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Department of Rural Economy and Agriculture

**POLICY FRAMEWORK FOR PASTORALISM IN AFRICA:
Securing, Protecting and Improving the Lives, Livelihoods and Rights of
Pastoralist Communities**

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Abbreviations

AU	African Union
AUC	African Union Commission
AU/DREA	African Union/Department for Rural Economy and Agriculture
AU/IBAR	African Union/Inter-African Bureau for Animal Resources
CAADP	Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme
CEBEVIRAH	Economic Commission for Livestock, Meat and Fish
CEMAC	Economic Community of Central African States
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East Africa Community
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority for Development
ITC	International Transhumance Certificate
MDGs	Millenium Development Goals
NEPAD	New Economic Partnership for African Development
REC	Regional Economic Community
TAD	Transboundary animal disease

Executive Summary

The mandate of the Department of Rural Economy and Agriculture of the African Union Commission is to initiate and promote policies that can contribute to the development of rural economy and improve livelihoods through increasing agricultural productivity, ensuring food security, and enhancing sustainable use and management of Africa's natural resources.

African pastoralism is defined by a high reliance on livestock as a source of economic and social wellbeing, and various types of strategic mobility to access water and grazing resources in areas of high rainfall variability. Pastoralism is found in all regions of Africa and in some regions, is the dominant livelihoods system. Pastoralists supply very substantial numbers of livestock to domestic, regional and international markets and therefore, make crucial – but often undervalued – contributions to national and regional economies in Africa. Their production systems are highly adaptive, constantly responding to market and climatic trends. Pastoralist culture is part of the cultural heritage of Africa, and animal and plant resources in pastoral areas comprise one of the most important types of genetic resource on the continent.

Against these positive aspects of pastoralism is the reality that human development and food security indicators for many pastoral areas of Africa are among the lowest on the continent, and in some cases, worsening. Drawing on extensive regional expert consultations conducted since 2007, the **Policy Framework for Pastoralism in Africa** is the first continent-wide policy initiative which aims to secure, protect and improve the lives, livelihoods and rights of African pastoralists. The policy framework is a platform for mobilizing and coordinating political commitment to pastoral development in Africa, and emphasizes the need to fully involve pastoralist women and men in the national and regional development processes from which they are supposed to benefit. The framework also emphasizes the regional nature of many pastoralist ecosystems in Africa and therefore, the need to support and harmonize policies across the Regional Economic Communities and Member States.

The **Policy Framework for Pastoralism in Africa** contains guiding and cross-cutting *principles*, two main *objectives*, and a set of *strategies* for each objective. The two objectives of the framework are as follows:

Objective 1 Secure and protect the lives, livelihoods and rights of pastoral peoples and ensure continent-wide commitment to political, social and economic development of pastoral communities and pastoral areas.

Objective 2 Reinforce the contribution of pastoral livestock to national, regional and continent-wide economies.

Objective 1 includes the need to recognize the rights, existing economic contributions and potential future contributions of pastoralists to development, with related political and policy processes needed to develop appropriate pastoral policies and fully integrate pastoralism into national and regional development programmes and plans. Objective 2 focuses on the core assets of pastoral areas viz. pastoral rangelands and livestock. It emphasizes the need to improve the governance of pastoral rangelands and thereby secure access to rangelands for pastoralists. The involvement of traditional pastoral institutions is seen as central to this process. Strategies under Objective 2 also include the protection and development of pastoral livestock, risk-based drought management, and support to the marketing of pastoral livestock and livestock products in domestic, regional and international markets.

1. Introduction

1.1 The case for a pan-African Policy Framework for Pastoralism

1.1.1 Background

Pastoralism is a way of life based primarily on raising livestock, particularly small ruminants, cattle and camels. Pastoral livestock production systems are mostly found in Africa's vast arid and semi-arid areas. These areas are characterized by marked rainfall variability, and associated uncertainties in the spatial and temporal distribution of water resources and grazing for animals. Pastoralists have developed management systems based on strategic mobility, which are well-adapted to these difficult conditions. Although African pastoral ecosystems are ancestral homeland to a substantial portion of the population for whom pastoralism is a traditional way of life, pastoralism is far from static. Pastoralists in many areas are adapting to trends such as new economic opportunities and better access to modern means of communication.

The socioeconomic importance of African pastoralism stems from the following facts:

- (i) pastoral areas occupy about 40 percent of Africa's land mass, albeit with significant variations between countries;
- (ii) livestock or livestock-related activities contribute at least 50 percent of total value of marketed production and subsistence production consumed by an average pastoralist household;
- (iii) in general, pastoral areas are less suitable for crop husbandry, and livestock production remains the most viable opportunity to harness scarce biomass resources;
- (iv) pastoralists are custodians of key national resources found in arid and semi-arid areas and as a system, pastoralism helps to protect and safeguard these resources.

Pastoralist communities generally live in isolated, remote and underdeveloped areas. These areas are often conflict prone, food insecure and associated with high levels of vulnerability. Service provision in pastoral areas is usually less-well developed than in other areas, with low health and education indicators than national-level figures. As in other areas of Africa, population growth is also driving changes in pastoral areas and in some cases, increasing levels of vulnerability and destitution.

The mandate of the Department of Rural Economy and Agriculture of the African Union Commission (AU/DREA) is to initiate and promote policies that can contribute to the development of rural economy and improve livelihoods through increasing agricultural productivity, ensuring food security, and enhancing sustainable use and management of Africa's natural resources. Compliant with this mandate, and cognizant of the challenges and opportunities for Africa's pastoral areas, AU/DREA has been supporting a series of programs and projects designed to improve the health and productivity of animal resources in Africa, mainly through its specialised technical office, the Inter-African Bureau for Animal Resources (IBAR) based in Nairobi, Kenya.

