclusive Community Dialogue Especially between Different Religious and Ethnic Groups to Resolve Conflict Over Land and Natural Resources In Compliant Zones the following deliverable: “Develop a roadmap that identifies key research questions and next steps for policymakers, academics, and practitioners to advance understanding and respond to conflicts (Contract Activity 2.1.3).”

The following materials are submitted to demonstrate the advancement of the pastoralism activity under Component II. This report presents the following:

1. Bibliography of key literature on pastoralism prepared by consultant Dr. Leif Brottem
2. Pastoralism Roadmap of key research questions guiding field research carried out by sub-contractor Concordis International.
3. Issues and Questions for a Research Agenda jointly prepared by Dr. Leif Brottem and Concordis International but in consultation with the AMPR project management team.
4. Roadmap Master Class presentation offered to regional workshops in Nola and Berberati and to a national stakeholders’ workshop in Bangui in early January 2020.

The Component II activity continues at this time despite the COVID-19 situation. The sub-contractor, Concordis International carried out field work successfully as reported in the AMPR Weekly Updates in February 2020. Research findings are currently being written up for submission on June 30, 2020, but possibly earlier. Following the presentation of the report to national and regional actors, the AMPR project may decide to invest the resources in working with these stakeholders to develop an inclusive and participatory Action Plan based on these and other findings. The present and future impacts of COVID-19 may substantially influence future policy recommendations and AMPR could play a key part in facilitating these reflections. However, any follow-up will be spelled out in the AMPR Year III workplan.

I.0 BIBLIOGRAPHY ON PASTORALISM IN THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

The bibliography of literature on pastoralism in the Central African Republic was prepared by consultant Dr. Leif Brottem to help guide the preparation of the central research questions. The full bibliography is listed in Appendix I. Field research questions were in part derived from this literature review. Field research will either confirm and expand on these questions or contradict them. The preliminary questions were discussed in stakeholder meetings in Berberati, Nola, and Bangui in January 2020.

2.0 PASTORALISM ROAD MAP

The pastoralism roadmap as defined in the USAID AMPR Year II workplan “identifies key research questions and next steps for policymakers, academics, and practitioners to advance understanding and respond to conflicts.” The key issues and questions summarized in Annex 2 were derived from the literature review, as well as discussions held during workshops in Berberati, Nola, and Bangui in January 2020. These questions seemed particularly pertinent to workshop participants, which included representatives of regional and national authorities (ministries, sub-prefects, gendarmerie), representatives of pastoralist organizations, MINUSCA, the AMPR staff, and others.

The workshops consisted of two presentations, one by Dr. Leif Brottem through his Master Class presentation on pastoralist issues in West and Central Africa. The second consisted of a presentation by Mr. Peter Marsden of Concordis International on the results of a similar type of research carried out in the prefecture of Ouham-Pendé (<http://concordis.international/central-african-republic/>). These two presentations were reviewed by participants with interest and many questions.

The workshop discussions generated additional issues and questions which were then integrated into the Concordis International semi-structured interview guides and questionnaires. The preliminary roadmap questions prepared by Leif Brottem are presented in Annex 2.

Following the presentation of the final research report prepared by Concordis International, the report findings and recommendations will be presented to national government stakeholders and the local multi-stakeholder working groups (Contract Activity 2.1.3). Under the Year III workplan, further activities will be defined in light of the political, institutional and public health situation of the moment.

3.0 MASTER CLASS PRESENTATION

The Master Class presentation of Annex 3 was presented to regional workshops in Berberati and Nola in early January 2020. Over 60 participants attended the day-long workshop facilitated by the AMPR Component II coordinator, Dr. Zéphirin Mogba. The presentation attached here was prepared prior to arrival by Dr. Leif Brottem in Bangui, but then subsequently modified after discussions with the AMPR and Concordis International teams. This presentation, as well as review of the work carried out by Concordis International in the Ouham-Pendé region, set the stage for small group discussions divided up into pastoralist interest groups, artisanal miner/farmer interest groups, and government/donor interest groups. Each group presented its own narrative of the realities they confront. This led to a plenary discussion of how narratives structure interpretations of facts with each party trying to construct a story to support its own position and special interests.

The workshop was a key mechanism for the Concordis International team to line up contacts for subsequent research.

This master class presentation was also delivered in Bangui, but to a small group of Ministry of Livestock and Ministry of Mines and Geology staff. The seminar summarized the key points of each of the regional workshops.

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ANNEX II: PASTORALIM ROADMAP

Summary

Based on the objective of the AMPR project and the research questions contained in Concordis International and Dr. Leif Brottem's scopes of work for field work and analysis to be conducted in 2019, the point of departure for the key questions—in terms of prior data collection and analysis—comes out of the IRAM 2017 mission report (see Bonnet et al. 2017) and the U.N. Security Council CAR Panel of Experts reports of 2017, 2018, and 2019. From the initial interpretation of these reports and the other literature cited in the list of references contained in Annex I, the following issues point towards clear, circumscribed areas of investigation to be carried out by Concordis International in early 2020:

According to published research (Bonnet et al. 2017) and first-hand accounts (Berberati workshop 1/10/20), little to no transhumance originated from northern CAR or Chad historically in the southwest of the Central African Republic up until 2015. Yet the most active local Fulani armed group, the Siriri, has strong ties to northern, ex-Seleka groups like 3R and the UPC (United Nations Security Council 2018). By early 2020, Siriri had been neutralized by MINUSCA forces and displaced by armed elements with ties to 3R (AMPR field mission 1/2020). These elements are allegedly cantoned in five villages in the Gamboula sous-prefecture where they harass and extort herders, but they are also starting to make incursions southwards toward Berberati, including quite recently. According to one informant who participated in the Prefectural Peace Dialogue with a 3R representative said that the group's condition for disarming is *pastoral security*, which raises important questions about what the sources of *insecurity* are, if not the predatory practices of armed groups themselves. According to the Bangui Accord and Khartoum Agreement, security forces and mixed patrols are supposed to move into this area but after several years, nothing has happened yet. One informant described a mixed patrol nearing deployment in the Boar sub-prefecture, which could impact the situation in Gamboula and Berberati. Together, these dynamics have important implications for understanding the pastoralism (agriculture)-mineral resource relationship.

