

8

RANGELANDS **MAKING RANGELANDS** **MORE SECURE IN CAMEROON**

A REVIEW OF GOOD PRACTICE



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Cover photo: “Finding safe passage for livestock between farmers’ fields is becoming increasingly challenging.”
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Rangelands Issue Paper No. 8

MAKING RANGELANDS MORE SECURE IN CAMEROON

A REVIEW OF GOOD PRACTICE

AZUHNWI BLASIOUS

Editor: Fiona Flintan
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MAP SHOWING THE LOCATIONS OF CASE STUDY PROJECTS AND/OR INITIATIVES IN CAMEROON

Reconciling interests of conservation with those of communities

PAGEPA-NEN: Securing pastoral zones & delimiting transhumance corridors

MBOSCUDA: Facilitating dialogue platforms

COMAID: Village Land Use Plan for Ntem village

MBOSCUDA: Paralegal extension services

NWLO: Advocating and restoring the rights of pastoralists

FEMALE DAIRY COOPERATIVES: Empowering women

Land Use Plan (Bangante)

Pastoral code elaboration process in the country

Surveying the status of transhumance corridors in country

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AFD	French Cooperation Agency
AMA	Alternative conflict management approach
APC	Agro-Pastoral Commission
APESS	Association pour la Promotion de l'Elevage en Savane et au Sahel
BNP	Benue National Park
CADEPI	Cellule d'Appui au Développement Intégrée
CARPA	Centre for Support to Research and Pastoralism
CDP	Council development plan
CFA	Cameroon Francs
CNEBCAM	National Confederation of Livestock Breeders in Cameroon
COMAID	Community Assistance in Development
COMINSUD	Community Initiative for Sustainable Development
CSO	Civil society organisation
ESA	Project Eau Sol-Arbre
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FEB	Federation of Cattle Herders of Far North Region
FEUGELDNORD	Federation of Common Initiative Groups of the North
GEF	Global Environment Facility
GESP	Growth and Employment Strategy Paper
GIS	Geographical information system
GPS	Global positioning system
ILC	International Land Coalition
ILRI	International Livestock Research Institute
LCBC	Lake Chad Basin Commission
LRNO	Land and Native Rights Ordinance
LUP	Land use plan
MBOSCUDA	Mbororo Social and Cultural Development Association of Cameroon
MINEF	Ministry of Environment and Forestry
MINEPIA	Ministry of Livestock, Fisheries and Animal Industries
NES	National engagement strategy
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NWLO	North West Land Observatory
PAGEPA-NEN	Projet d'Appui à la Gestion équitable et durable de l'Espace Agropastoral dans le Nord et l'Extrême-Nord du Cameroun
PNDP	National Community Driven Development Programme
PRA	Participatory rural appraisal
PUGDT	Plan for the Sustainable Use and Management of Land
RECONCILE	Resource Conflict Institute
REFLECT	Regenerated Freirian Literacy through Empowering Community
SDC	Sabga Dairy Cooperative
SDO	Sub-divisional officer
SNV	Netherlands Development Organisation
WIDC	Wum Industrial Dairy Cooperative
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature
ZIC	Zone d'Intérêt Cynégétique (designated game area)

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

BACKGROUND

Rangelands cover a surface area of more than 2 million hectares in Cameroon. Despite their relatively unpredictable climate and unproductive nature they provide a wide variety of goods and services including forage for livestock, habitat for wildlife, water and minerals, woody products, recreational services, nature conservation as well as acting as carbon sinks. Rangelands in Cameroon are predominantly grassland savanna with three types distinguishable: the Guinean savanna, Sudan savanna (also known as ‘derived montane grasslands’), and the Sahel savanna. They are home to the Fulani pastoralists and agro-pastoralists, sedentary farmers, as well as fishermen and hunters who depend on these rangelands for their livelihoods.

These different land users have interacted relatively peacefully over the centuries. However, in recent years this harmony has been threatened by both internal and external influences resulting in conflicts between them. The reasons for this are manifold. At the core of the conflicts however is the declining resource base for pastoralists occasioned by increasing human population, and changing land use patterns in favour of commercial agriculture, conservation and tourism as well as other economic interests such as infrastructure and energy development and mining. These conflicts do not only occur between pastoralists and farmers but also between pastoralists and fishermen, between pastoralists and conservationists and to an extent between pastoralists themselves.

A root cause of these conflicts is the lack of attention paid to rangelands, resulting in poor investment and support. In addition, there exists a dualism of tenure in the country with land access and management enabled through various laws (formal ordinances to by-laws to customary rules and regulations). Foremost amongst these are the Land Ordinance Laws No. 74/1 and 74/2, which classify land into three categories: state property, private property and national land. The law recognises private land rights only through possession of a land title. All untitled, unregistered land that is not designated as public land (i.e. not managed by the state on behalf of the public) is considered to be national land. In addition, Decree No. 78/263 establishes the terms and conditions for management of conflicts on agro-pastoral lands.

Institutionally, the above ordinances provide for two related bodies – the Land Consultative Board and the Agro-Pastoral Commission (APC), which administer national lands including grazing lands or rangelands. Presently, Cameroon is undertaking policy and legal reforms including one, a review of the land legislation, and two, the development of a Pastoral Code, which aims to harmonise the various laws, ordinances and customary tenures in pastoral areas including formal, customary and religious ones.

CHALLENGES, THREATS AND PROBLEMS

In recent years there has been significant change in land use patterns in rangelands favouring non-pastoral uses. Also there is the challenge of harmonising the tenure pluralism that exists, and which has greatly undermined and weakened traditional governance systems. Insecurity in some parts of the country and neighbouring countries disrupts livestock movements, traditional grazing patterns, and leads to increasing pressure on rangelands elsewhere as livestock are displaced. Increase in the presence of invasive species and bush encroachment further add to this pressure. Where administrative and judicial officials are called upon to adjudicate conflicts between rangeland users, problems arise due to bad faith and corruption.

THIS PAPER

The ILC Rangelands Initiative is supporting the development of good practice in making rangelands more secure around the world through ILC members and partners. In Cameroon ILC members agreed that a necessary starting point for doing this was to understand and document the good practice that currently exists. This report documents this experience through a set of case studies focusing on five key thematic areas described below.

MAKING RANGELANDS MORE SECURE

The first of the thematic areas making rangelands more secure considers initiatives that focus on governance and decision-making processes. Here, the work of the Mbororo Social and Cultural Development Association (MBOSCUA) is highlighted, including their capacity-building programmes, awareness-raising, and their initiatives aiming to improve adult and children literacy so that local people are better placed to engage in decision-making processes. A second initiative is the nation-wide mobilisation of pastoralists in the process to elaborate the Pastoral Code and related advocacy for its adoption including many development partners and with SNV playing a leading role.

The second thematic area focuses on initiatives that seek to resolve conflicts between different land users. These include a case study from Benue National Park in the North Region of Cameroon. Close to the border between Cameroon and Nigeria, there is much movement in the Region with increasing settlement occurring around the Park. Conflicts between pastoralists and conservationists are common, as well as between pastoralists and other land users. A shift from a 'fortress' model of conservation to one that is more participatory in nature, is going some way to resolve these conflicts. Another intervention found in the bordering Northwest Region is one that has supported the establishment of dialogue platforms and mutually-beneficial farming alliances between pastoralists and crop farmers, promoted by some development partners as a low-stake conflict mitigation strategy that has reduced the incidence of pastoralist-farmer conflicts by as much as 65%.

The third thematic area focuses on initiatives that seek to improve the understanding of and information available for land use planning and management in rangelands, whilst at the same time empowering communities by opening up opportunities for their more meaningful involvement in decision-making processes. The two examples presented here – one, a process of participatory village land use mapping in Ntem Village and two, the development of a council-level¹ land use plan for Bangante Municipality – are examples of how a mapping process can be facilitated at two different scales, with varying degrees of success.

Initiatives that focus on promoting participation, supporting empowerment and collective action are showcased under the fourth thematic area. This includes the establishment of the North West "Land Observatory," a platform of 15 CSOs and NGOs working on land governance issues. The Observatory plays a watchdog role, focusing on reversing the eviction-risk faced by over three hundred pastoralists from their ancestral lands of the Mamada Hills. Equally highlighted here are the initiatives of various development organisations working to improve the empowerment of pastoralist women through the promotion of female-led dairy cooperatives. These cooperatives have increased the income of women through the sale of milk, which subsequently gives them a greater say in household decision-making processes and within the community as a whole. The overall confidence of women has also grown together with their status.

The last thematic area reviews initiatives that support the titling, delimiting and protection of transhumance corridors and grazing areas. The workings and successes of a recently-ended project on securing pastoral zones and delimiting transhumance corridors in the North and Far North Regions are documented. Also presented is the nationwide mapping of transhumance corridors and pastoral infrastructure by the Ministry of Livestock, Fisheries and Animal industries (MINEPIA) as a prelude to a planned general census on agriculture and livestock.

LESSONS LEARNED

The review of the different initiatives has provided an opportunity for consolidating lessons learned from the experiences. These include the following:

1. For meaningful and sustainable outcomes in pastoral tenure security, pastoralists require education and capacity building in how to defend and assert their rights in a rapidly changing economic and social context. Building local capacities through such as paralegal support systems are important in this regard.

¹ Cameroon is officially a unitary and parliamentary republic with two levels of government, central and local (regions and councils). There are presently 374 local government councils and a constitutional provision for intermediary higher tier (region), although this has yet to be implemented. Councils are made up of a collection of contiguous villages usually of the same ethnic group. Commonwealth Local Government Forum (CIGF) Country Profile: Cameroon. www.cigf.org.uk (accessed 06/10/2016).

2. Pastoralists in Cameroon tend to be poorly organised. Supporting the mobilisation, organisation and networking of pastoralists is crucial for developing 'group power.' This requires the development of an agreed vision for pastoral lands both amongst pastoralists themselves, and also between pastoralist groups and other stakeholders. By combining efforts, pastoralists are not only strengthening their voice but also means that they are able to share competencies, skills and opportunities for positive change.
3. Providing support and opportunity for women to improve their economic status can be an important step towards their empowerment including greater status, self-confidence and participation in decision-making processes at both household and community levels.
4. Locally-generated conflict resolution mechanisms tend to be the most appropriate mechanism for resolving local conflicts, suiting the physical, cultural and social milieu of each local context. However, with new types of conflicts arising and the number of stakeholders (including non-local stakeholders) involved increasing, there may be a growing need for 'external' facilitation and assistance too.
5. Mapping of pastoral resources (participatory and digitised) is not only a powerful tool for improving the understanding of land use in pastoral areas, but also as a starting point for legitimising land use: when such use is documented on paper it makes it more palpable, 'real,' and difficult to ignore. These maps are also important for guiding planning and development.
6. More participatory management approaches for protected areas create a win-win for both conservation and pastoralists. Pastoralists are capable rangeland managers and conservators of the environment, and as such are allies for conservation organisations. Improving their technical skills and giving pastoralists clear roles and responsibilities in conservation activities values their knowledge and input, saves costs, and reduces conflicts. Meanwhile pastoralists benefit from continued (albeit more controlled) access to resources, increased income-generation opportunities and to a degree, protection through their association with a conservation initiative or a National Park.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY AND DECISION-MAKERS

1. The Government of Cameroon should fully assume and play its role as protector and guarantor of human rights and freedoms for all citizens (including pastoralists) by putting in place effective and appropriate implementation and monitoring mechanisms, and capable institutions.
2. MINEPIA in conjunction with the Ministry of State Property and Land Tenure should review the current status of tenure systems in rangelands, and based on this develop a common agreed-upon framework for better reconciling conflicts over land use and for ensuring that pastoralists have the same opportunity as other land users to secure their lands and resources in a manner appropriate for their livelihood system(s).