The African Union Commission initiated a pastoral policy initiative in collaboration with the United Nations Office for Humanitarian Affairs in July 2007, in Isiolo, Kenya, with a view to developing a framework to facilitate the development and implementation of pastoral policies that could contribute towards securing and protecting the livelihoods and rights of pastoral people. The key principles of this initiative were in line with, and contributed to, the strategic

pillars of the Commission, namely promotion of peace and security, cooperation, partnership and development, shared vision and institutional capacity strengthening.

This draft **Policy Framework for Pastoralism in Africa** is a result of a series of consultations and regional assessments of pastoralism conducted since mid-2007. A Specialist Taskforce was established following the inception workshop in Isiolo, and the Taskforce members were actively involved in articulating the issues and guiding the process and the strategy. Consultants have undertaken the regional assessments in each of the five regions of Africa, and the regional assessment reports were reviewed and validated in a consultation workshop held in April 2010, in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. These processes led to the formulation of the development of the draft policy framework, which was discussed and validated in a stakeholders consultation workshop held in September-October 2010, in Nairobi, Kenya.

1.1.2 Scope and justification for a pan-African pastoral policy

a. Scope

Policy has always been at the centre of successes and failures in the development of human communities. Similarly, policy can either promote or hinder economic and social development in pastoral areas of Africa. Specifically, the policy and institutional environment determines access to the resources of these areas and therefore, has a significant impact on equity, productivity and livelihoods. Limited or uncertain resource tenure and access to, or ownership of land, water and other resources is a long-term, fundamental constraint for pastoralism. In addition, limited formal education, health and communication facilities, inappropriate market development, and poor access to livestock and other services can lead to discontent, generate injustice and further promote conflict. These problems can also lead to non-sustainable resource use and environmental degradation. In contrast, appropriate pro-pastoral policy and institutional reforms can empower pastoral people and promote equitable access to resources, facilities and services, and guarantee sustainable land use and environmental management.

It is increasingly accepted that livestock rearing is the dominant and rational economic enterprise in pastoral communities, but policies to address pastoral issues must go beyond those related to livestock production, marketing and trade. Pastoralists also need supportive policies on critical issues such as healthcare, education, land tenure, women's rights, governance, ethnicity and religion. Furthermore, the scope of policy in many areas, especially policies on pastoral mobility, environment and conflict, must range from local policies to regional policy harmonization across borders. This scope recognizes that pastoralist ecosystems often transcend national borders, and that movement within these systems is economically and ecologically rational.

b. Justification

Given the transnational character of pastoralism and the extreme and worsening levels of food insecurity and vulnerability within African pastoral communities, a pan-African policy on pastoralism is long overdue. Available information indicates that pastoralists are among the most politically and economically marginalized communities. They have decreasing access to the natural resources on which their livelihoods depend, and very limited access to basic socio-economic services and infrastructure. In addition, pastoralist areas continue to be affected by violent conflict, which in some regions is protracted and hinders opportunities for

long-term economic growth. The development challenges of pastoral areas in Africa are multi-dimensional and complex but nevertheless, need urgent attention. Poverty, environmental degradation, marked rainfall variability, human and animal diseases, conflicts and civil strife must be dealt with simultaneously. Inappropriate development policies, ineffective institutional settings, unfair market relationships and increased pressure on pastoral ecosystems add to these challenges, and place many pastoralists in a situation of worsening vulnerability.

The commitment to the **Policy Framework for Pastoralism in Africa** arises from the need for a continent-wide platform to effectively address, in a holistic manner, the many challenges confronting pastoral communities. Such a policy framework will define the guidelines, principles and modalities for combining all the essential elements needed for a better understanding of pastoral issues, and for the development and implementation of interventions to address these issues. While facilitating engagement with regional and country-level planning processes, the new policy framework will play a catalytic role in promoting development in pastoral communities by providing the African platform tool for harnessing the political, economic and technical resources needed to empower pastoral communities to better manage their resources, for their own long-term benefit.

1.2 Objectives of the Policy Framework for Pastoralism in Africa

The **Policy Framework for Pastoralism in Africa** will address the root causes of pastoral vulnerability on the continent. Within the AUC, the framework is driven by recognition that reduction of pastoral poverty is central to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), not least because pastoralists represent a substantial segment of the population in many African countries. Many past attempts to support pastoral development failed to recognize the strengths of pastoralism, and did not balance the need for greater pastoral representation and good governance, with appropriate technical approaches. Pastoral development efforts must go beyond single-sector technical approaches, and embrace indigenous knowledge, innovations for sustainable natural resources management, effective governance, and further integration of pastoral livelihoods with expanding market opportunities.

The two objectives of the **Policy Framework for Pastoralism in Africa** are to:

- Objective 1 Secure and protect the lives, livelihoods and rights of pastoral peoples and ensure continent-wide commitment to political, social and economic development of pastoral communities and pastoral areas.
- Objective 2 Reinforce the contribution of pastoral livestock to national, regional and continent-wide economies.

In specific terms, the policy framework is intended to:

- a) Provide a both a vision and a practical framework for achieving multiple development objectives in pastoral areas; catalyzing political will and raising awareness among key stakeholders, devising effective governance frameworks, and enhancing and synergizing the effectiveness of revised national policies;
- b) Coordinate the collective efforts of key stakeholders to define the principles, guidelines, strategies and practical approaches for: (i) identifying the needs of pastoral communities,

empowering them to participate effectively in the identification of, and decisions about new policies and innovations envisaged in the AU policy development process; (ii) determining the policies and investments that affect their livelihoods; and (iii) further integrating them into the mainstream national and regional economies, and related policy processes;