Key Issues and Questions

- What is driving the spread of armed groups into the southwest of the Central African Republic? Specifically, what is the balance between profit-seeking and protection of pastoralists motivations?
- What is the relationship between armed groups and local Fulani (known as *leveurs*) and pastoralists from afar (known as *transhumants*) in terms of group members, communication, and interaction?
- What role, if any, do armed groups play in local conflicts over resource control and property dispossession?
- Who benefits from the protection that certain armed groups provide?

Historically, farming and herding have been officially segregated by territory to reduce conflict, exemplified by village territorial zonation (see Bonnet et al. 2017) and the “communes d'élevage” established in the 1960s. However, this system has not been respected: each group benefits from production and labor of the others—e.g., grazing fallows, farming areas fertilized by manure, commercial exchange of farming and livestock products, etc. However, given the gap between official (segregated) and actual land management strategies, this appears to occur in the absence of clear land rights and conventions, aside from customary claims and secondary use rights. This has important sets of implications:

1. The first implication is the relationship between local mapping, property rights, and the ongoing issue of land dispossession that took place after local Fulani (*éleveurs*) fled during the post-2014 anti-Muslim violence. Restitution of land and property through the *Logement, Terre, et Bien* (housing, land, and assets) program is an ongoing source of tension and political controversy.
2. The second implication is the efficacy of local, participatory mapping in addressing conflicts surrounding resource access and use. If mapping efforts reinforce the official policy of land use segregation without addressing underlying issues of power and control, they could exacerbate tensions between miners, herders, and farmers.

Transhumance livestock continue to be targeted by and in many parts of the country under the control of non-state armed groups (Schouten 2019). All actors emphasize transhumance as a key dimension of the ongoing crisis and continue to focus on the establishment of *corridors* and *conflict management committees* as strategies for pursuing long-term peace and stability. Yet, the viability and even desirability of focusing on territory-based measures should be carefully considered given the prior experience in the CAR and neighboring countries. A better sequence may be to focus on inter-community trust/understanding/agreement over resource access before engaging in boundary making and territorial management.

Timeline of Major Livestock and Artisanal Mining Issues in Southwestern CAR

Historical context: Fulani pastoral settlement in southwestern CAR

Pre-colonial settlement history and the emergence of autochthonous groups and customary property rights in 19th century.

Berberati becomes an area of rubber production after 1900

M'Bororo Fulani arrive from Cameroon in SW CAR in 1920s ((Boutrais 1994) (Landais and Lloste 1990, Bonnet et al. 2017 (IRAM)).

Diamond extraction commences in 1920s.

CAR becomes net exporter of livestock in 1970s. 15,000 trypano-tolerant livestock¹ imported and distributed to farmers during same period.

Herders favored under President Kolingba (Ankogui-Mpoko and Vircoulon 2018).

Federation of Livestock Producers (FNEC) created in 1985 (Bonnet et al. 2017).

Political instability begins in the CAR in 1996.

First UN mission in 1998: MINURCA

Banditry increases after 2003 coup by Francois Bozizé

Chadians (therefore foreigners associated with herders) comprise Bozize's armed force

¹ Southern CAR is within the tsetse-infested part of the continent, which historically limited livestock production and necessitated the development and introduction of breeds resistance to Trypanosomiasis, the disease propagated by tsetse flies (<http://www.fao.org/3/y5832e/y5832e05.htm>)

Rise of Zarguina (road cutter) phenomenon (Saïbou 2010) (Seignobos 2011).

2013: Seleka-anti-Balaka altercations set up current dynamic of violence. This marks the first time the entire country is engulfed in instability and rebel group activity (Glawion and De Vries 2018)

Rebellion and criminality continue to be intertwined; new forms of criminality such as kidnapping come into use (Saïbou 2006).

2014-2015: Muslim (especially Fulani) herders and traders (*commerçants*) flee western CAR including the Berberati area. FAO) 2015). This has significantly impacted livestock movements and marketing (Schouten and Kalessopo 2019) even as Fulani refugees have begun to return from Cameroon (AMPR field mission 1/2020).

Some Muslim herders and *commerçants* returning post 2017 (Bonnet et al. 2017) but lack of security (underequipped gendarmes) is preventing most from doing so (as of 2017). Anti-Balaka self-defense groups had been very active against bandits here though reportedly they have been brought under control by MINUSCA and state security forces, particularly in terms of their own alleged cattle thefts (AMPR field mission 1/2020). It is worth noting that Berberati is one of the few parts of the country with a functioning judicial system (United Nations Security Council 2018).

- Key question: To what degree is ongoing insecurity driven by local conflict versus ruptures in national politics, or even the nationalization of rebellion by ex-Seleka groups? Bonnet et al.'s (2017) analysis suggested that the now-defunct group Siriri was comprised of local Fulani, which suggests a contagion effect among Fulani armed groups (from groups with more connection to Chad to those with more endogeneity in the CAR). One key informant countered that Siriri was formed by a disgruntled politician looking to become recognized in the peace process and therefore eligible for the DDR program (AMPR field mission 1/2020).
- Key question: State security forces are often portrayed as unhelpful or even predatory, yet their absence is frequently a principal grievance among certain local people. What is an accurate description of state security forces (gendarmerie, military) in post-crisis CAR and the southwest in particular?

Legislation, policy, and governance

National Assembly/Prime Minister Declaration of June 7, 2016 on restarting the agro-pastoral sector is a point of departure in terms of policy (Bonnet et al. 2017). The standing law on pastoral movement and resource access is Arrêté #33 on the management of transhumance in CAR (2003). Various public authorities including the National Agency for Livestock Development (ANDE), the FNEC, and prefects are responsible for its implementation. Ankogui-Mpoko and Vircoulon (2018) point out that this law has not been carried out in consultation with MINUSCA. In parallel, MINUSCA, in collaboration with the FAO, have established a Transhumance Action Plan that includes the creation of conflict management committees.