3. The Pastoral Code must be finalised and approved in order to provide a clear framework for governance and other institutional issues in pastoral areas. Further consultations and discussions are required to reach agreement amongst all stakeholders, the text requires finalisation and then to be approved by government before it can become legislation. The national government must lead this process.
4. In order to solve the problem of poor coordination on rangeland and pastoral affairs across different line ministries, high level planning tools supported by nation-wide legal frameworks for all government departments are required. These should compel all relevant branches of government to participate in related processes and/or at least oblige them to accept their results.
5. A review of national conservation policies, laws and protected areas is required together with an assessment of their status in terms of guidance and implementation in order to understand their complementarities with other sectoral policies, laws and initiatives, together with where conflicts might arise, and where improvement is required. How best this can be achieved should be the subject of a stakeholder consultation process.
6. A national land use plan and/or national land use strategic framework should be established to guide land use and development decisions at the country-level, and to provide guidance on land use planning for regions and lower administrative levels. This must include rangelands as well as major livestock corridors, together with other land uses.
7. The recent mapping of major livestock routes across the country is a major achievement. However, this mapping now needs to be integrated into land use and development decision-making in order to ensure that routes are kept open and functioning. In addition, the routes require delimitation, marking and servicing with veterinary, disease-control, water/feed, and marketing facilities.
8. The Cameroon Government through the National Community Driven Development Programme (PNDP) should replicate the process of participatory village and/or council land use planning in more localities. This can be supported by development actors, learning from the experiences of such planning already undertaken in the country. Where appropriate, and in order to maintain sharing of resources across village or council boundaries and to save costs, joint village/council land use planning by several villages and councils at a time should be carried out.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR DONORS, DEVELOPMENT ACTORS, PASTORAL AND LAND-FOCUSED ORGANISATIONS

1. The capacity of pastoralists requires building in order for them to be better able to engage in dialogue and decision-making processes over land and resources amongst others. This requires a multi-pronged approach including basic education and awareness-raising of rights already existing and how to defend those rights, as well as the opening up of opportunities for pastoralists to engage with decision-makers. It also requires influencing (improving) the enabling environment that allows such steps to be taken.

2. Organisations and actors working to support pastoralists and land-resource issues need to do so in a more coordinated and strategic manner in order to optimise their windows of opportunity, different alliances and comparative advantages. The ILC NES (national engagement strategy) is one platform for doing this, however more specific pastoral-focused platforms are also required.
3. Pastoralist organisations should better work together in order to present a common vision and voice. This will provide them with a stronger platform from which to lobby government and other stakeholders to for example, improve their representation in decision-making processes.
4. Donors and development agencies should lengthen funding cycles that target long-term social and institutional change such as land governance, and ensure that there is enough flexibility included in such funding to allow for adaptation to unexpected opportunities and challenges. Tracking and monitoring systems that involve different stakeholders should be part of land governance initiatives, to ascertain what works and why, and what are the long-term (as well as short-term) impacts on different stakeholders.
5. Development agencies and NGOs must 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 applies equally for land use conflicts, as it does for the development of good governance and technical intervention and for addressing gender inequalities.
6. Securing rangelands alone is not enough – in order to improve pastoral livelihoods including livestock production there is also a need to increase investment and interventions in improving the productivity of rangelands. This includes technical interventions that improve the vegetation base, as well as those that develop herd management and health. Invasive species in rangelands is a particularly pertinent issue for which a national strategy is required. A national strategy should ensure that a coordinated approach is undertaken and that guidance is provided for action on the ground.
7. A programme of learning should be developed for different stakeholders to share the experiences described in this volume, and to help build a critical masse of people and organisations who have been through the same experiences and have had the opportunity to learn from these. Further learning opportunities exist both within Cameroon and in other countries that are undergoing similar challenges and processes of change.

INTRODUCTION

1.1 RANGELANDS IN CAMEROON

1.1.1 DEFINITION AND TYPES OF RANGELANDS

Rangelands are defined as land in which the indigenous vegetation is predominantly grasses, grass-like plants, forbs or shrubs that are grazed or have a potential to be grazed, and are used as a natural ecosystem for the production of grazing livestock and wildlife (Allen et al, 2011). It is estimated that rangelands make up at least a third of the earth's land surface and to some, represent the ultimate wilderness – the “last frontier” (Herrera et al, 2014). Rangelands are critical habitat for a myriad of animal and plant species and form many of the world's watersheds. They provide a wide variety of goods and services including forage, water and minerals for livestock and wildlife, woody products, recreational services, nature conservation as well as acting as carbon sinks.

Cameroon has a total land surface area of about 465 000 km² with forest, arable and other land constituting about 41.2%, 17.4% and 42.4% respectively (Cameroon Open Data Website 2012²). Pastureland or rangelands make up about 7.0 % of the total land surface, estimated to be about 3 million hectares.

Rangelands in Cameroon are predominantly of grassland vegetation known as savanna. Three types of savannas are distinguishable: one, the Guinean savanna that lies north of the rainforest on the Adamawa plateau and parts of the central and eastern regions and is characterised by tall grass species and trees; two, the Sudan savanna also referred to as the ‘derived montane grasslands’ of the Western Highlands, Benue depression, Diamare plains and Mandara ranges with their characteristic undulating hills and short grass species interspersed with shrubs; and three, the Sahel savanna found in the Lake Chad basin, North Cameroon, with limited precipitation and long dry seasons (Pamo, 2008).

1.1.2 RANGELAND USERS INCLUDING PASTORALISTS

Cameroon rangelands are home to principally Fulbe³ or Fulani pastoralists originally from the Senegambia areas and who share a strong ethos of open access to common pool resources (Moritz et al, 2015). It should be noted that ‘open access’ does not mean without any controls but rather operates through a self-organizing system allowing freedom of use by mobile pastoralists reflecting their understanding and needs for conserving the resource. This is achieved through an extensive mobile land use system, the sharing of information amongst users, freedom of movement, autonomous decision-making and appreciation of the potentially degradable nature of the common-pool resources that are highly valued in space and time (Pamo and Pieper,

² <http://cameroon.opendataforafrica.org/wzxmnb/cameroon-fao-stat-land-use-and-agricultural-inputs>

³ An Anglicized version of the word Fulbbe in their own language

2000; Moritz et al, 2015). This runs contrary to the famous ‘tragedy of the commons,’ which holds that “freedom in commons brings ruin to all” (Hardin, 1968); leading to the elaboration of the narrative that overgrazing and subsequent degradation of rangelands by pastoralists is the only outcome of such ‘open access’ arrangements.

Pastoralists are mainly found in the northern and north-western parts of the country though a lesser number are also found in more southern parts. Pastoralists can be differentiated from other cultural and livelihood groupings in several ways. Firstly pastoralists differ ethnically – the Fulani pastoralists are made up of three main groups namely the Wodaabe in the northern and eastern regions; the Jafun found all over the country but most predominantly in the Northwest, West, Adamawa and East regions; and the Galegi (popularly called the Aku) who are found in the East, Adamawa, West and north-western Regions. Secondly, the pastoral systems themselves differ. There are three main types – one nomadism, where pastoralists do not have permanent settlements but move with their animals in search of better forage and water resources; two, transhumance pastoralism where pastoralists have fixed homesteads and herd their animals to dry season grazing areas and come back home when the rainy season returns; and three, sedentary pastoralism where pastoralists live in settled communities and graze their animals around the homestead without moving long distances for grazing and water. Sedentarisation is a recent trend that has happened over the past three to four decades and with it has come the practise of agriculture by some pastoralists referred to as agro-pastoralists. The number of these agro-pastoralists is increasing, and in particular in the western highlands and the Sudano-Sahel zone in the northern regions of the country (Dongmo et al, 2012).

The work of Dafinger and Pelican (2006) has shed considerable light on the rangeland users in the western highlands of Cameroon loosely referred to as ‘the Grassfields.’ This area covers a surface area of about 32 000 km² and has a population of more than 3.5 million. The agro-ecological conditions of this area make it favourable for both agriculture and livestock husbandry. It has fertile volcanic soils, a moderate dry season of four to five months and is relatively free of tsetse flies (vectors of the disease *Trypanosomiasis*). As a result the majority of the population is made up of subsistence farmers who belong to linguistically distinct communities. Agro-pastoralists, mainly Fulani herdsman, make up about 5-10 % of the population. These pastoralists migrated into the area from Nigeria in the early 20th Century in order to access its excellent grazing resources. They were encouraged to do so by local chiefs who benefitted from tributes in both cash and cattle, important for paying taxes to the then British colonial administration. Such taxes included *jangali*, a cattle head tax, which accounted for almost half of government revenue at that time (Harshbarger, 1995).

There was a spatial divide in the settlement patterns of famers and herders living in ‘the Grassfields,’ with farmers concentrated in valleys and riverine areas and herders dwelling on highland or hillside pastures. This pattern was influenced by earlier attempts by the British colonialists to resolve conflicts between farmers and pastoralists, by dividing the land into farming and grazing lands and assigning it to

farmers and herders respectively. Despite attempts by the British to enforce this with the planting of ‘live’ fences, these boundaries exist only broadly with postcolonial administrations failing to enforce them as a mechanism for land management (Harshbarger, 1995). Farming communities and herds were further separated by the fact that previously settled farming communities claimed the status of ‘owners’ or ‘guardians’ of the land in the area, with Fulani herders considered only as ‘strangers’ from whom the farmers expected respect for their political and territorial primacy. To a large degree this situation still exists today.

In the northern sahelian part of the country the settlement pattern is different from that found in the western highlands. Here, pastoral and agricultural populations cohabit due to an early migration of Fulani pastoralists to the area from Nigeria being forced to integrate with the already settled agricultural groups found there (Moritz et al, 2015). The Fulani pastoralists had to request permission to access the rangelands from the local chiefs and in return pay tributes, grazing dues, and herd non-Fulani cattle as well as their own.

By the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, the population of Fulani pastoralists had grown considerably and they represented a growing numerical force. Aided by uprisings and the *jihads* of Usman Dan Fodio between 1803 and 1806, they were able to overthrow the many local ‘pagan’ chiefs and establish many *lamidats* ruled by a *lamido* based in north Cameroon. These *lamidats* were vassal states subordinated to the Adamawa Emirate with a capital in Yola, Nigeria and modelled after the highly centralised and hierarchical medieval Muslim caliphates. The Fulani pastoralists here then became the rulers themselves and settled down to become agro-pastoralists, cultivating during the rainy season and moving with their livestock during the dry season. The *lamidos* who belong to the Fulbe aristocracy also settled, but kept their pastoral traditions and maintained close ties with the nomadic pastoralists with whom they shared not only their pastoral traditions but also a common language, culture and religion. Through these close ties, referred to locally as ‘nomadic contracts,’ the pastoralists had access to the rangelands and were also guaranteed personal safety in return for paying tributes and grazing dues to the *lamidos*. However in the most recent decades these grazing contracts have come under pressure because of the diminished power of the *lamidos* due to their incorporation and subordination within the state apparatus. Nomadic pastoralists are thus increasingly left to fend for themselves in times of increasing competition over natural resources.

From this brief history, it can be seen that the pastoral and agricultural populations in the northern part of Cameroon, increasingly share the same space and are more likely to use the same lands during the different seasons of the year. However, direct competition for land and landed resources is generally limited to the three or four months in the rainy season when crops are ready for harvest (Turner, 2004). In the dry season and after harvest, when there is no longer a risk of crop damage, herders often take their animals to farmers’ fields to feed off the crop residues. In return, the animals

deposit dung and urine, which enriches the soil. Some of these arrangements have come under pressure as farmers increasingly raise cattle themselves. Generally, the integration of agriculture and pastoralism at the community level has contributed to a relatively peaceful coexistence (Moritz, 2006) due to symbiotic and mutually beneficial relations between the two communities with reciprocity expressed in the exchange of gifts and services as exemplified in the *soobaajo*⁴ relationship between Fulani herders and Gbaya farmers in the Adamawa region of Cameroon (Burham, 1980).