- c) Define the modalities for attracting sustainable and well- managed public and private sector investments, including those of development partners in pastoral areas, such as physical infrastructure, livestock production and marketing, water resource development, education and human capital development, and healthcare provision;
- d) Develop strategies to ensure the involvement of pastoral communities in policy processes, so that the needs of pastoral people are far better reflected in national policy and planning frameworks;
- e) Define practical approaches for managing risks and thereby reduce the vulnerability of pastoral people to climatic events, particularly droughts and floods, and to conflicts;
- f) Provide a link between public policy and the socio-economic needs of pastoral communities by enabling governments, pastoralists and other stakeholders to jointly realize sustainable development in pastoral areas;
- g) Leverage policy change and appropriate, sustained investment to strengthen the economic viability of pastoral activities;
- h) Facilitate the policy coordination and harmonization process;
- i) Support new approaches to alleviating chronic food insecurity, including breaking the cycle of dependence on food relief and stimulate economic growth by increasing the participation of pastoralists in market economies;;
- j) Provide a platform to guide and tailor actions towards issues considered critical in pastoral communities such as:
 - Promoting equitable access to key natural resources (land, water etc.) and technological resources e.g. new means of communication such as mobile phones);
 - Maximising the productivity of pastoral livestock and strengthening pastoral economic systems;
 - Promoting better market access for pastoral products;
 - Enhancing and facilitating greater participation of pastoral people in decision making and policy debates;
 - Harnessing the collective power of pastoral people and their organizations; and
 - Giving pastoral communities the opportunities to define their own priority needs.

2. African Pastoralism in Context

2.1 Conceptualizing pastoralism in Africa

Pastoralism is a way of life and a production system for a substantial number of Africans who inhabit arid and semi-arid areas. The key characteristics of the system are:

- A semi-arid or arid environment, with marked variability in rainfall both spatially and temporally within and between years;

- The use of livestock to maximise the uncertain distribution and availability of grazing resources in these environments;
- The need for strategic mobility to access and use grazing resources in an efficient manner.

Although mobility is a common feature of pastoralists in different parts of Africa and is usually seasonal in nature, many different types of movement are practiced according to local environments and types of livestock reared. Such movements are not random or irrational, but highly strategic and draw on local information gathering and risk analysis, supported by extraordinary traditional systems of governance and decision-making. It is these technical and social aspects of pastoralism, developed and adapted over centuries, which enable pastoralists in many African countries to supply the bulk of livestock for domestic meat markets. Furthermore, in some regions there is a well-established and robust livestock export trade that continues to grow and respond to new market opportunities.

However, pastoralism is changing. In the face of demographic trends, protracted conflicts, reduced access to grazing land and water, and in some regions, climatic changes, pastoralists are becoming increasingly vulnerable. Some pastoral areas are known for increasing levels of destitution and food insecurity, and the impacts of drought are worsening. These trends coincide with the limited political representation of pastoralists in the decision-making processes affecting their livelihoods, which in turn, is exacerbated by their physical position in remote areas, far from political and economic centres. There is also a tendency to overlook the suffering of pastoralists under the misconception that their hardships are self-inflicted by an apparent choice for a traditional life style which inhibits their ability for innovations and adaptation to change. Yet experiences in Africa clearly show that pastoralists are highly adaptive, and support new systems and services which recognize their way of life and production systems. In contrast, pastoralists also reject institutional and legislative reforms which fail to take their views and aspirations into account.

2.2 Geographical and ecological context

Pastoral areas are found in the following natural zones of Africa:

- The Mediterranean and Saharan zone in North Africa stretching from Morocco in the west to Egypt in the east, and passing through Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya;
- The sub-Saharan tropical and equatorial zone stretching from the edges of the Sahara desert in the north to the edges of the Kalahari desert in the south;
- The southern zone comprising Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Swaziland, Lesotho and South Africa.

2.2.1 Mediterranean and Saharan zone

Three distinct pastoral areas exist in the Mediterranean and Saharan zone, namely: the high altitude mountains; cold, low altitude areas of the Mediterranean coast; and the hot area of the Sahara desert. It is worth noting that 30 percent of semi-arid land located along the Atlantic coastal areas of Sahraouian Arab Democratic Republic and Mauritania are also used for pastoral activities.

a) High altitude, mountains

The high altitude mountainous pastoral areas are found in Morocco and Algeria. These are arid lands with steppe-like vegetation that is unsuitable for cropping activities. Annual rainfall

of 100 mm to 400 mm is recorded in the winter season, while the summer season is generally hot and without rain. This rangeland is mainly used for sheep and goat production. It is very sensitive to climate change and is already highly degraded.

b) Coastal Mediterranean

The cold, low altitude pastoral area of the Mediterranean coastal zone has somewhat similar climatic and ecological characteristics to the highland pastoral area described above. However, the weather is cold in the winter season and cool during the rest of the year.

c) Saharan

The hot pastoral area of the Sahara desert is located immediately south of the Mediterranean coastal pastoral area. This pastoral area represents approximately 10 percent of the Sahara desert and as annual rainfall is around 100 mm, it is super-arid.

2.1.2 Sub-Saharan tropical and equatorial zones

The sub-Saharan tropical and equatorial zone is roughly located between the northern and southern tropics. It comprises the following pastoral areas, from north to south:

- The Saharan super-arid pastoral area;
- The Sahelian arid pastoral area;
- The Sudano-Sahelian semi-arid pastoral area;
- The Sudan and Sudano-Guinean sub-humid pastoral area;
- The Guinea humid pastoral area;
- The high altitude, humid forest pastoral area.

a) Saharan super-arid pastoral area

The Saharan super-arid pastoral area is a land strip situated at the southern end of the Sahara desert. It extends from Mauritania in the west to Eritrea in the east, and crosses Mali, Niger, Chad and Sudan. Camel production is the predominant livestock activity in this area, followed by small ruminants and then cattle. Camels constitute a major source of income, meat, milk and hide, and they serve as the main mode of transport in this harsh part of Africa. Hot days (above 40°C) and cold nights (below 15°C) are common and annual rainfall is minimal (less than 150 mm). Vegetation and water resources are found around a few water points, called oases. Control over these water points constitutes a major source of conflicts, which are often settled through traditional conflict management systems.