Control of herd movements wrapped up in control of cattle marketing revenue through market control and roadblocks currently by ex-Seleka groups and, until recently, anti-Balaka groups (up until 2016) (Marchal 2016, Betabelet, Ababa, and Tidjani 2015),

Agriculture as a vector of reconciliation with an emphasis on better land management, including transhumance corridors (Bonnet et al. 2017)

- Key question: To what degree is land pressure and competition a source of conflict?

This issue is complicated by intentional crop damage, which has more to do with power dynamics and perceived injustice. Destruction of crops is often an outcome of other disputes, including over whether previous instances of crop damage compensation was excessive or even justified (Tidjani 2015). Farmer-herder conflict is still managed by customary authorities (Chefs de quartier and Ardo) (Bonnet et al. 2017). Lamido govern the seven livestock-raising communes whose governance is rooted in Islamic jurisprudence through the *Zakat* tax (Tidjani 2015), which armed groups such as the 3R have, in certain cases, appropriated for their own use (United Nations Security Council 2018). Before the crisis, commune leaders in livestock-raising communes played a central role in the management of transhumant movements in and out of the country, including recent movements into southwestern CAR. Local Fulani herders served as the hosts for transhumant herders coming from distant locations, including neighboring countries (AMPR field mission 1/2020).

- Key question: What is the relationship between local and transhumant pastoralists after the crisis? Conversations in the field suggested that transhumant herders are easy to blame for the various problems in the area (presence of weapons, overall insecurity) and local *eleveurs* are distancing themselves from any association with them (AMPR field mission 1/2020).

Agriculture and livestock interactions over time

- **Agro-pastoralism is not developed in the CAR and there is little to no animal traction or formal crop-livestock integration.** Symbiosis comes in spite of strict territorial separation of cropping and grazing (which is not respected); farmers are attracted to areas grazed by cattle and vice versa (see Bonnet et al 2017: p25 for details)
- **Agriculture/pastoralism-mineral extraction nexus following the 2013 crisis.** There is less farmer-herder interaction than before the crisis (Bonnet et al. 2017: p30) and settlement/land use have been impacted, with previous Fulani settlement areas occupied by sedentary groups (Berberati workshop 1/10/20.)
- **Return of expelled groups.** Nossoule case study shows that stakeholders were acquiescent to the early return of herders motivated by economic interest and demand for animal products but that they are not welcome in the areas of diamond extraction controlled by anti-Balaka who wish to participate in disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration, which would nevertheless require the return of pastoralists (AMPR technical report, 8/19).

The Gamboula AMPR case study: The herders returning gradually though anti-Balaka elements do not fully accept the return of some pastoralist groups and insecurity remains a major problem (see description of armed groups in Gamboula). More than 1,300 Central African herders could currently return thanks to negotiations between Ardo² Hamidou Kossao and the group leader of Dilapoko. However, these herders are exposed to danger north of this area (Amada Gaza), where security force deployment has been blocked and recent episodes of violence have occurred.

- **Reorganization of land access and claims:** Sedentary elements demand payment for access to pasture, which exacerbates the problem of crop damage but also calls into question usage and settlement rights (AMPR technical report, 8/19).

² Ardo refers to the traditional authority of pastoralist Foulbe communities. In CAR many individual Ardo also serve as mayors of rural municipalities and thus have political status in the formal sphere.

- Key questions:
 - a. If pastoralists are coming to the southwest to herd, what relationship, if any, do they have with the mining economy?
 - b. Are herding and mining being combined in new ways: labor for cattle plus commercial (investing/buying/selling) in mining?
 - c. Specifically, is cross-border pastoralism playing a role in diamond trafficking?
 - d. If transhumant herds in the southwest are absentee-owned, what is the relationship between livestock owners, armed groups, and mining?
 - e. Who exactly are herders who are perceived as “foreign”? Who are these foreign herders—both perceived and real? The discussion in the field and published accounts point to the important question raised by Tidjani (2015) who sheds light on both the reality of national differences as well as the stereotyping that precludes mediation and peacebuilding. Conversations in the field during the January 2020 mission strongly confirm these twin currents:
 - i. Chadian transhumant herders (Hanagamba, Hontorbé, Biibé-Woyla) exploit local ones. They do not have any respect for the traditional corridors of transhumance and have used violence to take control of pastoral territories and water points. It is alleged that the Chadian transhumance groups also use force to steal cattle from local herders and illegally “grow their own wealth.”
 - ii. Many Cameroonian herders (Foulbé, Foulata, Aku) arm themselves for protection but they are more accepted in the local because they do not arouse as much fear as the Chadians. They are arming themselves or using the service of armed groups to protect themselves and their herds.

ANNEX III: PASTORALISM MASTER CLASS PRESENTATION



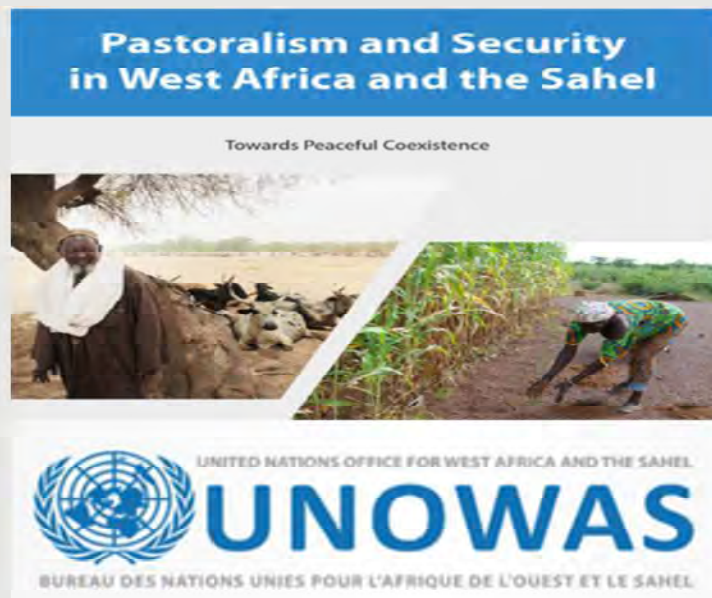
PROPRIÉTÉS ET ARTISANAT MINIER (DPAM) MASTER CLASS: MODULE CONTEXTE REGIONALE

Compréhension des dynamiques passées et actuelles de conflits liés au pastoralisme dans les zones minières conformes du sud ouest

Leif Brottem, PhD

Question d'orientation:

Quels sont les leçons comparatifs à tirer des changements turbulents qui secouent le pastoralisme à l'échelle régionale?