1.1.3 CONFLICTS BETWEEN RANGELAND USERS

As suggested above, despite the history that many pastoralists and crop farmers share, conflicts are increasingly arising between these two land users. These conflicts have not only increased in number but also in scale with deaths of humans and cattle as well as destruction of property left in their wake (Dafinger and Pelican, 2006). The root causes of these conflicts have many dimensions, but core to these is the declining resource base for both pastoralists and farmers occasioned by increasing demography and changing land use patterns. Linked to this is the increasing encroachment of farmers into traditional grazing lands; livestock population increases associated with increasing human population; and land degradation, which is forcing herders to graze further south than they normally would, moving into the more traditional agricultural zone and encroaching into land set aside for farming (Manu et al, 2014; USAID, 2012).

Where boundaries between land use match boundaries between ethnic and religious groups conflicts are fuelled (Moritz, 2010). As such, these conflicts cannot be described as resource-based conflicts alone but instead are often far more complex and sometimes reflect an expression of deep-seated religious, ethnic and political tensions between groups. In this situation, the environment is simply the arena in which social, political and economic conflicts between different actors are played out. Either way, these conflicts do not only have a direct impact on the lives and livelihoods of those involved, but they are also threatening the sustainability of agricultural and pastoral production systems (Moritz, 2006).

Conflicts are also common between nomadic or transhumant pastoralists and fishermen in flood plains or '*yaayres*' in northern Cameroon including the Logone Flood Plain. 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. The Logone and Benue rivers overflow their banks towards the end of the rainy season when soils are saturated, and inundate the flood plains for a period of three months making fishing the main activity of the area (Moritz, 2012). When the waters recede at the end of the rainy season, fishermen dig canals to allow the fish (otherwise stranded) to follow the flow of the water towards the river where they are captured by nets placed at the end of the canals. This period of

⁴ Soobaajo in Fulfulde (language spoken by Fulbes) means friends and is a classic example of the symbiotic relationship wherein there is an exchange of gifts between farmers and pastoralists. These gifts are usually small at the beginning but when relations are fully established more substantive gifts and commodities may be exchanged such as sacks of manioc and maize, one-year old calves, radios and bicycles.

receding waters is also when nomadic pastoralists go in search of fresh pasture and water for their animals and encounter these fishing canals on their transhumance paths. Livestock moving across them inflict severe damage to them by destroying the banks and filling them with mud. Fishermen make claims of US\$800 or more for this damage and/or resort to attacking animals in reprisal (Moritz, 2012). Though the traditional courts and local chiefs are able to settle some of these conflicts, many others just fester on.

Conflicts between pastoralists and authorities over access to protected areas (national parks, forest reserves and wildlife sanctuaries) also abound.⁵ About 10.9 % of the total land surface area of Cameroon has been designated as a terrestrial protected territory of some sort and includes both forest and rangelands (World Bank, 2014). The expropriation of these rangelands was usually done without consulting or compensating the erstwhile users who for the most part were pastoralists (Lambi et al, 2012; Scholte et al, 1999; Njiforti and Tchamba, 1996). Laws and regulations introduced often prohibit the use of what had been prime pastoral resources including pasture and water. Some pastoralists have been forced to resettle from within the protected areas to villages along the park boundaries. Faced with an ever dwindling grazing resource base outside the protected areas, many pastoralists find it difficult to resist the lure of these now 'unused' resources, and continue to take their livestock into the them despite the risk of conflict with park scouts, the payment of fines and even, confiscation of livestock. To avoid confrontations with park wardens, some pastoralists have resorted to 'buying' exploitation 'rights' to pastures and water holes from poorly paid park staff (Scholte et al, 1999). Though recommendations have been made to introduce participatory management strategies for conservation in these areas, which reconcile the interests of both conservationists and pastoralists, little has been achieved in this regard (Lambi et al, 2012; Herrera et al, 2014).

Conflicts also occur between local pastoralists and non-local pastoralists visiting from neighbouring countries. With the recent increases in insecurity in the region large numbers of pastoralists have moved into northern and eastern parts of the country. These include an influx of pastoralists from Central African Republic following the start of the civil war there in 2010, and more recently from Nigeria fleeing the Boko Haram insurgency group. These pastoralists, effectively refugees, have conglomerated in these regions with their herds, thereby accentuating the pressure on existing pastoral resources. Not only do local pastoralists complain that these refugees are competing for resources, but also that their animals are unvaccinated and spread disease to local livestock if allowed to mix with them (Kossoumna Liba'a, 2016).

⁵ This is not only an issue in Cameroon. Issue Paper No. 5 in the Making Rangelands Secure series explores these conflicts in other parts of the world, leading to the now commonly used phrase 'green grabbing' (see Yhankbai et al 2014).

1.1.4 MECHANISMS TO RESOLVE CONFLICTS

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. This is due to the fact that each party depends on the other as part of an overall mutually beneficial relationship. Possibilities for an amicable resolution include (i) farmer exonerating the pastoralist(s) without a request for payment of ‘damages;’ (ii) the farmer requesting a payment based on his own evaluation of the ‘damages,’ following which a negotiation may take place until the final figure is agreed upon; or (iii) the farmer asking the pastoralist(s) himself to name a price for the ‘damage’ which is then either renegotiated or paid.

In the absence of amicable settlements, the next step in arbitration is often guided by perceptions of where a most satisfactory outcome might be obtained. This can depend on the resources (economic, social and cognitive), which the litigant can use. In the northern parts of the country traditional or customary authority remains strong, so is often the next course of action. There are several steps in the process but at every stage the litigants are expected to show good faith and reason. A first step is the recalling of the rules governing the community on the use of resources to assess which of these has been infringed. The chief or his representative and the litigants make a visit to the site of the conflict to evaluate the damage. The chief then facilitates a negotiation process between the two (or more) parties to reach agreement over, for example, whether compensation should be paid and if so, how much. If compensation *is* to be paid, this is done through the chief who may be provided with a small percentage of the compensation amount as a token appreciation of his efforts to resolve the situation. The viability of this customary mode of conflict resolution depends on the good will of the protagonists to follow the verdict.

If one of the protagonists is not satisfied with the verdict of the traditional authorities or agreement cannot be reached, the matter can be reported to the sub-divisional officer (SDO). The SDO is the official channel for resolution of matters of this nature as provided for by the Decree No. 263 of 1978, which lays down conditions for the functioning of the Agro-Pastoral Commission (APC). However concerns have been raised about the effectiveness of this Commission including its corrupt nature, and some suggest that its involvement in such matters only serves to perpetuate conflicts rather than to resolve them (Harshbarger, 1995; Moritz, 2006).

1.1.5 INCLUSION OF RANGELANDS WITHIN STATE DEVELOPMENT GROWTH PLANS, STRATEGIES, PROGRAMMES AND PROJECTS

Prior to 2004 decision-making and financial authority was highly centralised. In 2004 however, a law on ‘the orientation of decentralisation’ was passed by Parliament (2004/017). This Bill created the legal and institutional framework for a more decentralised system of governance with powers devolved to lower levels of government⁶ in order to foster a more harmonious and broad-based development (CCDHR, 2004). In keeping with the spirit of the law, a Ministerial text N° 2010/0015/A/MINEPIA effectively empowers Councils to manage livestock infrastructure within their jurisdiction.

In addition to the normal regulatory framework that the country has in place on rangeland management, there exist several development and action plans, strategies, programmes, treaties, and conventions which the Cameroon government has elaborated or signed up to, some of which have included civil society and pastoralists in their design and usually with the support of donors. Examples of such include:

- » The National Plan for the Management of the Environment (MINEF/PNUD, 1996)⁷
- » The Rural Development Strategy Paper (MINADER, 2006)⁸
- » Compendium of Practices for the Sustainable Management of Lands (PNDP, 2011)⁹
- » Growth and Employment Strategy Paper–GESP (IMF, 2010)¹⁰
- » The Strategic Action Plan for the Lake Chad Basin led by the LCBC (Lake Chad Basin Commission) (UNDP/WB/GEF, 2008)¹¹
- » African Union’s 2011 Policy Framework for Pastoralism in Africa (AU, 2010)¹²

Though the inclusion of rangelands in these documents is encouraging, in most instances this is done in an indirect manner as a natural resource whose management is linked to climate change, and/or the exacerbation of desertification and land degradation especially in regions with low rainfall and fragile ecosystems. Rangeland management is not dealt with as a stand-alone area requiring investment and support, thus indicating that rangelands are not high up the list of priorities of stakeholders in such development processes (OPEN, 2010).

⁶ The lower levels of governments are the regions and councils. The powers include: managerial, technical and financial powers

⁷ <http://adaptation-undp.org/resources/naps-non-least-developed-countries-non-ldcs/cameroon-national-plan> (Accessed 14/10/2016)

⁸ MINADER (2005), Stratégie de Développement du Secteur Rural–volet MINADER, Yaoundé.

⁹ PNDP (2011). Compendium de bonnes pratiques de gestion durable des terres.

¹⁰ IMF (2010). Growth and Employment Strategy Paper; Reference Framework for Government Action over the period 2010-2020. IMF, Washington.

¹¹ Strategic Action Programme for the Lake Chad Basin: Agreed by the LCBC Member States of Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Nigeria, 11th June 2008. More recently Central Africa Republic and Sudan have also signed up to it.

¹² Policy Framework for Pastoralism in Africa: Securing, Protecting and Improving the Lives, Livelihoods and Rights of Pastoralist Communities. African Union, Addis Ababa, October 2010.

The GESF for example, is relatively ambitious on reforming land management in Cameroon by addressing deficiencies in land administration through capacity building and facilitating regional integration whilst supporting decentralisation of land administrative functions. Key programmes include: delimitation of plots and development of a national cadastre database; identification of land for public projects and residential use; reform of the legal and institutional framework governing land; streamlining of land access procedures; and building human and material capacities, but does not explicitly target rangelands.

The LCBC Strategic Action Programme developed in 1980 with subsequent revisions (UNDP/WB/GEF, 2008), has generally been supportive of pastoralists' mobility and supported their open access to common-pool grazing resources. Pastoralists of the member states of the LCBC can travel freely within the Chad Basin if they can show a certificate of vaccination and tax receipts.

Further, there are a number of programmes and projects with objectives of securing and managing agro-pastoral resources that have been developed in the country especially in northern Cameroon and supported by international donors. For example over the last three to four decades the French Cooperation Agency (AFD) has been investing in the management of pastoral resources. Initiatives such as the *Projet de Développement du Paysannat et de Gestion de Terroirs*; the *Projet de Réhabilitation et de Création de Points d'eau pour le Bétail*; the *Projet Eau-Sol-Arbre (ESA)* and *ESA 2*; *Le Projet de Gestion Sécurisée des Espaces Pastoraux* and the current *Programme d'Appui à la Sécurisation et à la Gestion Intégrée de Ressources Agropastorales* have all sought to improve access to and management of pastoral lands and resources including the mapping of pastoral resource use (AFD, 2013). In addition in northern Cameroon are found the World Bank financed *Programme de Développement Ouest Bénoué* and the EU financed *Projet d'Appui à la Gestion équitable et durable de l'Espace Agropastoral dans le Nord et l'Extrême-Nord du Cameroun (PAGEPA-NEN)*. Some of these will be discussed further below.

1.2 LAND CONTEXT

1.2.1 POLICY AND LEGISLATION RELEVANT TO PASTORAL AREAS INCLUDING RANGELANDS

A brief historical perspective is required to better understand the current land tenure system operating in the country. Before European colonisation of the country, generally land was managed following native laws and customs under the leadership of tribal chiefs. Punitive and intertribal wars for conquest of land and securing of loot were common¹³.