b) Sahelian arid pastoral area

The Sahelian arid pastoral area is a land strip located just below the southern edge of the Sahara desert. It is found in the following countries from western to eastern Africa: Cape Verde, Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, Chad, Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia. Annual rainfall varies from 150 mm to 400 mm, and temperatures are generally high (above 40°C) in the long dry and main rainy season, and relatively cool (below 25°C) in the short raining season. Water resources are generally scarce and vegetation is characterized by thorny shrub species and steppe-like annual grass species. The landscape is flat often punctuated by a few hills and undulated terrain. Although there is recovery of vegetation in some areas, the much of the rangeland is in an advanced stage of degradation with limited regeneration.

c) *Sudano-Sahelian semi-arid pastoral area*

The semi-arid Sudano-Sahelian pastoral area of Africa lies between the southern edge of the Sahelian zone and the northern edge of the Sudanian zone. It stretches from western to eastern Africa across the following countries: Senegal, Mali, Burkina Faso, Togo, Benin, Niger and Nigeria in West Africa; Cameroon and Chad in Central Africa; and Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia and Djibouti in East Africa. Annual rainfall varies from 400 mm to 600 mm. This area has tropical savannah vegetation with a woody layer of deciduous trees and shrubs, and a ground layer of grass species. Pastoralists of this area raise various combinations of the following livestock species: cattle, sheep, goats, horses and donkeys. Important constraints to pastoral activities in the Sudano-Sahelian area include conflicts with settled farmers and related uncertainties over land ownership, and livestock diseases. Notably, pastoralists who have their home base in the Sahelian zone move their animals back and forth between this zone and the Sudano-Sahelian zone according to the seasonal rain distribution pattern and forage availability. Parts of this zone are heavily encroached by woody plant species and weeds, which drastically reduce the productivity of the rangeland.

d) *Sudan and Sudano-Guinean sub-humid pastoral area*

The Sudan and Sudano-Guinean sub-humid pastoral area covers a land strip that stretches from western to eastern Africa across: Senegal, Gambia, Guinea, southern Mali, Côte d'Ivoire, southern Burkina Faso and central Nigeria in West Africa; northern Cameroon, southern Chad and northern Central African Republic in Central Africa; and South Sudan, southern Ethiopia, northern Kenya and central Somalia in East Africa. Annual rainfall ranges from 900 mm to 1200 mm. Vegetation is a tree savannah with annual grass species. High incidences of animal diseases are major constraints to livestock production in this part of Africa. Use of traditionally or government demarcated grazing lands by crop farmers is a serious cause of tension between them and pastoralists, with diverse constraints around security of land tenure for herders. Parts of this zone are heavily encroached by woody plant species and weeds, which drastically reduce the productivity of the rangeland.

e) *Guinea humid pastoral area*

The Guinea humid pastoral area is a land strip located on the northern and southern edges of the equatorial humid forest. Pastoral activities are limited to those hilltops unsuitable for cropping activities, and are often invaded by *Chromolaena odorata*, a tropical weed which inhibits the growth of forage species. The Adamawa Plateau and Western Highlands of Cameroon are good examples of the Guinea humid pastoral area. The weather is relatively cool year round. Annual rainfall is above 1200 mm and vegetation is a tropical savannah dominated by annual grass species and a few dwarf shrubs. Pastoralists are often not natives of the area, but have been progressively integrated into local communities, and adopt a sedentary life style in increasing numbers. Animal diseases, high humidity and insecure land property rights remain major constraints to livestock production.

f) *High altitude humid forest pastoral area*

The high altitude, humid forest pastoral area is found mainly in the Congo Nile crest stretching across the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Rwanda and Burundi. The weather is cool (16°C to 18°C) year round; annual rainfall is around 1600 mm. The area has a luxuriant pasture and has relatively few major animal diseases. In the DRC, this pastoral land

is occupied by pastoralists from Sudan, Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda who have settled there since the mid-18th Century.

2.1.3 Southern Zone

Pastoral areas in the southern zone of Africa are found mainly in Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe. As elsewhere in Africa, they are located in arid and semi-arid areas characterized by extreme variability of rainfall, between and within locations in the same year. The interior of southern Africa comprises vast areas of arid (less than 250mm rainfall per annum) and semi-arid rangelands (250 to 600mm rainfall per annum). The arid rangelands consist of large sections of the desert, Nama-karoo and succulent karoo biomes. Semi-arid rangelands are found in the grassland, savanna and thicket biomes. Although production is primarily driven by rainfall, traditional pastoral rangeland management systems have developed to cope with the uncertain climate and to ameliorate the impact of inter-annual variation in production.

a) Arid grassland

The arid grasslands, part of the Nama-karoo biome, are situated mainly in the north western portions of South Africa, and comprise the Bushmanland arid grasslands, Namaqualand spinescent grassland, Bushmanland arid grassland and Namaqualand arid grasslands. Although the general structure is uniform, there is wide variation in floristic composition, associated environmental variables, dynamics and management options. The arid rangeland is generally characterized by low rainfall (less than 250mm per year) and a vegetation dominated by grass species and dwarf shrubs. This area is further sub-divided into arid grassland and arid savannah. The arid grassland is mainly found in the north-western part of South Africa and comprises the Bushmanland arid grasslands and the Namaqualand spinescent grassland.

b) Arid savanna

The arid savanna biome extends across portions of the western parts of southern Africa, including portions of Namibia, Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe. This vegetation is strongly associated with the deep sands of the Kalahari. The vegetation comprises a woody layer (mainly single-stemmed, seasonally deciduous trees and shrubs), with a ground layer of grasses and forbs.

c) Semi-arid rangelands

The semi-arid rangelands are found in the grassland, the savannah, and the thicket biomes and comprise all the remaining land which is not suitable for commercial rainfed agriculture. Rainfall varies from 250 mm to 800 mm per year. Semi-arid rangelands exist in South Africa, Namibia, Botswana and Zimbabwe.

d) Karroo or semi-desert plateau

The Karroo or semi desert plateau is found in the western part of South Africa. It is divided into two main physical settings from the north-west to the south-west, notably: the Nama Karroo in the North and the small or succulent Karroo in the south.