Le Presentateur

- Professeur d'étude du développement international à Grinnell Université
- Actif en Afrique de l'Ouest et Centrale depuis 2002
- Projets actuels:
 - Composante pastorale du DPAM (Tetra Tech/USAID)
 - Transhumance au carrefour du chemins dans les aires protegees du Sudano-Sahel (U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service)
 - L'instabilité régionale et les conflits pastoraux (Search for Common Ground/U.S. Departement de l'Etat)



Une vieille photo dans un champs du coton au Benin

Trois parties de la presentation:

1. La contexte des transformations rurale en Afrique de l'Ouest et Centrale
2. Les modes de vie et l'accès aux ressources
3. Les conflits des ressources et les liens aux ruptures politiques

Structure:

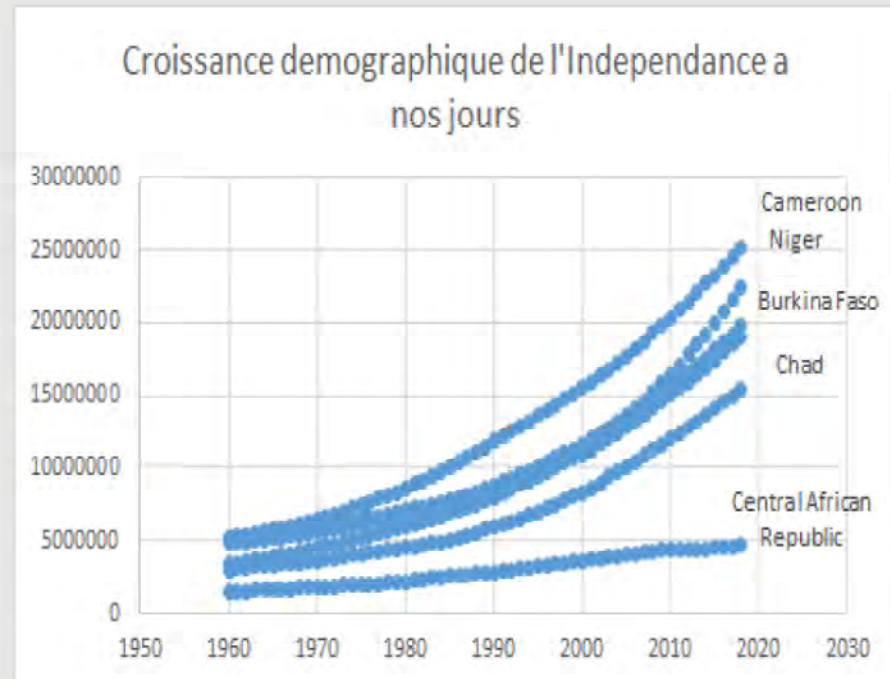
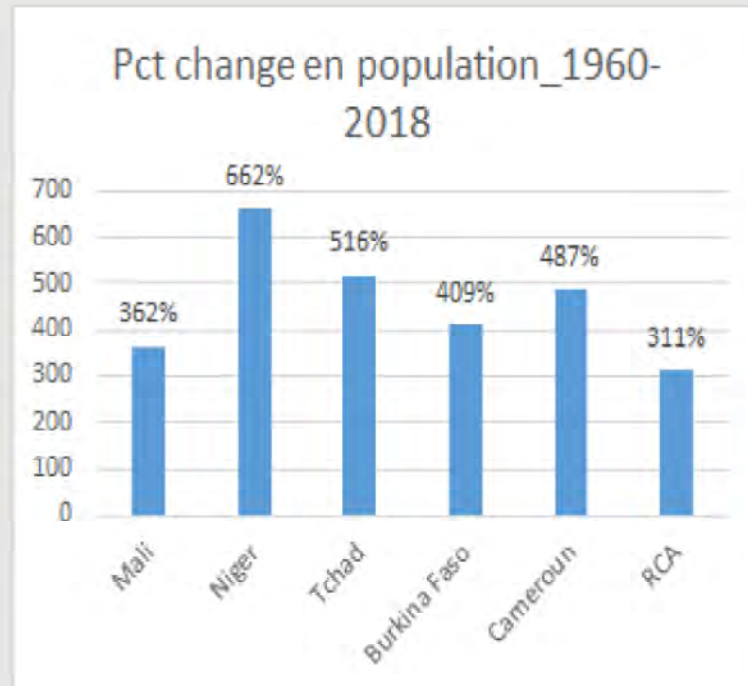
Des diapos d'information mélanges avec des questions à débattre et discuter

Premiere partie

Le contexte des transformations rurales en Afrique de l'Ouest et Centrale:

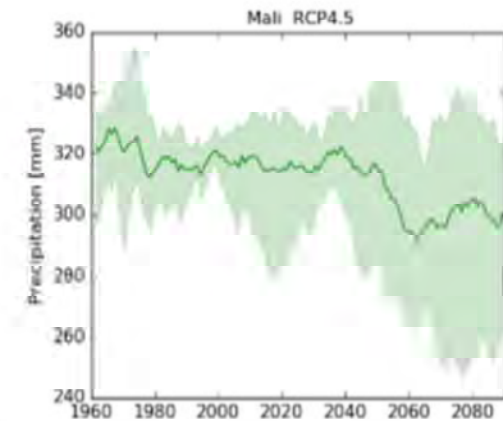
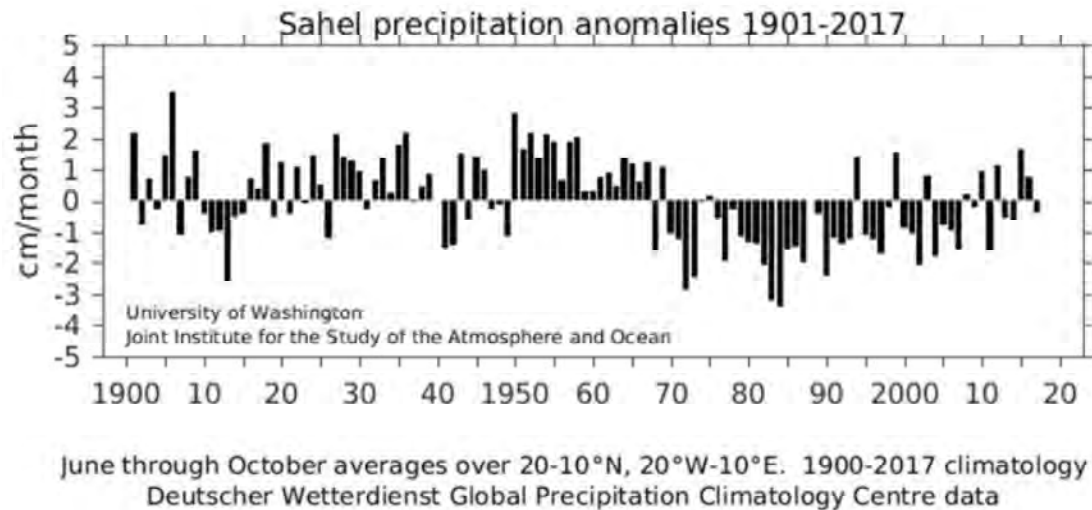
1. La croissance demographique
2. Le changement climatique
3. La concurrence pour la terre

I. Croissance démographique dans les pays Sahéliens et l'RCA



Point d'interrogation: résister ou accommoder la pression qui provient d'ailleurs?

2. Changements climatiques à longue durée



Regional climate model projections for precipitation displayed as 20 year running mean. The line represents the ensemble mean while the shaded area represents the model spread. The projections are based on the emission scenario RCP4.5.

Anomalies des précipitations au Sahel 1901-2017

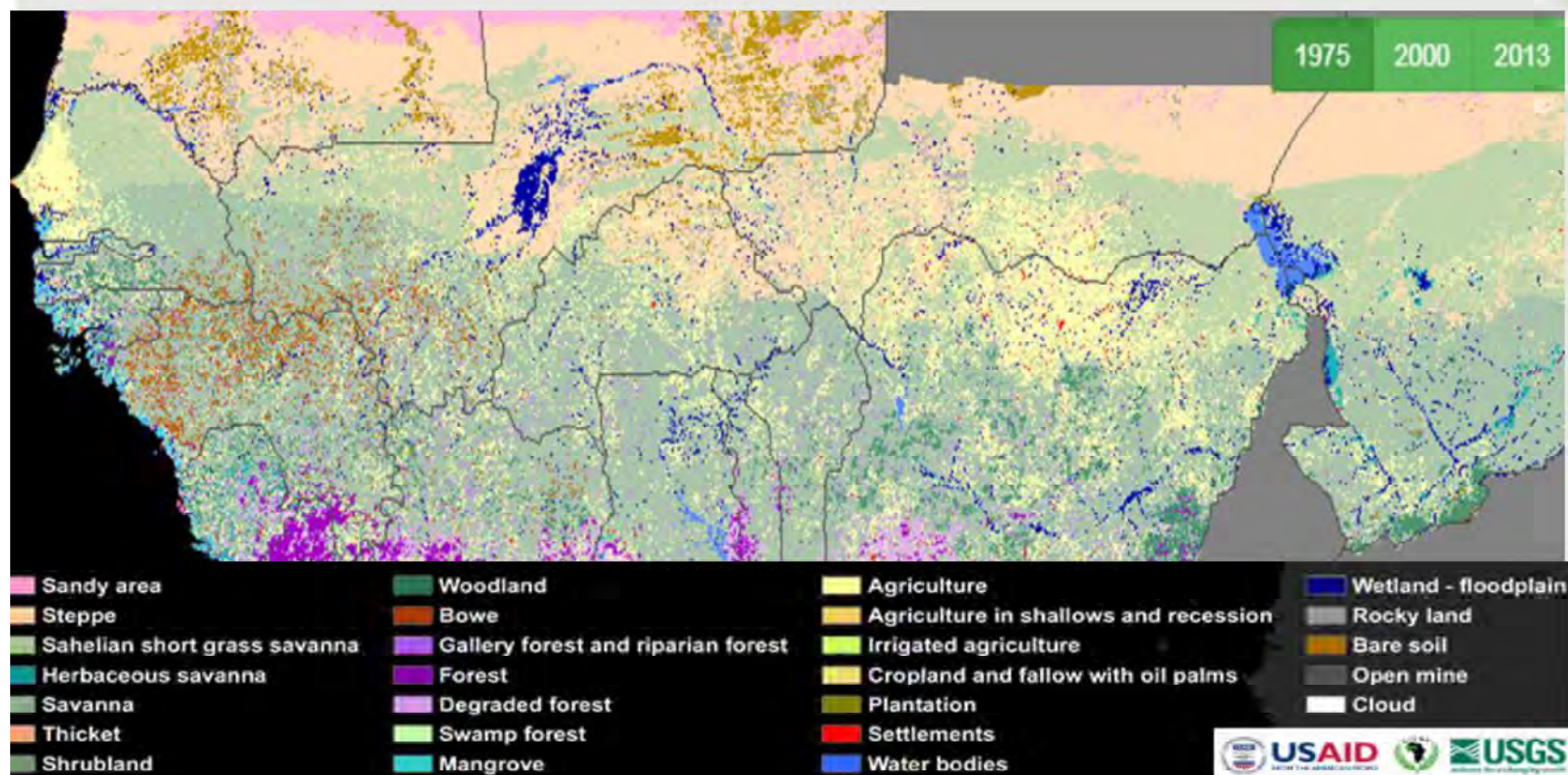
Prévision des précipitations
pour le Mali dans le scénario
RCP4.5