¹³ Mbah M. E. (undated) Disruptive colonial boundaries and attempts to resolve land/boundary disputes in the Grasslands of Bamenda, Cameroon. <http://www.ajol.info/index.php/ajcr/article/viewFile/52177/40803> (Assessed on 28/09/2016)

Official regulations governing land only came into force with colonisation. The first formal instrument dates back to March 27th 1880 and which empowered the then-German Governor to validate all agreements by which property rights might be acquired in native land. This was followed by another, dated June 15 1896, which provided for the creation of Land Commissions by the Governor. The establishment of the *Grundbuch*, a register in which all land transactions were recorded, accompanied these regulations.

The British and French colonial masters who arrived after the defeat of the Germans in the First World War, initially adopted the German land registration system but later changed it to the Land and Native Rights Ordinance (LNRO) in force across northern Nigeria and northern Cameroon. The LNRO recognised and safeguarded land occupation in accordance with native laws and customs. Under this system, two types of official land titles were recognised: titles held by non-natives evidenced by a 'certificate of occupancy' issued by the Governor (for a period of 99 years), and titles held by natives or native communities resulting from lawful occupation of land under native laws and customs. The French worked in a similar fashion to the British by recognising and formalising property rights enjoyed by the natives, additionally introducing a second system of registration of title to land under French Trusteeship. It is worth highlighting here that throughout all the above actions, all colonial governments grappled with the question of how to coalesce customary and modern land tenure. This set the stage for the later nationalisation and privatisation of land (Dafinger and Pelican, 2006).

With the gaining of independence in the early 1960s the British and French land tenure systems continued to hold sway in what was described at the time as West Cameroon and East Cameroon respectively, reflecting its bicultural heritage. Official land tenure legislation was established in Cameroon with the following Land Ordinances of July 6, 1974 (GoC, 1974):

- » Ordinance No. 74-1 to establish rules governing land tenure in Cameroon;
- » Ordinance No. 74-2 to establish rules governing state lands; and
- » Ordinance No. 74-3 to establish expropriation procedures for public purposes and the terms of compensation.

On April 27th 1976, the following Presidential Decrees were released as supplements to the 1974 ordinances:

- » Decree No. 76-156 on conditions for establishment and obtaining of land certificates;
- » Decree No. 76-166 on terms and conditions to manage national lands; and
- » Decree No. 76-167 to establish terms and conditions for the management of private properties of the state.

And in 1978:

- » Decree No. 78/263 of July 3, 1978 established the terms and conditions for management of conflicts in agro-pastoral lands. It charged the Agro-Pastoral Commission (APC) with the responsibility for adjudicating farmer-grazer conflicts.

The provisions of the 1976 decrees were further modified and supplemented by Decree No. 2005-481 of 16th December 2005. The Cameroon government in 2005 decentralised and simplified land titling procedures to address barriers¹⁴ to the titling of land by reducing the number of steps and departments involved in the process of reviewing and approving a request to title land (Javelle, 2013). The responsibilities formerly attributed to the Préfet (Senior Divisional Officer under the authority of the Regional Governor) were passed to sous-Préfet (District Officer located at the arrondissement level under the authority of the Divisional Officer). Applications, which previously required approval by the Ministry of State Property in the capital city, now only needed approval of the MINDAF (Ministry of State Property) at the regional level. Another improvement brought in by the 2005 reform was the creation of a single agency within MINDAF to handle most services concerned with the land titling process, a kind of ‘one-stop-shop.’ MINDAF offices— delegations—at the regional and divisional levels are now responsible for organising local consultations, issuing land certificates, and maintaining land certificate archives in a safe and secure manner. Lastly the 2005 reforms reduced the number of steps in the land titling procedure and established a timeline for processing applications. These measures have reduced the number of years required to obtain a land title from several years to less than a year on average.

The above ordinances and decrees constitute the present suite of legislation on land tenure in Cameroon. It is worth noting that these laws, ordinances and decrees do not recognise land ownership according to the native customary laws and as such by implication, abrogate all titles claimed under customary laws. More than ten years after the reforms of 2005, only very modest results have been achieved in securing tenure, and titling procedures still remain long and complicated. Government is yet to fully support the effective implementation of the new land titling procedures and also to address important issues undermining the credibility of the national land register (Javelle, 2013).

1.2.2 TENURE SYSTEMS AND DECISION-MAKING STRUCTURES

Under the current land tenure laws, private land rights are derived from possession of a ‘land title.’ This type of land can be transferred (through sales, gifts, marriage or inheritance). However, the transfer must 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

¹⁴ The factors which account for the small number of issued land certificates include: common practice of relying on local rules to secure land, limited awareness by the public of the legal framework, and the complexity and cost of the titling procedure.

land’ that includes unoccupied land and land under customary tenure. Also to be differentiated is land covered by ‘final concession’ being land allocated to an individual or group of individuals for a specific project or use. This is different from a land title in that its validity depends on the existence of the project or use for which it has been issued. Also worth noting is ‘private property of the state,’ which is any piece of land acquired by the state according to ordinary law, by expropriation or confiscation, or by withdrawal from national land in accordance with section 18 of Ordinance No. 74-2. This is different to public property of the state, which refers to land set aside for direct public use or land on which there is an important public structure or resource. This can include roads, markets, sport facilities and infrastructure, and waterways.

In Cameroon current laws support access to common-pool grazing resources, while some of the national and international policies and conventions mentioned above protect transhumance corridors that allow pastoralists to move between seasonal grazing areas. Grazing lands in Cameroon are considered to be state property, under Ordinance No. 74-1 of 1974. This Ordinance gives all pastoralists the right to use common-pool resources, unless the state requires these resources for other purposes such as wildlife conservation or agricultural development projects (Moritz et al, 2013).

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 APCs, 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).

To access or gain control over grazing land, the land ordinances of 1974 and decrees of 1976/1978 provide for the following ways of accessing or gaining control over portions of national land (and consequently grazing land):

- » Occupants of land before 5th August 1974 (the date of entry into force of Ordinance No. 74-1) shall continue to occupy or use the said land and may apply for a land certificate according to the law. The law does not allow for the issuance of a land certificate specifically for the purpose of grazing, but the article implies that a pastoralist who occupied grazing land before 5th August 1974 can apply and obtain a land certificate for the land.
- » The APC can allocate grazing land to individuals or groups for grazing purposes. This is on a temporary basis, for the land is still considered as national land until the individuals or groups apply and obtain a land title making it then ‘private personal land.’ A grazer or group of grazers can acquire grazing land through concession by establishing a livestock production or development project (cattle ranch, plantation etc.) and then applying for a concession. When land is classified as ‘final concession’ land it ceases to be ‘national land.’ The rights of access, control and management to the user are time-bound to the project however.

The Decree No. 78/283 of July 3, 1978 has provisions on procedures to follow in the management of conflicts over grazing lands and consequently pastoral resources by the APC. These include:

- » One of the conflicting parties informs the Divisional Officer (Chairperson of the APC) of an infraction.
- » The Chairperson immediately appoints a subcommittee-of-inquiry of not less than four members of the Commission.
- » The subcommittee-of-inquiry visits the area of dispute within three days, notes and estimates the value of damage(s) if any (following tariffs fixed by Decree No. 2003/418/PM of 25th February 2003), hears the conflicting parties, and submits its minutes to the Chairperson duly signed by the conflicting parties together with the subcommittee members.
- » The Chairperson enters the dispute in the agenda of the Commission's routine meetings or, in case of urgency, immediately convenes the Commission. Decisions of the Commission are valid only if a quorum is constituted.
- » After examining the minutes of the subcommittee-of-inquiry and hearing the views of members, a decision is taken by vote. In case of a tie, the chairperson has a casting vote.
- » Decisions taken are recorded in minutes signed by all the members present. The chairperson forwards these minutes to the Senior Divisional Officer.
- » The decisions of the Commission are rendered enforceable by a prefectural order signed by the Senior Divisional Officer.
- » Appeal against the decision of the APC can be made within 30 days from the date of signature of the prefectural order. The competent authority that receives the appeal is the Administrative Bench of the Court of Appeal. The decision of the Commission is however final when it concerns a dispute relating to the boundary between farmland and grazing land or the designation of mixed farming areas.
- » Disrespect of the decisions of the APC or the provisions of Decree No. 78/263 is punishable in accordance with the provisions of the Cameroon Penal Code (Section R 370 (12)).

1.2.4 CHALLENGES, THREATS AND PROBLEMS

Rangeland and rangeland management in Cameroon face several challenges and threats. Foremost is the changing land use pattern in favour of infrastructure and energy development, mining, nature reserves, forestry, biofuel crops, intensive and arable agriculture all occasioned by increasing demographics and economic interests. These are not only taking up vast areas of the rangelands but are also putting a strain on the rangeland ecosystem as a whole (Moritz, 2008). Rangelands in Cameroon like in most African countries have often been looked upon as vast and seemingly 'empty' or 'underdeveloped' lands with pastoralists' rights to them lacking recognition: this is a key factor in the high rate of their expropriation (Flintan, 2012).

Harmonising the present tenure pluralism that operates in the management of land and rangelands in the country is also another major challenge. The country operates a complicated dual land tenure system – the land laws and the customary tenure. This tenure pluralism lends itself to ambiguities, overlap, duplication and misunderstandings resulting as Flintan (2012) describes "in a dualism of tenure where legislation and regulations say one thing and practice shows another." This has led to a weakening of traditional governance systems in pastoral areas. Recognising, restoring and securing community rights is seen as the single most important trigger to community stewardship of rangelands (Flintan, 2012; Alden Wily, 2008). Equally important will be how to build on these community practices and adapt them to the rapid and ever-changing conditions imposed by globalisation. Presently the country finds itself at a crossroads: the land tenure system and the Pastoral Code (see below) are either under review or being elaborated. Conducting these processes to term, in a participatory and inclusive manner will be very important to ensure sanity and visibility in land management as a whole, and pastoral resource management in particular. Also, integrating mayors who through decentralisation have been given a large say in local land dealings will be quite crucial to the success of the land reforms the country is presently undertaking.

Insecurity in some areas is displacing resource use to other places, whilst also disrupting transhumance corridors necessary for mobility of pastoralist and their herds. The effects of Boko Haram insurgencies in the Far North region of Cameroon and the political crisis in the Central African Republic have caused pastoralists to flee conflict zones and aggregate in relatively safer areas. Pastoralists have had to abandon three divisions of the Far North Region of Cameroon affected by the Boko Haram crisis, which has bred insecurity for both their herds and themselves. They have congregated in the other rangelands of the region, accentuating conflicts with agriculturalists and causing overgrazing and increased risk of rapid disease spread. Due to this insecurity, transhumance corridors found in divisions that Boko Haram still controls, have been abandoned, undermining the interconnectivity of dry season pasture resources. The state will have to improve security in these areas to ensure efficient use of natural resources.

The implementation and enforcement of existing regulations, is another challenge rangeland management needs to embrace. Linked to this are issues of inadequate resources, bad faith and corrupt practices by authorities called upon to adjudicate in conflicts between pastoralists and agriculturalists in the APCs provided for in the Decree No. 263-78. Budgetary allocations for the functioning of these Commissions for the most part are inexistent because of complicated disbursement procedures and also the economic crisis the country is facing. However even more worrying is the rent-seeking tendencies of most traditional and local administrative authorities who stand to gain more by perpetuating conflicts rather than resolving them, as has been pointed out by some authors (IUCN, 2011a; Moritz, 2006; Harshbarger, 1995).

Sustainability of efforts in rangeland management is also an issue worth highlighting. The funds for most of the projects in rangeland management have come from external donors. Due to the conditionalities of development funding cycles such as limited funding, short duration, pressure for immediate and tangible results, and uncertainty of renewal (Igoe, 2004), most of these projects have been facilitator-driven with often no meaningful participation of and investment in local stakeholders, despite the rhetoric of participation and inclusion often highlighted in their reporting. With this, oversight committees created to monitor the enforcement of transhumance corridors and pastoral zones have existed only on paper or their monitoring activities have ceased once project funds dried up. Real investment in local stakeholders is a challenge that programmes and projects in rangeland management continue to face.