The Nama-karoo characterises the central and western regions of South Africa and southern Namibia. The biome is dominated by steppe-type vegetation, comprising a mixture of shrubs, dwarf shrubs, and annual and perennial grasses. The biome is associated with the moderate rainfall regions (250 to 450mm per annum) and is ideal for sheep and goat production.

The succulent karoo occupies the winter rainfall regions of the southern and south-western portions of South Africa. The flora of the biome comprises mainly shrubs and dwarf shrubs with succulent leaves and stems. The climate of the region is arid to semi-arid (100 to 350mm rainfall per annum), with a strong winter seasonality.

e) *Thicket rangeland*

The thicket rangeland is found in South Africa in the drainage lines and ridges of the south eastern coastal region and inland to the Great Escarpment. Rainfall ranges from 300 mm to 450 mm per year. The flora of the biome comprises mainly shrubs and dwarf shrubs and the climate of the region is arid to semiarid (100 to 350mm rainfall per annum), with a strong winter seasonality.

2.3 Economic context

The contribution of pastoralism to national economies is most commonly expressed in terms of proportion of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which in turn, is calculated from national livestock populations and production coefficients. Therefore, GDP indicators are indirect measures and in part, depend on estimates of the proportion of the national herd found in pastoral areas of the country concerned. In general, pastoralism contributes 10 to 44 percent of the GDP of African countries. The pastoralist population in Africa is estimated at 268 million (over a quarter of the total population), living on area representing about 43 percent of the continent's total land mass.

Official statistics tend to overlook many important economic benefits of pastoral livestock. These benefits include household consumption of livestock products, especially, milk, which is a particularly valuable food for children, and pregnant or nursing mothers. Livestock are also used for transport and ploughing, and work animals can be hired out to traders or farmers. Manure improves soil fertility and can be dried and used as fuel. Livestock skins have a variety of domestic uses. Livestock are also the basis for traditional social support systems in many pastoral communities, providing a form of traditional insurance system in the face of shocks. Nearly all important social events in pastoral areas include the use of livestock, as exchanges within or between families, or for ceremonial purposes. Dowry and bride wealth payments often focus on livestock transactions.

A key local indicator for pastoral economies is the terms of trade between livestock and cereals. This is because most pastoral households cannot meet their food requirements from livestock products alone, and so sell livestock to buy cereals such as maize or sorghum. The terms of trade are especially important for poorer households, and at times of drought, follow a typical trend of decreasing livestock prices and rising cereal prices. In part, this trend explains the high levels of food insecurity in pastoral areas during drought, especially among children and when livestock milk production has ceased.

There is also increasing attention to the economic value of the ecosystem services in pastoral areas, associated with global climate change and the concept of carbon trading. Initial research highlights the potential of Africa's vast rangelands.

2.3.1 Northern Africa

In northern Africa much of the marginal drylands are home to pastoral communities. This land ranges from 22.3 million hectares in Libya, to 32.4 million hectares in Algeria. Across Africa, the highest contribution of the livestock sub-sector to agricultural GDP is recorded in Algeria, at 50 percent. This demonstrates the socio-economic importance of pastoralism in this part of the continent.

2.3.2 Western Africa

In Western Africa, there is a wide variation in the size of national economies. The contribution of the livestock sector to agricultural GDP, ranges from 5 percent in Cote d'Ivoire to 44 percent in Mali. The livestock sector also provides employment for about 50 percent of the economically active population. Livestock is an important factor of integration in the region as cattle, sheep and goats are major items exported from land-locked Sahelian countries to humid and sub-humid coastal countries. However, the regional supply of meat and dairy products is far lower than demand, resulting in a large net importation livestock products; this trend is expected to increase in future.

2.3.3 Central Africa

In central Africa, particularly in Chad, Cameroon and CAR, pastoralism plays a major role in livestock production. The contribution of livestock to the GDP in these countries is estimated at 27 percent in Chad, 13 percent in Cameroon and 9 percent in CAR. The level of poverty in pastoral communities remains higher than the average level of 44 per cent. Intra-regional trade in livestock and livestock products is a feature of this region, with these three countries having the opportunity to export to the Republic of Congo, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, and Sao Tome and Principe. However, significant price differentials have been observed ranging from 32 percent between Cameroon and Gabon, to 118 per cent between Chad and Equatorial Guinea. Despite the high purchasing power in the oil producing countries (e.g., Republic of Congo, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, and Sao Tome and Principe) their capacity to absorb livestock products from Chad, Cameroon and CAR is limited due to small populations. For this reason, Chad sells most of its cattle on-the-hoof to Nigeria, a highly populated country with a much larger market.

In the humid forest zone of Central Africa, countries emerging from conflicts (e.g., DRC, Rwanda, and Burundi) have multi-faceted development challenges. For example, levels of poverty range from 57 percent in Rwanda to 71% in the DRC; in DRC the level of poverty among pastoral communities (80 percent) is higher than the national average. In Burundi the livestock sector contributes 14 percent to national GDP and 29 percent to agricultural GDP.

2.3.4 Eastern Africa

The multipurpose socioeconomic and cultural features of pastoralism are better exploited in East Africa compared to other regions. The region includes Sudan and Somalia which are major livestock exporters to the Gulf States, whereas Ethiopia has a substantial informal export trade through Somalia, and a growing formal export trade to the Gulf States, Egypt, Sudan and other countries. Most of the livestock entering these markets are sourced from pastoral areas. Livestock export facilities along the northern Somali coast and Djibouti continue to grow, often with private sector investment. Eastern Africa is also characterized by

exploitation of pastoral areas for wildlife conservation and tourism, especially in Kenya and Tanzania, although the extent to which revenues benefit pastoralists is unclear. The region also has substantial oil, mineral and natural gas reserves in pastoral areas.