3. La concurrence pour la terre

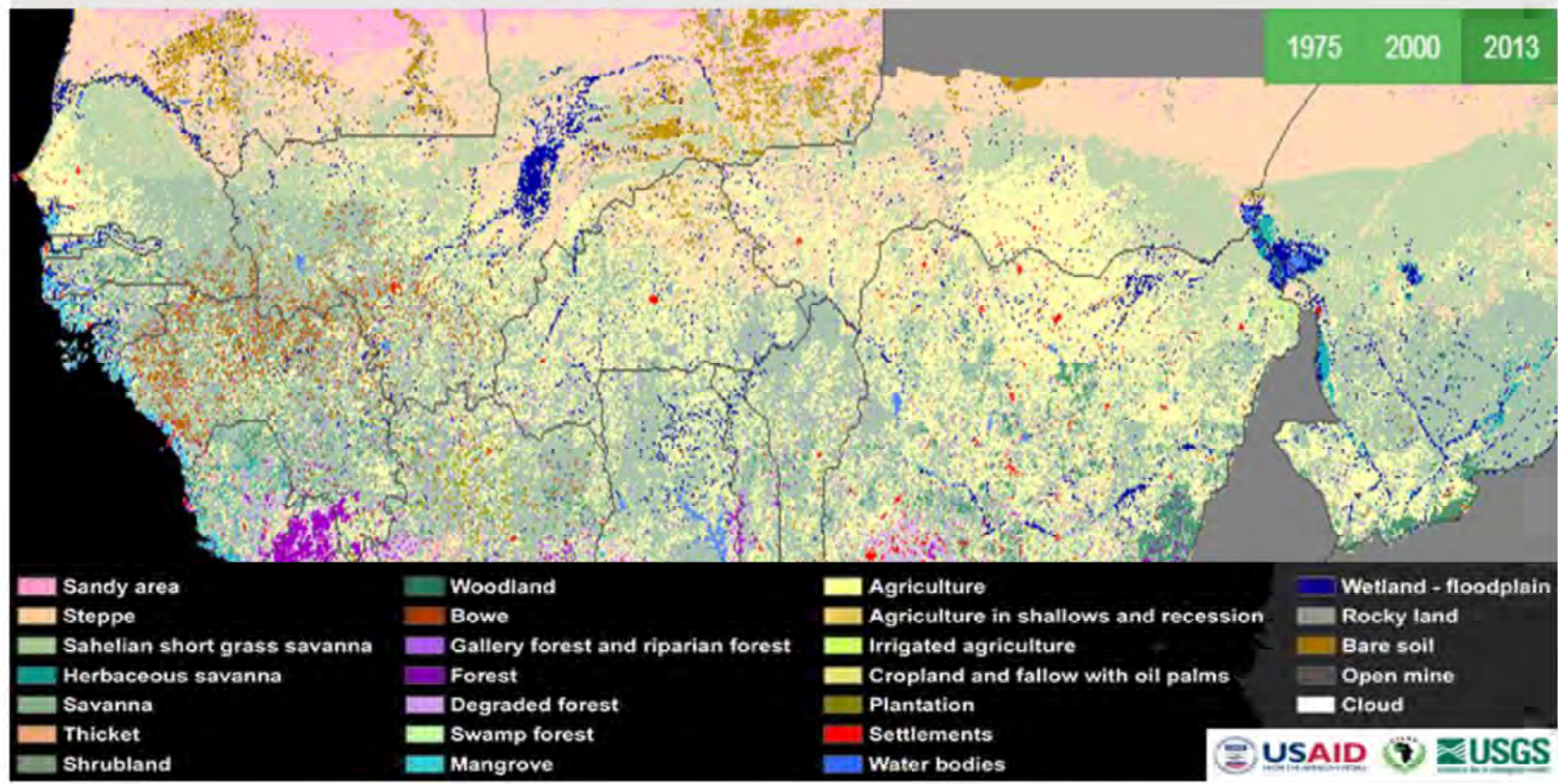


Le café, l'exploitation du bois, et le coton en Afrique Centrale

La superficie emblavée en 1975 (ag en jaune)



La superficie emblavée en 2013 (ag en jaune)



Point d'interrogation: comment maîtriser les différentes demandes de ressources dans un territoire locale?



A droite: La planification d'un couloir du passage transhumant (au Mali)