A new and increasingly challenging threat to rangelands is the invasion of noxious alien species. This includes the bracken (*Pteridium aquilinum*) in the western highlands and/or Bokassa grass in northern and eastern regions of the country. The extent of this threat has not been quantified nationally but anecdotal evidence suggests that between 15 to 90% of rangelands are affected (Mandret and Merlin, 1987; Mercier 2009; Ndenecho, 2010; World Bank-TUSIP, 2012). No national strategy currently exists to solve this problem, which reduces the quantity and quality of rangeland thereby forcing pastoralists to make more frequent migrations in search of forage for their animals.

On another note, too much emphasis has been placed on animal health care to the detriment of animal nutrition and rangeland science in the country. This predates independence and continues even up to recent times where efforts have been oriented towards the reinforcement of veterinary infrastructure with little concern for rangeland improvement despite all the nutritional problems faced by herders during the long dry season (Pamo and Pieper, 1987). Linked to this is the acute shortage of professionals in rangeland land governance and science. Presently, no university in the country offers a full degree in these disciplines.

INTERVENTIONS TO MAKE RANGELANDS MORE SECURE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

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/or practices from which important lessons can be learnt to guide further developments. This section analyses a number of these as case studies, selected due to their prominence, variety and indicated successes.

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 negotiation or mediation; networking and lobbying; litigation; and political demonstration. In presenting the case studies, a framework employed by IUCN (2011a) has been used, and which focuses on understanding how pastoralists and CSOs representing pastoralists' interests have organised themselves in order to secure rights to access, manage and control land or land use considering the following questions:

- » What was the situation ex ante regarding pastoral resource rights prior to this success story?
- » What specific changes in policy or practice created the space for the success to be achieved?
- » What was the process of organisation of pastoralists to defend their rights? What alliances with other stakeholders were useful? Who was involved, who had what responsibility and which agents started the process? What were the main problems and challenges encountered?
- » What were the legal and advocacy processes through which pastoralists made or defended their claim to resources?
- » Through which legal mechanisms have rights been upheld or formalised?

2.2 INITIATIVES THAT FOCUS ON GOVERNANCE AND DECISION MAKING PROCESSES

2.1.1 PROGRAMMES THAT BUILD CAPACITY AND RAISE AWARENESS ON LAND RIGHTS, AND IMPROVE ADULT AND CHILD LITERACY

Generally, Mbororo Fulani pastoralists are marginalised from development processes and most are uneducated having poor access to public services. They live on the fringes of society with little role in decision-making processes outside their own circles, and are considered by many in Cameroon in derogatory terms resulting in low self-esteem. Their late arrival in the region means that they are still considered as ‘strangers’ by their predominantly farming neighbours. In this weak position, they are easy targets for exploitation and discrimination by different actors including by self-seeking government functionaries.

The Mbororo Social and Cultural Development Association (MBOSCUDA) is working to improve the status and livelihoods of the Mbororo people. The organisation seeks to reverse the negative forces that have led to Mbororo marginalisation. As an umbrella association of the Mbororos and a leading CSO championing their cause, MBOSCUDA's strategy promotes the integration of Mbororo into mainstream society while preserving and respecting their cultural identity and heritage (IUCN, 2011a). Established in 1992, MBOSCUDA has built the capacity of the pastoralists on pastoral tenure issues. Over the past two decades programmes like *Ballotiral* (1998-2004) which in Fulfulde (language of the Mbororo Fulani) means ‘working together, supporting each other; *Building Civil Society Capacity in Cameroon* (2005-2009); *In Search of Common Ground* (ongoing); and *Support to Governance Initiatives Promoted by CSOs in Cameroon* (ongoing), have been funded through charities or donors such as Comic Relief, Village AiD, Department for International Development (DFID) UK and the European Union. These programmes have funded different components of MBOSCUDA's strategy and been able to educate members and pastoral representatives, build capacity in laws and other legal issues, counselling, conflict resolution etc.

The programmes have worked at defending the land rights of the Mbororo through raising of awareness on these rights amongst the Mbororo themselves as well as educating them about how administrative procedures and courts work. Training of community-based paralegals to support the pastoralists in their claims has also been undertaken. Paralegals were recruited from local pastoralist communities and trained together with community facilitators in order to act as advisers should the pastoralists need to seek recourse in the judicial system and request support for this.

MBOSCUDA's flagship programme *In Search of Common Ground* is structured as follows: a legal consultant (barrister) coordinates and gives orientation to the programme; a paralegal field supervisor supervises field activities; seven divisional paralegals execute the programme in the seven divisions of the Northwest Region and

for now – since the programme intends extending its outreach to other pastoralists communities of the Northwest Region – ten ‘community resource volunteers’ act as the frontline staff of the programme (MBOSCUDA, 2014). These organise community education campaigns; counsel victims on the proper procedure to seek redress; and also assist victims through these procedures. In addition, perpetrators of human right abuses are exposed and denounced in the press.

Capacity building of the paralegals and community volunteers has been one of the cornerstones of these programmes. Trainings have been supported in basic legal procedures, advocacy, and counselling, conflict resolution and human rights. An adult literacy programme was established for the pastoralists using the REFLECT¹⁵ approach to improve their understanding of their rights, law and legislation. The programme supported by MBOSCUDA included the drawing of maps, matrices, calendars, diagrams and social drama to represent local realities, systematise the participants’ existing knowledge and provide an opportunity for analysis.

The programme supported by MBOSCUDA has recorded much success (Musa and Fon, 2012). More than fifty pastoralists have been able to acquire individual land titles through assistance provided by the programme; over 4 million Cameroon francs CFA (USD 7,000) and 46 cattle extorted from Mbororo pastoralists by corrupt officials have been recovered; over 400 cases of rights infringements have been documented in a database; 150 Mbororo youths have been trained as paralegals; 156 land-rights awareness campaigns have been carried out through the media e.g. radio, TV, in Fulfude (Mbororo traditional language); and many workshops have been held for different stakeholders including traditional authorities and government officials on topics such as conflict management and democracy, and good governance.

Knock-on impacts include a marked improvement in enrolment of pastoralist children in school over the years;¹⁶ and the increased participation and integration of pastoralist communities in mainstream society with over 48 pastoralists taking seats as councillors in 30 councils of the Northwest Region (Sali, pers communication 2016).¹⁷ In addition there has been an increase in pastoralist participation in civic duties such as voter registration, 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)¹⁸.

¹⁵ REFLECT (Regenerated Freirian Literacy through Empowering Community) is a novel approach to education emphasising dialogue, communication, reflection and problem solving by participants (see Archer and Cottingham, 1997).

¹⁶ Scholarisation rate in Mbororo communities as at 1994 stood at 5%, by 2005 it had gone up to 15% and a recent Mbororo School Census puts it at 30 % www.mboscuda.org (accessed 14/10/2016).

¹⁷ Sali Django is the Coordinator of MBOSCUDA Northwest Region.

¹⁸ 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.

Box 1

Ardo Janari of Misaje in Donga and Mantung Division of the Northwest Region was wrongfully accused in 2012 of being the murderer of his neighbour with whom he was in conflict about grazing access. He was caught and locked up by the law enforcement officers and 700 000 frs CFA (USD 1 300) forcefully taken from him. The paralegal service of MBOSCUDA coached and supported him during his trial in court, which ended up proving his innocence and his acquittal. The money was also restituted to him.

Duni Jeidoh (MBOSCUDA's Regional Paralegal Supervisor for the NW Region)

2.1.2 MOBILISATION OF PASTORALISTS IN THE PASTORAL CODE ELABORATION PROCESS AND INCREASED ADVOCACY FOR ADOPTION OF THE PASTORAL CODE

In order to try and address some of the problems that pastoralists, as well as increasing conflicts with other land users, in the early 2000s MINEPIA (with financial support from FAO) started to develop a Pastoral Code for the country. Following the experiences of other countries in West Africa (see Box 2), a Pastoral Code was 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. It was also seen as an opportunity to mobilise pastoral communities, and develop a common vision in order to better influence policy and development processes. This would be assisted through training, mentoring, lobbying and advocacy.

However, though the process started in the early 2000s had good intentions, the Pastoral Code was developed in a very top-down manner, with a consulting firm taking the lead on its development and with little input of the pastoralists themselves. The process stagnated due to lack of funds, and concerns that process had not been inclusive enough (Tah et al, 2015). In 2009 SNV decided to re-inject some life into the process but on the basis of taking a more participatory approach. They partnered with MINEPIA in order to carry the process forward. SNV opened up opportunities for pastoralists to give feedback on the Code and raised awareness on the importance 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 pastoral tenure as well as in leadership. Adult learning principles were applied to ensure effective acquisition of knowledge and skills. 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. It also supported the development of enabling texts (by-laws) supplementing and supporting the Code.

This Pastoral Code reflects has seven major components including the exploitation of natural resources by pastoralism; regulation of pastoral activities and conflict management; penalties to defaulters of the statutes; monitoring and implementing bodies of pastoral activities such as a National Pastoral Council; and a financial provision creating a Pastoral Development Fund to support and fund pastoral and livestock development projects such as fencing-off crop farms or night-paddocks for animals to prevent them straying onto farms especially when found in agro-pastoral zones.

SNV disseminated the Code through meetings, seminars and workshops. They also supported the development of enabling texts (by-laws) supplementing and supporting the Code. The draft Code was then presented to government in order to take it before Parliament.

However, despite the effort the Pastoral Code has not yet been passed in Parliament. One of the criticisms, made by the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, is that crop farmers' opinions were not taken into account in the elaboration process. It is also being affected by the on-going land reforms in the country. It is believed that currently the Code is under review at the Prime Ministry,¹⁹ but it is difficult to get a clear indication of its status.

Box 2

Niger's **Rural Code** is 'an original and ground-breaking document for management of land and natural resources'. It was passed in 1993 and seeks to effectively manage land and natural resources, and to tackle food insecurity and environmental degradation. It was developed through open, broad-based, inclusive and participatory consultations. It has the following objectives: provide land tenure security; organise the rural world; promote sustainable management of natural resources; promote land use management and planning. A salient feature of this Code is that it seeks to recognize customary law by emphasising the positive aspects of it such as the role of traditional chiefs and counterbalancing the negative aspects such their supremacy over land tenure management.

Jamart, 2010

Even though Cameroon's Pastoral 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

¹⁹ Tah Charles (SNV Cameroon) 2016, personal communication

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 agenda. 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.

2.3 INITIATIVES THAT FOCUS ON RESOLVING CONFLICTS BETWEEN LAND USERS

2.3.1 RECONCILING THE INTERESTS OF CONSERVATION WITH THOSE OF PASTORALISTS IN THE BENUE NATIONAL PARK (BNP) OF NORTH CAMEROON

The Benue National Park (BNP) began life as a wildlife reserve, established in 1932 by the then-French colonial administration. Upgraded to a national park in 1968 and inscribed as a UNESCO Biosphere Reserve in 1981, the Park covers a total surface area of about 180 000 hectares. It is one of the three national parks in the North Region of Cameroon, occupying over 40 % of the total land surface area of the region (WWF, 2010). Amongst these three parks, Benue is considered the most vulnerable because of the many livestock routes that traverse it and the increasing number of human settlements around it (Mbamba, 2016 personal communication)²⁰. 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, national parks are under the tutelage of the Ministry of Forestry and Wildlife (MINEF) and by law, all exploitation of national park resources is forbidden and attracts a heavy penalty.