In Sudan, the pastoral-dominated livestock sector contributes 80 percent of the agricultural GDP. In Ethiopia the livestock-dependant leather industry is the second largest source of foreign currency after coffee. Recent reviews of the livestock sector in Ethiopia conducted by government indicate a substantial under-valuing of the sector. In Uganda, pastoralist and small livestock producers contribute the fourth largest share of foreign currency earnings. Kenya and Tanzania have vast arid lands occupied by pastoralists, who supply the substantial domestic meat markets.

2.3.5 Southern Africa

In South Africa pastoralism account for about 60 per cent of the national cattle herd, where the livestock sector, including pastoralism, is an important meat export market for neighbouring Namibia. In Namibia pastoral-dominated livestock sector contributes 3 per cent of GDP and 28 percent of the agricultural GDP. Namibian pastoralists hold 80 per cent of the national cattle herd, which contribute about one-third of income in traditional households. Pastoralism seems to play a less important role in the economies of Lesotho, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Angola.

2.4 Social and cultural contexts

There are approximately 268 million African pastoralists and therefore, pastoral culture is a core part of Africa's culture, history and heritage. In common with other peoples in Africa, pastoral groups have their own languages and traditions, a rich body of oral and written stories and poetry, and songs and music.

The livestock and natural resource management practices used by pastoralists require well-organized collective action, especially in the harsh environments in which they live. Pastoralists organize themselves to split herds and move animals to distant grazing areas, to control access to communal grazing areas, to manage the watering of livestock, and to provide security. Partly for these reasons, pastoralists have very strong social organizations and leadership. In pastoral ecosystems of the Mediterranean, Saharan and sub-Saharan zone, Islam is a common religion and the rules of access to pasture and water resources are often inspired by Islamic laws. Typically, pastoral traditional dictates that land is a communal resource.

Although conflict between pastoralists and sedentary farmers is commonly reported, there are also numerous examples of peaceful co-existence and mutually beneficial economic exchanges. For example, pastoral communities based in the Sahelian zone can practice transhumance which is based on peace agreements between their traditional rulers and the traditional rulers of crop farmers. This practice can be seen in the common exploitation of pasture land extending from the wet plains of the Logone River in the far north region of Cameroon to Lake Lere in Chad.

The social assets of pastoralist groups also include the indigenous social support systems which to varying degrees, are intended to assist poorer members of the community. These systems may target households with relative few animals or those which have suddenly lost animals due to disease, flooding or other causes. Female-headed households may also be targeted. These local systems are based on loans or gifts of livestock or livestock products,

and for Muslims, the giving of alms includes richer households donating livestock to poorer households.

In contrast to these strong aspects of pastoralist culture and social organization are other beliefs and practices which hinder development and the integration of pastoralists into wider society. Some of these features are not restricted only to pastoralists in Africa, but are also evident in various non-pastoral areas. A major problem is the low status of women in pastoral societies, as evident from statistics on the health and education of pastoral girls and women. Some communities maintain the tradition of marrying girls of very young age, often to elderly men, with girls sometimes destined to their future husbands at birth. The educations of girls can be a taboo and women have no inheritance right, and are isolated from decision-making concerning them directly or indirectly. When women do have the right to own or manage livestock, it can be restricted to sheep and goats, whereas men keep control of more valuable camels and cattle. Female genital mutilation is practiced in some pastoralist communities, including extreme forms of this practice, with resulting long-term health implications for women. These health problems are exacerbated by poor access to quality healthcare, including maternal healthcare.

Another serious concern in pastoralist areas is conflict. The causes of conflict can include poor governance, but other types of conflict relate to cultural norms among some pastoral groups such as livestock raiding, or the forced abduction of children from other groups. Historically, many pastoralists have taken occupation of their land by force, and use force to access resources during difficult periods. At times violent raiding can be condoned or even organized by the same traditional leaders who then seek peace using traditional negotiations.

Currently, many pastoral communities are undergoing profound socio-economic and cultural transformations in the face of modernizing African administrations, with varying degree of success. Generally, government interventions include promoting integration of pastoralists into the main stream through sedentarization, mixed marriages and involvement in political processes. As in other African communities, the social organization and social support systems of pastoralist groups are not static. In some areas traditional leadership faces pressures from government administrations or disaffected youths, while local safety nets can be weakened when overall livestock holdings are reduced due to major disease outbreaks, drought or conflict.

3. Political Context, and Pastoralism and Policy in Africa

Political and policy contexts in Africa have played a crucial role in shaping pastoralism, and pastoralist populations, of varying sizes, are found in almost all African countries. These political contexts vary considerably between countries, depending on pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial histories, and the formal and traditional institutions which have evolved. These diverse institutions govern formal and informal rights to water, land and pasture resources, as well as conflict resolution systems.

3.1 The colonial legacy

An important feature of the colonial legacy is that it changed the role and influence of traditional pastoralist institutions, and created national borders which divided well-established pastoral social, economic and ecological units. Therefore, whereas in the pre-colonial period pastoralists moved relatively easily within these units, colonial border demarcation resulted in these traditional movements being re-defined as 'cross-border' movements.

In the former French colonies in western and central Africa, pastoralism was recognized by the colonial administrations as an important cultural and socio-economic activity for specific tribes which used the Sahel arid and semi-arid areas as homeland and the sub-humid Sudano-Sahelian zone as transhumance land. Support to livestock development included: delineation of pasture land and transhumance corridors; development of watering points comprising wells and artificial pounds; provision of veterinary services, especially vaccination; production of veterinary medicines in local veterinary laboratories; and the establishment of local training institutes for veterinarians, and para-veterinarians such as livestock technicians.