2eme partie: Modes de vie complementaires et concurrentiels

L'agriculture, l'elevage, l'artisanat minier



2a. Agriculture: culture de rente et subsistance



1. Mode de vie
2. Strategie d'occupation d'espace
3. Cadre d'organisation politique rurale

2b. Elevage: petite et grande transhumance

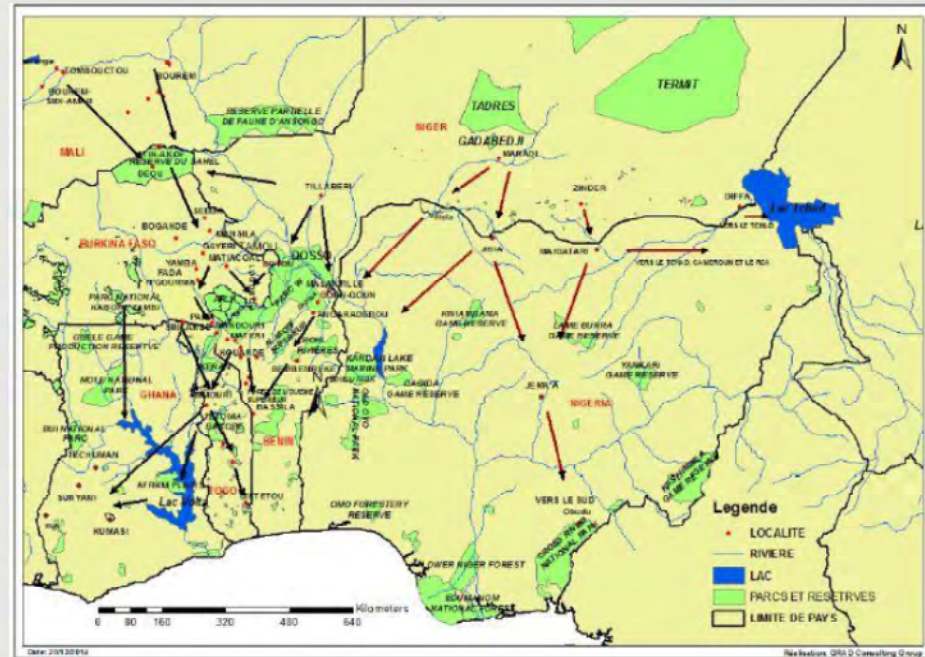


Figure 1: Carte des itinéraires de transhumance dans les couloirs « Central » et « Est » de l'Afrique de l'Ouest.

Le bétail: la richesse des pauvres mais aussi la richesse des riches

2c. L'orpaillage artisanal: source de capital incontournable



Les orpailleurs hommes et femmes aux sites Maliens en 2017

Les atouts et les doléances autour des activités différents

Definitions:

--**Atout**: la force productive et complémentaire

--**Doléance**: le sens d'être abusé, exploitée, ou d'être le sujet d'injustice

Characteristiques:

--Multiples et se chevauchant

--Melés aux questions politiques, securitaires, et identitaires

Point de reflection: Quels sont les doléances d'un pastoraliste?



Point de reflection: quels sont les doléances d'un paysan-cultivateur?



Point de reflection: i) quels sont les doléances d'un artisan minier et ii) quels sont les liens entre les doléances des autres groupes?



Reflechissez sur les doleances d'un artisan miner et les liens et les points communs parmi les doléances de ces trois activites différents.

Point d'interrogation:

Comment construire un milieu rural qui renforce les complémentarités et mitige les doléances autour de ces activités?



3eme Partie: Le pastoralisme regional et l'insecurité en Centrafricaine

Figure 2: Carte de la transhumance avant la crise de 2012.

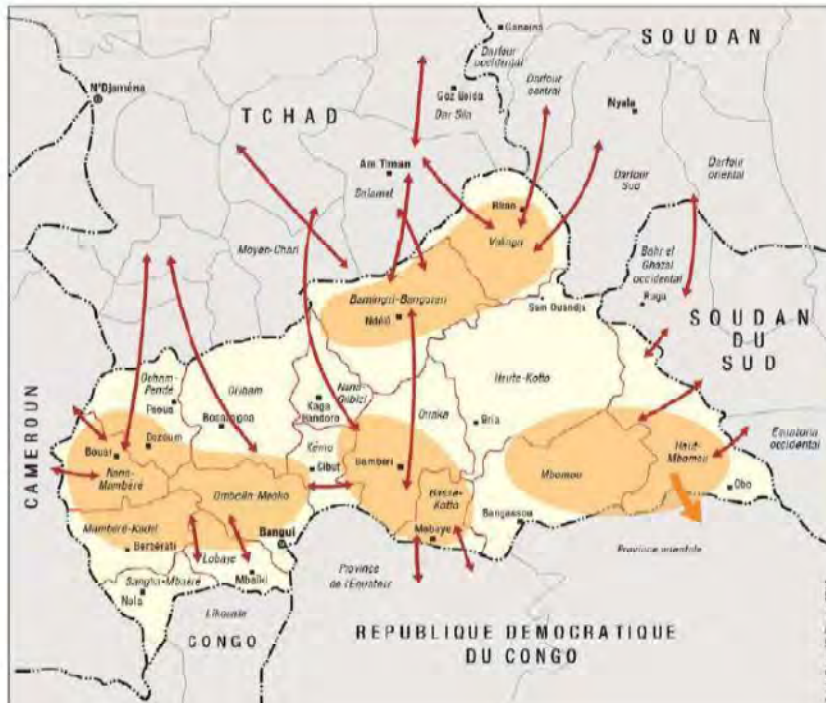
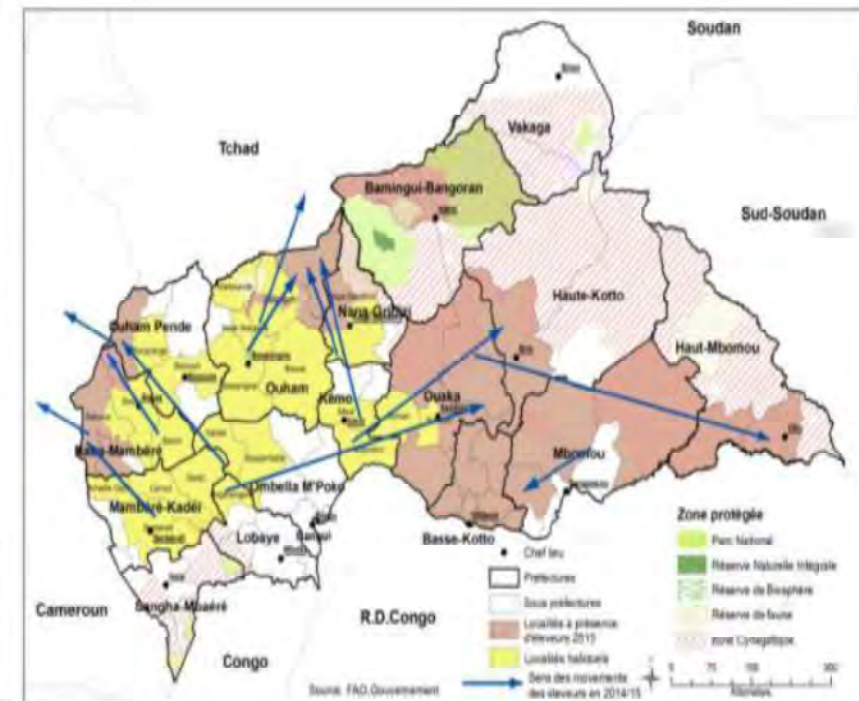


Figure 3: Localisation des zones de concentration des éleveurs et sens de leurs mouvements après la crise de 2014.