The BNP harbours lush sudano-savanna vegetation and abundant water resources highly coveted by pastoralists and agro-pastoralists 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 some of the so called ‘designated game areas’ or ‘zone d’Intérêt cynégétique’ (ZIC). These are mainly found in the North of the Park, established on the borders of the Park²¹ as a buffer zone. In addition, another 150,000 or so cattle enter the area

²⁰ J.P. Kevin Mbamba Mbamba is the Warden of the Benue National Park

²¹ Cameroon's law envisages “fauna reserves” and zones d’Intérêt cynégétiques among protected areas. The former are designated for conservation, management and reproduction of fauna and its habitats, and hunting may only be authorised by the Minister in the framework of authorised management operations. The latter are reserved for hunting, and may be managed by the wildlife administration or a local authority or any person, where hunting and other activities carried out within them are subject to the payment of a fee or a co-management agreement with the State (Art. 3(1)) www.fao.org/docrep/005/y3844e/y3844e07.htm

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 Park's resources including its flora; 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 have been known 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 pressure was put on the Park to change its ‘fortress’ type model of conservation. Law No. 94/01 of 20th January 1994 bearing on the Management of Forest, Wildlife and Fisheries provides 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, a Management Plan for the Benue National Park developed in 2002 elaborated as specific objectives: to give to the local communities around the Park the responsibility to protect the Park of its natural resources and to put in place a sustainable management system for the Park. It also recognised that local land users should be assisted in identifying alternative and/or diversified livelihoods (MINEF, 2002).

The elaboration of this Management Plan was technically and financially facilitated by WWF, Global Environment Facility (GEF), SNV and MINEF. Pastoralists seized this opportunity and negotiated their access to grazing and watering resources in some of the ZICs. Field assistants and animators employed by the Park and who were generally sympathetic to the pastoralists’ cause, built their negotiating capacity through information sessions and meetings. A Management Committee of the ZIC was established including representatives of pastoral communities, agriculturalists, fishermen, miners and other local land users together with the Game Warden of the ZIC and other stakeholders. This Committee elaborated the modalities of access to the various resources in the ZIC. The concept of ‘micro-zoning’ was adopted, which entails the mapping and designation of space for different uses including Areas for Multiple Uses (Zone á Usage Multiple – ZUM) within which the pastoralists and other local land users carry out their agro/silvo-pastoral and other livelihood activities. Furthermore, the management committees of the various ZICs are statutory members of the Monitoring Committee of the BNP, which has as its main role the ensuring of a synergy of action and the involvement of various stakeholders in the Park's management.

The window of opportunity provided by the development of the BNP's Management Plan gave pastoralists and other local land users room to negotiate for access to the ZICs around the Park in order to settle there and use the land for livestock (and other) production. The negotiating process, though primarily facilitator-driven, was carried out in a participatory and inclusive manner to guarantee sustainability.

State institutions and procedures were used to formalise this process and its outcome, through the approval of the Management Plan in 2002 by the Minister in charge of Wildlife and Protected Areas, thus becoming a legal text. This clarified any ambiguities over park resource exploitation that had previously existed. Presently consultations are taking place for the revision of the Management Plan and there is a possibility that pastoralists could renegotiate even more favourable terms.

2.3.2 PROMOTING DIALOGUE PLATFORMS AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL FARM PRACTICES BETWEEN PASTORALISTS AND CROP FARMERS IN THE NORTHWEST REGION OF CAMEROON

The Northwest Region of Cameroon is a hotspot for farmer-herder conflicts. As such, it has drawn the attention of a number of organisations 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, monitored and enforced by resource users themselves, that the needs of both parties can be met. Increasingly development partners in the region are using this strategy as a framework for their activities, which focus on the principles of fostering dialogue through different platforms and building mutually beneficial relations.

For example SNV facilitated the development of platforms bringing together pastoralists, farmers and traditional leaders to discuss peaceful solutions to conflicts, including 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).

MBOSCUA 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) approach²² in resolving farmer-herder conflicts (MBOSCUA, 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

22 Alternative Conflict Management Approach is a multidisciplinary field of research and action that seeks to address the question of how people can make better decisions together, particularly on difficult, contentious issues. Initially developed in the United States some two decades ago, it is now being implemented globally as a complement or alternative to more adversarial or non-consensual strategies, such as judicial or legal recourse, unilaterally initiated public information campaigns, or partisan political action. <http://www.fao.org/docrep/005/x2102e/x2102e02.htm> (Accessed 28/09/16).

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 rather 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.

2.4 INITIATIVES THAT FOCUS ON IMPROVING UNDERSTANDING AND COLLECTING BACKGROUND INFORMATION FOR LAND USE PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT IN RANGELANDS

2.4.1 PARTICIPATORY VILLAGE LAND USE MAPS FOR NTEM VILLAGE OF MBAW PLAIN IN NWA SUB DIVISION OF THE NORTHWEST REGION AND COUNCIL LAND USE PLAN FOR BANGANTE MUNICIPALITY IN THE NDE DIVISION OF THE WEST REGION.

Land use plans be they at village or council level provide an opportunity for communities to have an integral part in the decision-making process over the land they use and occupy. The process of decentralisation²³ has created the necessary space and condition for communities to argue their right to be involved.

The plans can help promote secure pastoral tenure by helping to reduce conflicts between different land users notably pastoralists and crop farmers; and mitigate the impacts of demographic growth and protect grazing systems, communal areas and mobility. The two examples shared here offer us the opportunity of reviewing land use planning at two different scales – village and council; and two types of facilitators of the land use planning process – Community Assistance in Development (COMAID – a relatively small NGO), and National Community Driven Development Programme

23 The law on the 'orientation of decentralization' was passed by the National Assembly and it among other things provides for populations to be resolutely involved in defining and managing affairs of their regional and local authorities. This devolution of powers will essentially be through the transfer by the State of human, material and financial resources in particular through tax transfer and/or ceded revenue to regional and local authorities (Centre for Democracy and Human Rights www.ccdhr.org Accessed 06/10/2016).

(PNDP) implemented by the Cameroon Government. Both initiatives have used participatory approaches to ensure community buy-in and sustainability and have been inclusive i.e. involving women, youths and indigenous communities.

i) Establishing participatory village land use map for Ntem Village

Ntem village is found in the Mbaw Plain, Nwa sub-Division of the Northwest Region. Like the majority of other villages in the country the village is confronted with a myriad of land governance issues such as the weakening and overriding of customary tenure systems by the state laws; illegal sale of lands by unscrupulous traditional authorities; traditional rulers with weak capacity and incentive to effectively represent the interests of communities in land boards; land grabbing by powerful and rich elite; and fraud and corruption in land administration. As in much of the country, pastoralists in these two locations are very vulnerable in terms of land security and have often been evicted from 'national lands' to make way for large and small-scale farming and other activities. Under an ILC sponsored project *Enhancing Land Rights for Local Communities in the Mbaw Plain of the Northwest Region of Cameroon*, COMAID facilitated the production of a participatory village land use map for Ntem Village. The processes commenced with the holding of a sensitisation meeting, attended by various stakeholders in land governance including administrative, municipal and traditional authorities, and 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 establishing firm resolutions to improve the situation notably employing land use mapping. It was believed that through this land use mapping, rights would receive some legitimisation. With this in mind 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. Land use maps utilised Landsat satellite images and land use classes digitised in GIS and hard copy land-use maps. All stakeholders were given the opportunity to validate the map when it was presented back to the community and other stakeholders.

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. Self-seeking traditional rulers who are meant to be 'the custodians' of the land were assisting these barons through shady land dealings with resulting inequality in the access, ownership and control of land between the wealthy and smallholder farmers. Linked to this is the conversion of most of the grabbed land to oil palm and cocoa plantations,²⁴ which was threatening local food self-sufficiency.

²⁴ Because of its hot, humid climate and organic matter rich soils, both private and parastatal industrial concerns have set up oil palm and cocoa plantations in the past two decades. These have also been facilitated by the rehabilitation of major roads that traverse the Plain.

The greatest outcome of this process is probably the fact that the land use map was accepted and validated by all stakeholders as a legitimate tool for land management in Ntem village. The map was produced with the Ntem community and has demarcated and mapped out extents of the Ntem village land for particular activities. The community, traditional authorities, members of the Land Consultative Board and the APC, municipal authorities and law-makers all took part in the validation exercise. The Ntem village land use map cost about 6 million CFA francs (USD 9 000) to produce.²⁵

ii) The Plan for the Sustainable Use and Management of Land for the Bangante Council of the Nde Division of the West Region

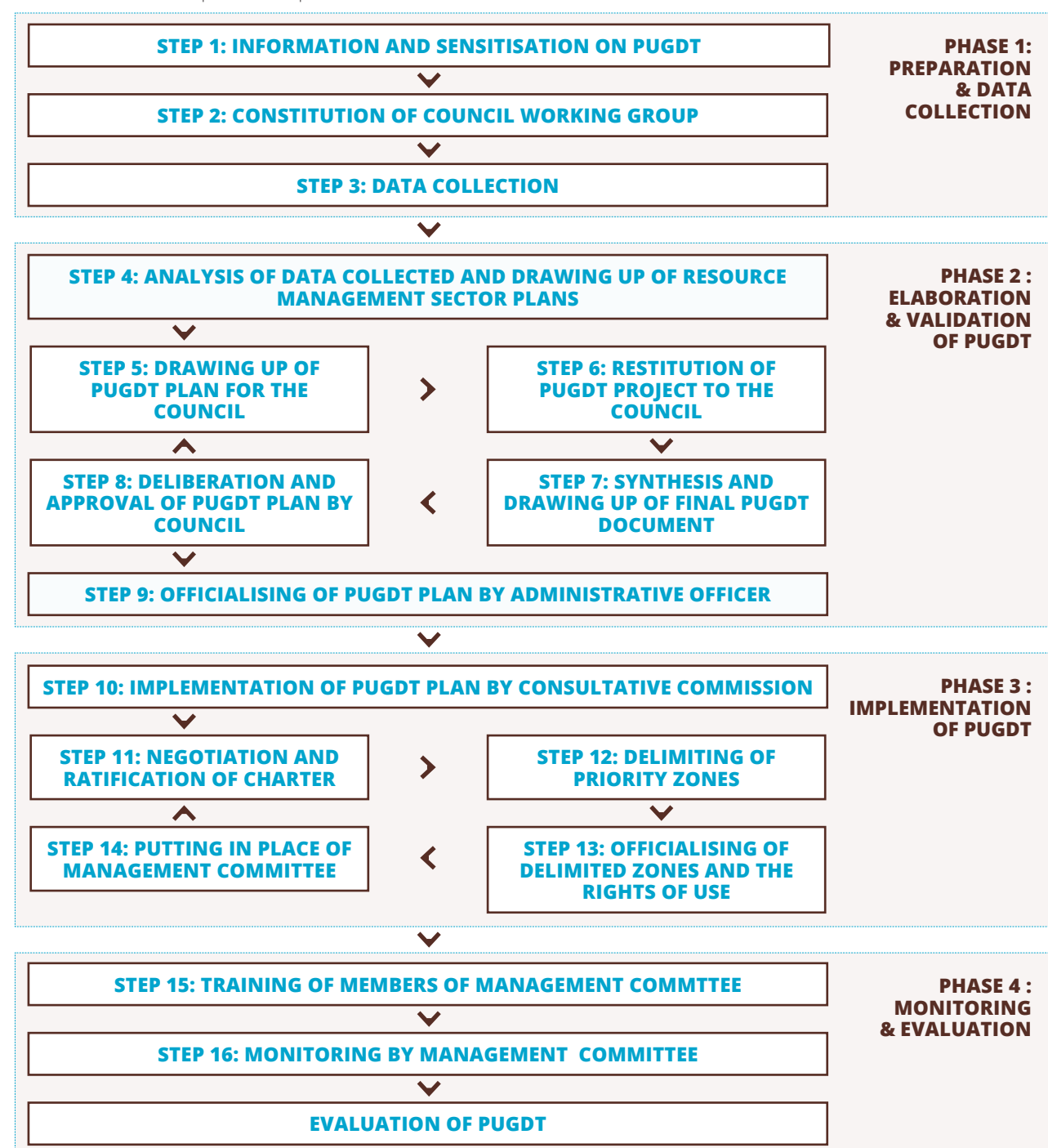
In the Bangante Council area, Nde Division, West Region the land use pattern has changed considerably over recent years. A key driver of this has been increasing demographic pressure from both population growth and in-migration. This has led to an over exploitation of natural resources in the area including 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, PNDP) agreed²⁶ 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 (PNDP, 2010). It aims to create 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. It is meant not only to enable the delimitation of land for silvo-agro-pastoral activities but also conservation and protected areas. It should serve as a stimulus for a dialogue between all those with a stake in land tenure and governance of a given area. It requires elaboration in an interdisciplinary, iterative and participatory manner in order to arrive at a consensual use of land and landed resources.