However, these livestock development programmes were designed and delivered with limited attention to traditional authorities and institutional settings. The fact that pastoralists live in remote areas with limited road access to markets, to clean water, and health care and education services, reflects that it was not a particular concern for colonial administrations. Nevertheless, pastoralists from arid and semi-arid areas and crop farmers whose homeland served as transhumance zone co-existed peacefully. This peaceful co-existence was possible because of favourable rainfall patterns, low population pressure, and relatively abundant natural resources. Moreover, the two communities depend on each other as meat and milk produced by livestock farmers were exchanged against cereals from crop farmers.

In the DRC pastoral settlements were founded by pastoralists migrating from Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda and Sudan in the 18th Century. They used the highlands, mainly the East Congo Nile Crest, as their base and lowlands, home to indigenous crop farmers, as a transhumance zone. Livestock development policies designed by Belgian colonial administrations consisted of confining pastoralist communities in well-demarcated rangelands and limiting their nomadic and transhumance movement.

In Burundi where population pressure was evident even in the colonial period, intensive sedentary livestock production systems were imposed on pastoral communities. Local cattle breeds were replaced or crossbred with imported breeds, which were poorly adapted to local conditions. These policies failed for similar reasons to those observed in livestock development programmes many years later viz., the limited of ownership by pastoralists, who were not consulted, and the management of imported livestock breeds and crossbred animals required training and more investments in terms of input supply, veterinary care, equipment and other resources which could not be sustained.

In southern African countries, colonial administrations allowed the co-existence of traditional authority and power structures with western-style administrations. Pastoralists remained in their ancestral pastoral homelands where resources, mainly pasture land and water were held in common and shared tenure according to traditional rules and conflict resolution systems. This was particularly true in Botswana which was placed under British rule as a British protectorate in 1885. The British policy of indirect rule allowed existing powerful chiefdoms who ruled pastoral communities to keep a large percentage of tribal land as communal pastoral land.

In Eastern Africa, with the exception of Ethiopia (which was never colonized), pastoral development policy in British colonies, mainly Kenya, was influenced by the widely held view that pastoralism using communal rangelands was inefficient, with low productivity, and perceived environmental degradation. Thus, a sedentary life was imposed on pastoral communities, confined on permanent rangelands where they were supposed to benefit from public services more easily. Pastoralists were stripped of their property rights on large

portions of rangelands, which were given to the British colonial administration for ranching. These negative views on pastoralism were misguided but proved to be remarkably persistent, with apparently unproductive pastoral land still being appropriated up to the modern day.

In North Africa, colonization had less influence on livestock development policies, which were mainly shaped by pastoral societies and their traditional power structures. The socio-economic life of these societies depended on extensive and mobile livestock husbandry practices, and commonly-owned arid rangelands and water resources were shared according to strict traditional rules, inspired by Islamic laws. However, in Mauritania the French colonial administration influenced livestock development policy in a similar manner to other former French colonies of western and central Africa.

3.2 The post-colonial policy environment

In the post-colonial period and up to the present day, the pastoral development policies and strategies of African governments have varied considerably. However, the policy and institutional environment continues to have a major influence on pastoralist vulnerability and the options today for improving pastoral rights and their economic growth. Important early factors included the politics of the Cold War period, and the relationships between many African governments and the countries of the eastern block, with their state-led, centralized development policies and strategies, and emphasis on citizen control. After the Cold War period, attention moved towards good governance, market liberalization and decentralization, which created opportunities to address the plight of pastoral communities.

Decolonisation of many African countries was followed by the processes of nation building and modernization. Former colonies inherited models of development from Europe and America with emphasis on industrial and socio-economic progress and sophistication, which came to be popularly known as modernization. A major part of the move towards modernization was the commercialization of agriculture, characterized by the shift from subsistence to commercial farming, from pastoral communal ownership to privatization of pastoral land, and from pastoral traditional institutions of land management to seemingly modern ones. Within these frameworks pastoralist mobility continued to be viewed as irrational and economically inefficient, despite an emerging body of research which demonstrated that pastoralist production was at least as efficient as modern ranching. One outcome of the misunderstandings about pastoralism was widespread appropriation of pastoral rangelands, especially in eastern and southern Africa.

3.2.1 Negative trends: the myth of the ‘tragedy of the commons’

Two inter-related and powerful environmental narratives of *land degradation* and the *tragedy of the commons* were often applied to the modernization model of development, and were used to justify ranching and other interventions. The tragedy of the commons argument was based on the notion that when a resource is held in common, a self-interested actor will maximize their exploitation of the resource because they receives the full benefit of the changes, but the costs are spread among all users. According to the narrative, the result of everyone behaving in this way was the ruin of the commons. When applied to traditional African pastoralism, the result (according to the narrative) was overgrazing, soil erosion and bush encroachment.

The logic of the tragedy of the commons argument as applied to African pastoralism was later widely criticized, and from a technical perspective, marginalized by rangeland scientists and

ecologists. This was because the argument failed to take account of at least five important features of pastoralism in Africa viz., pastoral herd dynamics and off-take; pastoralist mobility over wide and changing system boundaries; the dynamics of natural pastures, and annual or seasonal growth cycles; the traditional and sophisticated rules of rangeland access and management, and, the wider complex social, cultural, political and economic rules regulating pastoralist communities.

Although the tragedy of the commons arguments are now widely disregarded by scientists and professionals, modern-day policies continue to allow appropriation of pastoral rangelands, with associated displacement and impoverishment of pastoralists. Rangeland is taken over by farmers in countries where sedentary crop production is seen as preferable to livestock production; pastoral land is allocated to private companies for commercial agriculture, especially in riverine areas which are often critical dry season resources for pastoralists; pastoralists are excluded from wildlife conservation areas which were formerly traditional rangelands; and pastoralists are displaced due to large scale irrigation schemes.