Contexte régionale: pastoralisme et les défis sécuritaires



1. Dans les conflits différents au Mali et Burkina Faso, les jeunes pastoralistes sont souvent recrutés dans les groupes armés. Ex. la Front de Libération de Macina
2. Une étude a montré qu'ils rejoignent ces groupes à cause de leurs doléances liées aux abus et répression de leurs mode de vie pastorale
3. La violence et l'insécurité a contribué au renforcement des groupes d'auto-défense dans plusieurs pays

La tension entre la gouvernance de pastoralisme et la securite

Un côté

- La mobilite de betails est reconnue comme un bien economique et ecologique
- La transhumance regionale est soutenue par les structures politique: la protocole d'ECOWAS et la Declaration de N'Djamena

L'autre côté

- Associes parfois avec les activites illicites (traffice et braconnage)
- Des groupes qui pretendent a proteger les transhumants sont aussi impliquees dans les raquetes et les conflits violents

Point d'interrogation: *Comment comprendre le véritable rôle social et politique des groupes armés ayant des liens avec les communautés pastorales?*

#I Cas d'étude: la législation au Nigeria

- Sujet au 1998 protocol de la CEDEAO sur la transhumance
- Décret sur l'utilisation des terres de 1978 (nationalisation des terres)
- La Constitution de 1999 garantissant la liberté de mouvement des pasteurs
- Zones de pâturage rural (RUGA) perçus comme dons terriens aux Peuls
- **Cause des conflits:** Loi interdisant le pâturage à ciel ouvert de l'État de Benue (2017): considérée comme une violation du droit constitutionnel à la mobilité pastorale

Cas d'étude Nigeria (cont.)

- Questions d'identité et de domination politique (histoire du Jihad et sultanats)
- Prédation par l'État et violence instrumentale
- Discours sur le génocide utilisé des deux côtés

Point d'interrogation: Comment comprendre le véritable rôle social et politique des groupes armés ayant des liens avec les communautés pastorales?

#2 Cas d'étude: La charte pastorale Malienne

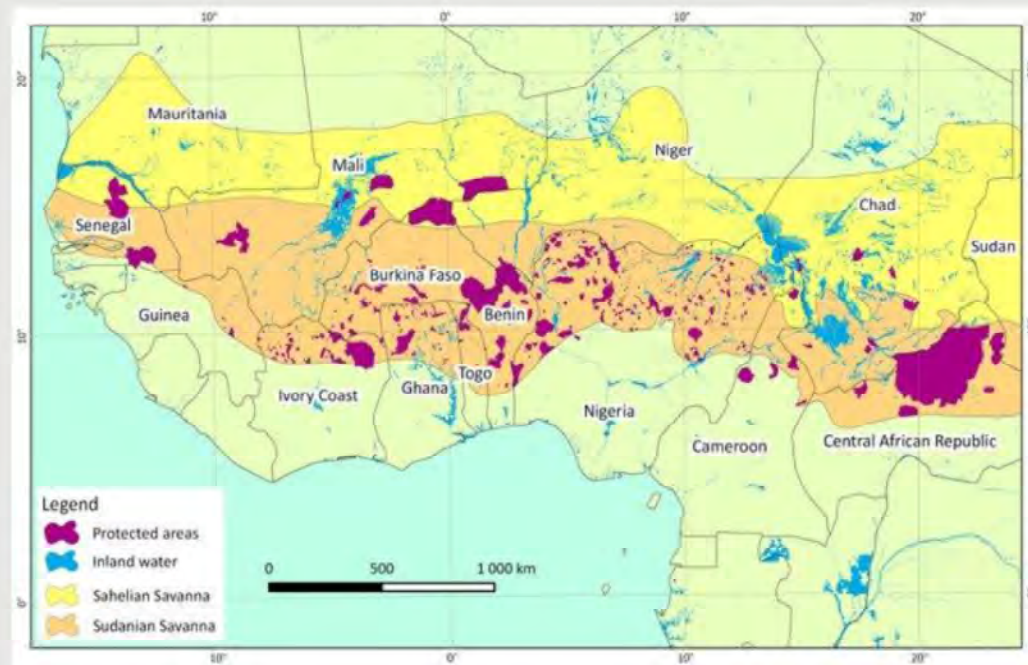
- La réciprocité autorise l'entrée des troupeaux des pays voisins au Mali à condition que ces pays autorisent également l'entrée du bétail malien
- Les communes sont responsables de la gestion des ressources naturelles), dans la plupart des cas, les gouvernements ne sont pas disposés à abandonner le contrôle des terres et des autres ressources naturelles

Charte pastorale Malienne (cont.)

- Progrès important sur la gestion durable des ressources pastorales malgré:
 - Le régime foncier favorise toujours l'agriculture
 - Pression démographique et dégradation des ressources
 - Manque de mécanisme pour les conventions locales (qui ont tendance à être ascendantes)

Le défis regional: cote conservation

1. Les aires protégées sont très attirants pour les pasteurs à cause de raréfaction des ressources pastorales
2. Cela déclenchent souvent des conflits politiques mais aussi la répression aggravent les doléances des groupes pastoraux



Cles du succes: lecons tirés à travers la region

1. Inclure tous les acteurs dans les plateformes de négociation
2. Éviter toute manipulation stratégique qui menace la gestion collective
3. Un soutien juridique formel est essentiel pour garantir les droits collectifs
4. Travailler avec le gouvernement pour éclairer les nouvelles politiques et lois

— MERCI POUR VOTRE PARTICIPATION



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