The phases through which the elaboration of this plan went through were: the preparation and data collection phase; the elaboration and validation phase; the implementation phase; and 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.

²⁵ Christian Jitarr Taku is the coordinator of COMAID.

²⁶ The PUGDT was an inter-ministerial project piloted in 23 council areas of the West, Centre, Adamawa and North Regions of the country between 2007 – 2012.

PUGDT elaboration and implementation process



Additionally, Steps 9 and 14 are worth noting. 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.



Community members receiving aid following the demolition of their home in Mamada Hills

To protect pastoralism in the area of Bangante, the following recommendations were made: to improve the forage in pastoral areas through reseedling of natural pasture with appropriate grass and legume species; delimit and protect transhumance/ livestock corridors which serve as a link to the transhumance zone including use of concrete pillars; restrict any farming activities 50 – 100 m on either side of the transhumance corridors; fence off any farms along the corridors; and service transhumance corridors with vaccination crushes, watering points and cattle markets. It also encourages the integration of livestock and crop production through the use of crop residues by animals after harvest and the fertilisation of fields by cattle through dung and urine.

To date, Phase 1 (Preparation/Data collection) and Phase 2 (Elaboration/Validation) have been completed. Phase 3 (Implementation) and Phase 4 (Monitoring/Evaluation) are facing challenges and delays. The only activity that has been carried out so far is the servicing of transhumance corridors and cattle tracks with vaccination points.

2.5 INITIATIVES THAT FOCUS ON PROMOTING PARTICIPATION, SUPPORTING ENPOWERMENT AND COLLECTIVE ACTION

2.5.1 NORTHWEST LAND OBSERVATORY: ADVOCATING AND RESTORING THE RIGHTS OF OVER 300 MBORORO PASTORALISTS OF MAMADA HILLS

The Northwest Land Observatory (NWLO) is a platform of 15 CSOs and NGOs working on land governance issues in the Northwest Region championed by COMAID, MBOSCUA and COMINSUD. The NWLO was formed in 2012 in order to support local communities to obtain greater security of access to their land through lobbying and advocacy actions, and performing a 'watchdog' role.

The constitutional reforms²⁷ that took place in Cameroon in the early nineties created a space for advocacy and lobbying actions by NGOs and CSOs, many of whom (including MBOSCUDA) were established at this time. These reforms created guarantees of basic human rights, civic and political freedoms (including freedom of association). The NWLO provided an opportunity for many of these organisations to strengthen their voice and presence by coming together, creating a common vision, pooling resources etc. In Bamenda, NWLO has been lobbying against the eviction of Mbororo people from ancestral lands they had been occupying since 1904. The 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 a Temporary Grant by the Minister of State Property, Lands Tenure for the construction of a catholic university. The catholic authorities went on to claim most of 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 catholic authorities over eviction from their ancestral lands. Quittance notices were served to the pastoralists in 2012 to leave their lands and resettle to an area that was known to be prone to conflicts between farmers and pastoralists. Bulldozers were sent to destroy the houses of the pastoralists who fought the action resulting in the wounding, arrests and detention of some pastoralists and the razing and looting of their houses and property.

The Minister of State Property, Surveys and Land Tenure's initial grant to the catholic authorities was attackable because the law provides for the expropriation of 'Category A National Land' which is unoccupied and unexploited only, and if otherwise (for public good and interest), benchmark procedures such as free, prior and informed consent (FPIC) should be sought and obtained. This was clearly not the case here. 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. It was discovered that the Catholics occupied 74 ha rather than the 46 ha accorded to them by the Minister as a Temporary Grant. 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 was made for the Land Consultative Board to visit the site and map out the initial 46 ha as originally allocated. With the media attention generated, organisations provided donations in cash and in-kind to all the pastoralists to rebuild their homes and to an extent, their livelihoods.

Due to the media attention and the resulting local, national and international sympathy given to the cause of the pastoralists, it would seem that the catholic authorities have backed off from the disputed piece of land. This was even before the final judgement of the Administrative Court on the matter.

27 On December 5th 1990, the National Assembly approved more than 100 'Liberty Laws' tabled by the government. These laws bordered on many aspects of national polity but the most telling aspects had to do with ability to hold public meetings and gatherings; freedom of the press; freedom of association and to create political parties.

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 the 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.

2.5.2 EMPOWERING WOMEN THROUGH PROMOTION OF FEMALE DAIRY COOPERATIVES IN THE NORTHWEST REGION OF CAMEROON

Pastoralist women in Cameroon can face a double marginalisation – for being pastoralists and for living in predominantly patriarchal communities. They generally have weak rights of ownership and access to land and livestock resources. Furthermore, most livestock development projects have failed to benefit women because of a lack of attention to gender issues and such as poor targeting. Women's empowerment can be supported through the building of collective power and opening up of opportunities for them to influence decision-making and pastoral livelihood processes.

In the Northwest Region of Cameroon, some development actors are correcting the wrongs of the past by mainstreaming gender in livestock development efforts. Increasingly, more attention is being paid to species such as poultry, small ruminants and dairy cattle, which women tend to have greater responsibilities for and benefits from. They are employing participatory and group-based approaches, which tend to be more appropriate and accessible to women than conventional head-of-household approaches. Of particular note is the flurry of efforts by different development partners to facilitate the establishment of women dairy cooperatives in the region over the past 5 – 10 years. In pastoralist communities women enjoy milk-rights and for the most part control the milking, processing, selling and distribution of milk and milk products. The underlying goal of these efforts has been to increase the income that women receive through the sale of milk which invariably improves their voice within the household, their purchasing power, their overall self-confidence and not least their standing in the eyes of the men-folk. All these can have a positive influence on the power they wield in pastoral communities. Interventions include improving women's technical and managerial skill-set as seen in the examples highlighted below.

Several female dairy cooperatives exist in the Northwest Region of the country. The Wum Industrial Dairy Cooperative (WIDC) found some 65 km from Bamenda is a cooperative formed by a score of pastoralist women in 2010. The members aspire to live up to the group's motto '*tummude risku*' which loosely translated from Fulfude means 'calabash of wealth' – the calabash being the main receptacle for milking, storage and transportation of milk within the Mbororo Fulani communities. This cooperative adds value to the milk it collects from members and non-members by processing it into yoghurt, cheese and butter. The cooperative could

handle about 250 litres of milk per day, however production is way behind this processing capacity due mainly to marketing and organisational problems. Another cooperative found close by is Sabga Dairy Cooperative (SDC) found about 25 km from Bamenda, which was established in the late 1990s with about 66 members.

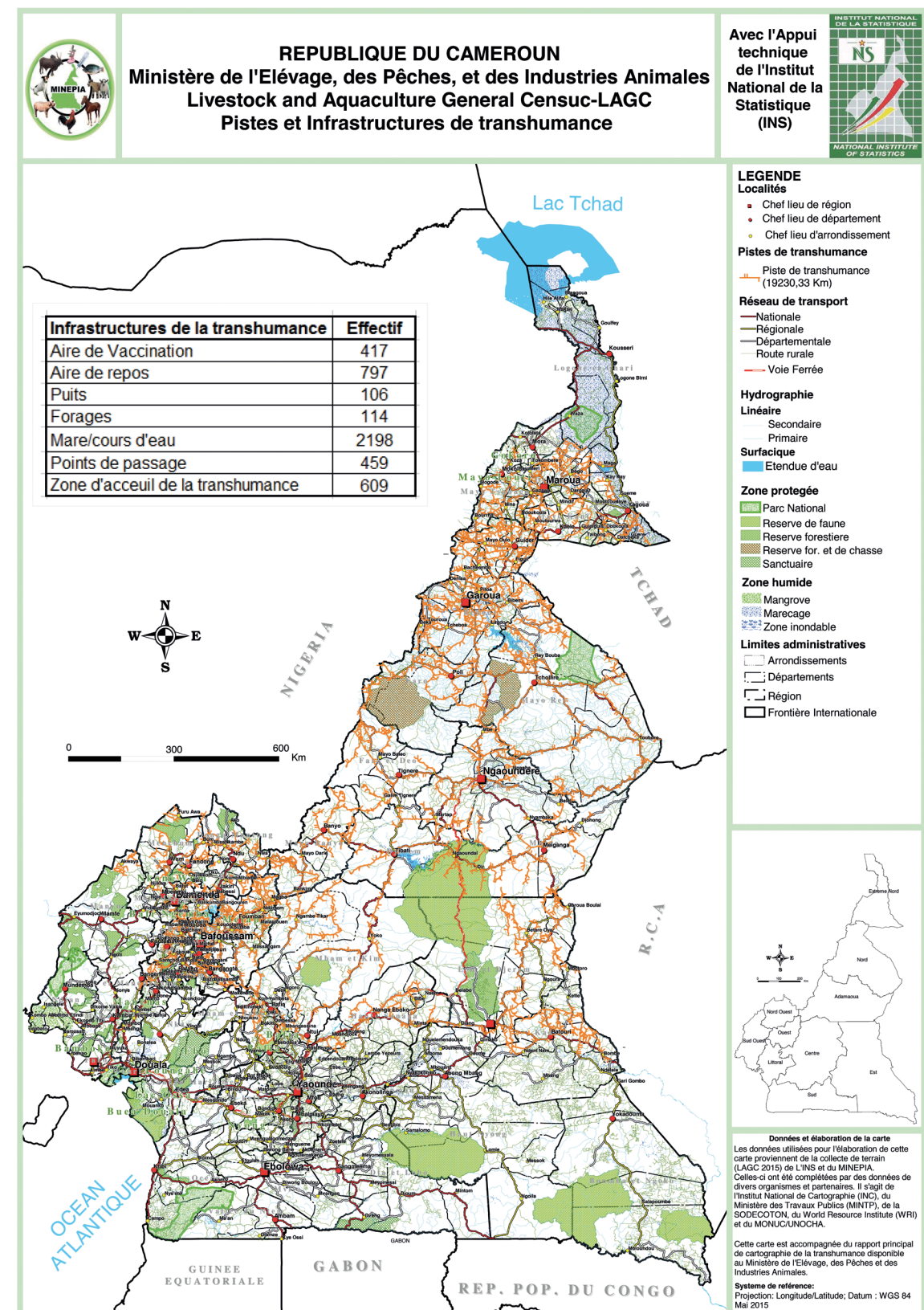
These cooperatives have received institutional, material and financial support from several development partners. At its start, WIDC received donations in equipment from the International Labour Organisation (ILO) including a fridge, deep freezer and gas cooker while in 2011, the European Union donated to the group a pasteurizer, an incubator, a generator, and additional fridges. In addition, SNV has invested in trainings to improve the managerial and technical capacities of cooperative members through NGOs like COMINSUD, Sustainable Livestock Foundation and Society for Initiatives in Rural Development and Environmental Protection. Topics of these trainings include marketing, group dynamics, leadership skills, milk hygiene and processing. Similar support has been given to SDC by development partners such as Land O Lakes USA, FAO and MINEPIA. In addition, some members of the group were taken to the USA on a study tour.

These cooperatives have improved their economies-of-scale and the quantity and quality of milk produced; added-value to the milk, by processing it into other products; reduced the transaction costs of the dairy production and the opportunity costs and time spent marketing dairy products. The income the women get from the fortnightly or monthly payments made by the cooperative(s) for milk supplied has bolstered their economic and social autonomy and their self-esteem. They have become more self-confident and self-reliant²⁸. The men-folk now better recognise women's contribution to household and community wellbeing and have given their full support to the dairy cooperatives. They have said that they do not feel threatened by this rising status of women²⁹. Some of the women who head the cooperatives have been elected in local government such as municipal councillors. And members say that the attendance rate of children at school has also increased, and is better amongst families of cooperative members than others.

However, over the last couple of years the level of activity in the cooperatives has declined. This was evident in the records kept which showed a drop in the off-take of milk over the years and also the visitors' books, which had seen better days. Today the high pasteuriser and incubator donated to the group(s) is hardly being used. Members attributed this slump to a lack of markets for their products and to a crisis in leadership within pastoral communities in general, which has had a knock-on impact on the dairy cooperatives.

28 Haiwe Bira and Alima Amadou are President and Vice President respectively of Wum Industrial Dairy Cooperative (WIDC) while Maimuna Ije, Mairu Buba and Adama Mohamadou are members of the Sabga Dairy Cooperative. In a discussion with these ladies on 08/07/2016 in Wum and 13/07/16 in Sabga, these dairy cooperative members made these claims.

29 Mr Oumarou Amadou is the adviser and husband to Vice President of WIDC and said "we really don't feel threatened by the rising status of our wives and we've even learnt to take pride in the successes they have recorded."



2.6 INITIATIVES THAT FOCUS ON TITLING, DELIMITING AND PROTECTING TRANSHUMANCE CORRIDORS AND GRAZING ZONES

2.6.1 SECURING PASTORAL ZONES AND DELIMITING TRANSHUMANCE CORRIDORS IN THE NORTH AND FAR NORTH REGIONS

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 is based on 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. It aimed at reinforcing and consolidating dialogue between pastoralists' organisations, farmers' organisations and councils to sustainably manage agro-pastoral resources in order to promote livestock production (PAGEPA-NEN, 2015).

The North and Far North Regions are the best livestock producing regions of the country, predominantly under pastoral systems. As described previously this area is under increasing pressures of land use change (rangeland to agriculture), rangeland fragmentation and blocking of livestock routes. Overstocking on the remaining rangelands is common leading to degradation. Conflicts between different land users are increasing. Pastoralists in the regions are marginalised from decision-making processes and are poorly organised.

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 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).

Similarly, the institutional and organisational capacity of the councils was improved to enable them to play their new role as co-managers of livestock infrastructure hitherto played by the staff of the MINEPIA. Consultation platforms now exist in most of the 15 councils where the project carried out its activities. These platforms bring together all who have a stake in pastoral resource management including

council authorities, council and other government technical experts, pastoralists' and agriculturalists' organisations, and other technical and financial partners. These platforms have functioning bylaws that define the roles and responsibilities of the various stakeholders, the periodicity of their meetings etc.

These federations have given greater visibility to the pastoralists of the North and Far North Regions and impetuous to assert themselves especially in negotiations with other stakeholders. They are formally registered and this state recognition provides them with the possibility of building further networks, which may benefit them technically or economically. Organisations that are already assisting them include: Cellule d'Appui au Développement Intégrée' (CADEPI), and Centre d'Appui à la Recherche et au Pastoralisme' (CARPA) and international organisations such as SNV and EU.

The committees and structures created have been formalised by an order of the administrative authorities. This is when the governor or the divisional officer (préfet) signs an administrative act (arrêté) that specifies that the delimited grazing lands or corridors be exclusively reserved for pastoral use. With an administrative Act, trespassers can be taken to court; without an administrative Act, the only recourse is arbitration between the parties by the APC. Follow-up by advocates of mobile pastoralists, e.g. CARPA and FEB, has been very necessary to prod the authorities into action when there are problems along the corridors (Moritz et al, 2013).

2.6.2 MAPPING OF TRANSHUMANCE CORRIDORS AND PASTORAL INFRASTRUCTURE ALONG THEIR PATH

The general situation of livestock routes in the country is one characterised by increasing encroachment by other land uses such as farming, building, infrastructure development, protected areas etc. This situation has led to constant conflicts between pastoralists and farmers, property developers, conservationists etc. Linked to this is the general absence of national policy and legislation that protects livestock routes. Also, the existing livestock routes are not marked out and lack infrastructure. Furthermore, there exists no updated map on the status of the livestock routes in the country and maps presently referred to date back to colonial or post-independence times.

Within the framework of the planned National Agriculture and Livestock Census, MINEPIA with technical assistance from the Cameroon's National Institute of Statistics embarked on a mapping of the transhumance corridors and related pastoral infrastructure found along their path. This included where the livestock routes are and what their status is. The ultimate aim was to have a geo-referenced 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 (Djenouassi, personal communication 2016).³⁰ Mapping was done with help

³⁰ Mr Sebastien Djenouassi is Head of Inquiries and Statistics Unit at the Ministry of Livestock, Fisheries and Animal Industries (MINEPIA), Yaounde, Cameroon.

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 geo-referenced 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. More than 80 % of the listed watering bodies were said to be greatly affected by seasonal rains (MINEPIA-INS, 2015).

Despite the general success of the mapping, some problems were encountered which were mostly linked to insecurity and the methodology. Security-wise, the transhumance corridors are mostly found in enclaved and remote areas with difficult access and prone to attacks e.g. the areas in the North Cameroon where the Boko Haram insurgency groups still holds sway. Methodologically, it was difficult to get the approximate number of animals that use the corridors. This was a major limitation, which needs to be corrected before the livestock census proper.

LESSONS LEARNT

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 livelihood 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 marginalisation, 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 them. 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 be 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 Fulani and their culture, which has improved the perception of pastoralists generally.

National and regional 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 APCs, and even in the various phases of land use planning that require the approval of the administrative authorities. 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 elites 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 realised 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. Fulani 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 best to 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, 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 (MBUFONZAK 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 know-how, 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 of management well-matched to the physical environment but they are well-matched to the social and cultural environment too (as suggested by Ostrom and Schaggar 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 APC (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 a great deal of 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 also 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 cross-border or regional 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.



More intensive and integrated crop-livestock systems are developing and pastoralists are forced to settle in order to claim access to land and resources

As such, facilitation must come with this understanding 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 FOR 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, Goggle 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 rather the *rights* to those resources (as has been proposed by Moritz et al, 2013b). Ntem village LUP 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 donor-funded and externally-facilitated. The cost of 6 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. 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.

IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1. IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE POLICY AND LEGISLATION DEVELOPMENT: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY AND DECISION-MAKERS

4.1.1 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 to be 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). 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 punishing defaulters.

4.1.2 RECOGNITION, SECURING 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 and to make investments. To do this, 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 and/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 spatially 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 tenure 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.

4.1.3 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 agro-pastoral 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. A major cause of the delays in 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 Pastoral Code, government should speed-up the on-going land reforms by setting timelines and deadlines 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.

4.1.4 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 twenty years back, very little has been achieved to date. 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. This 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 high-level planning tools and nation-wide legal frameworks are established in Cameroon that will coordinate processes and activities in pastoral areas across ministries as well as with other stakeholder such as donors and NGO/CSOs.

4.1.5 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 (national parks, forest and game reserves, sanctuaries etc). Under Law No. 94/01 of 20th January 1994 bearing on the Management of Forest, Wildlife and Fisheries, national parks 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 rangeland users seen today.

4.1.7 DEVELOP AND INSTITUTIONALISE LAND USE PLANNING AT DIFFERENT LEVELS INCLUDING DEMARCATION OF LIVESTOCK CORRIDORS

Cameroon does not have a national land use plan, nor has it institutionalised lower levels of land use planning. Though some land use planning 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 rangeland 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 Government of Cameroon 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 demarcated 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. An independent commission or other body should produce this, with the input of all government sectors. This will then be replicated (in more detail) at lower levels of government including counties.

It is recommended that the Government of Cameroon 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 & LAND-FOCUSED ORGANISATIONS

4.2.1 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 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.

4.2.2 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'Elevage en Savane et au Sahel (APESS) may have legitimacy to represent pastoralists but they will have to work on their own institutional weaknesses and develop more sustainable sources of funds to avoid over-dependence on funds that 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 need 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 forward 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.

4.2.3 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.

4.2.4. PROMOTE A HOLISTIC APPROACH TO DEVELOPMENT

An 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 (indigenous and non-indigenous) 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 rangeland issues of national importance) is developed, to ensure a coordinated approach is undertaken and to provide guidance for action on the ground.

4.2.5 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 speaking about 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 like-minded people who have been through the same experience and have had the opportunity to learn from these.

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About MBOSCUDA

The Mbororo Social and Cultural Development Association describes itself as a national sociocultural association of the Mbororo Fulani people, a disadvantaged ethnic minority in Cameroon. It works to empower the Mbororo people so that they might achieve sustainable development on their terms and to secure their human, social and economic rights as valued and active citizens of the Republic of Cameroon. It is one of four ILC country members in Cameroon, and has special status in some African Union and United Nations' commissions working with indigenous people and in defence of human rights.

About COMINSUD

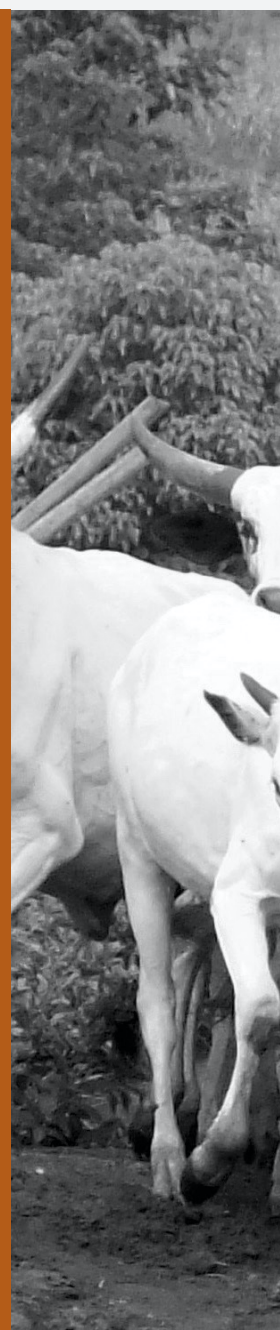
The Community Initiative for Sustainable Development (COMINSUD) Cameroon is a Bamenda-based CSO active in initiatives that promote livelihood, agriculture, food and nutrition, land access and governance at local, regional, national and international levels.

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The Rangelands Initiative of the International Land Coalition (ILC) is a global programme facilitating learning between and providing technical support to different actors who are working to make rangelands more tenure secure. The programme works through ILC members and partners, and ILC commitment-based initiatives in Africa coordinated by RECONCILE (Resource Conflict Institute) Kenya, in Latin America coordinated by FUNDAPAZ (Foundation for Development in Justice and Peace) Argentina, and in Asia coordinated by JASIL Mongolia and MARAG (Maldahari Rural Action Group) India. The global component is coordinated by ILRI (International Livestock Research Institute) in Ethiopia. The Rangelands Initiative supports ILC members and partners to develop or influence enabling policy and legislation, and to improve the implementation of policy and legislation in a manner that protects rangelands resources and supports productive and sustainable rangeland use. A key input to this is the joint identification of solutions based on innovation and good practice, through research, knowledge generation, and experience sharing. This series of Issue Papers documents and shares some of the experiences, information, and knowledge generated during these processes.



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