In eastern and southern Africa there are no specific pastoral policies or laws that explicitly address pastoral land tenure issues. Instead pastoral land tenure, when addressed, falls under other policy instruments and laws such as a national constitution or poverty reduction strategies, or as a sub-component of national sector-based laws on land, forests or the environment.

3.2.2 Positive trends: pro-pastoral policies and legislation in Africa

In West Africa, governments have passed a series of pastoral laws to protect pastoral land and enhance livestock mobility. For example, Guinea, Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso and Niger have all passed legislation specifically in support of pastoralism. These laws were motivated by a desire to address the growing problem of conflict between pastoralists and farmers, and collectively, the laws present many positive features:

- Recognition and protection of mobility: there are strong provisions within both the Pastoral Charter in Mali and the Pastoral Code in Mauritania that protect mobility.
- Recognition of priority use rights over resources: the Rural Code in Niger recognises that residents are 'primary users' and have priority rights of access and use.
- Recognition of 'productive' pastoral land use: the Pastoral Charter defines productive use of pastoral land in a positive way.

In Central Africa there are also examples of supportive policy processes for pastoralists. The introduction, by the Government of Chad, of a mobile school system was designed to provide education services to the children of pastoralists during transhumance. The Government of Cameroun has appointed the sons and daughters of pastoralists in positions where they are directly responsible for designing and implementing appropriate livestock development measures and promoting the emancipation of pastoralists. The Government of the Central African Republic has recognized the importance of pastoralists for the national economy, with subsequent allocation to pastoralist communities of land and appropriate veterinary services.

In North Africa, pastoralists have been benefitting from broad-based, government supported livestock development programs designed and properly implemented e.g. in Algeria, Libya and Tunisia.

More positive policy experiences are also beginning to emerge in Eastern Africa, with related efforts to improve coordination and understanding of pastoralism across central government.

For example, in Kenya the Ministry of State for the Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands was created in 2008, and has a multi-sectoral coordination role. An example of progressive policy influence includes the development of a policy framework for nomadic education, with the Ministry of Education, with attention to distance learning as a means to reach distant and mobile pastoral children.

All of the policy processes outlined above are taking place within a trend of government decentralisation and localisation in many parts of Africa, and these trends have multifaceted implications for pastoral development. Among other issues, they are meant to bring the issues of development closer to the people. These have brought desirable outcomes when they are matched with the corresponding power and resources. Capacity issues need to be addressed if the process of political decentralisation is to bring sustainable change and development.

Regional Economic Communities (RECs) are recognized by the AU as the pillars of African integration. At the level of RECs, the ECOWAS decision agreed in Abuja in October 1998 provided a regional framework for cross-border transhumance between fifteen member states. The decision authorized cross-border transhumance in respect of certain conditions, the chief of which was the granting of an *International Transhumance Certificate*. The certificate aimed to: allow a control of departing livestock herds; assure the protection of animal health of local herds in the host country; inform in good time the populations of ‘welcoming areas’ of the arrival of herds from neighbouring countries. The rights of non-resident mobile herders are protected by the host countries legislation, but they also have to abide by the laws of the host country in relation to forests, wildlife, water points and pastures. Conflict resolution is envisaged via a conciliation commission made up of herders, farmers, local government representatives and other concerned parties.

In the CEMAC region of Central Africa, specific cooperation instruments are also emerging such as the cooperation agreement creating CEBEVIRAH (Economic Commission for Livestock, Meat and Fish) across CEMAC countries. This will promote the development of the livestock and fisheries sector, and is of particular relevance to pastoralists.

In COMESA, a draft *Policy Framework for Food Security in Pastoralist Areas* was released in late 2009, under the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) Pillar 3. This framework proposes regional harmonization of national policies to support regional movements of pastoralists to enable efficient use of transnational rangeland ecosystems, and for livestock trade. These approaches fall within the overall COMESA mandate of economic integration and the free movement of people, goods and services within the COMESA region. The COMESA policy also provides a framework for balanced investments in domestic, regional and export livestock trade from pastoral areas.

In IGAD, a *Regional Policy Framework on Animal Health* was finalized in late 2009 which although not directly focussed on pastoralism, was very relevant to the large pastoralist areas of IGAD Member States.

Regionalisation also carries risks, especially if new policies are not well implemented. The free cross-border movements of goods and persons can contribute to insecurity, and the spread of animal and human diseases (especially HIV/AIDS), if proper and adequate control measures are not put in place and efficiently implemented.

3.3 Contemporary pastoral policy and development challenges

Despite considerable progress towards supportive policies, pastoralists continue to suffer from cultural and spatial isolation, and political marginalization in many African countries. Human development and food security indicators remain low, and the provision of public services in pastoral zones is still weak, and generally far lower than in other areas of a given country. Basic infrastructure also falls behind other areas, and in common with service delivery, is relatively costly to provide and maintain in large and remote pastoral areas. Conflict continues to have a major impact on human welfare and limits economic development.

3.3.1 Conflict

In specific regions and countries, various types of conflict continue to have direct impacts on pastoralists through physical violence and damage to infrastructure, and indirect impacts such as limited private sector investment due to insecurity. Indeed, many analysts regard conflict as the major constraint to development in pastoralist areas. Across East, West and Central Africa are numerous examples of protracted conflicts and the impacts. Notably, the main victims of armed conflicts are not the combatants but civilians, and among civilians, women and children suffer most. Abuses such as child kidnapping, use of child soldiers, rape and forced marriages are widely reported. As pastoralists flee from conflicts, they can find themselves in long-term camps for the internally displaced, or move into areas where they face new tensions as they compete for resources with resident farmers. These problems are exacerbated by ready access to modern small arms. To some extent, conflict and poverty are inter-related and mutually reinforcing. For example, young men without livestock but wanting to marry, may be more likely to raid livestock from others or resort to banditry.

Therefore, peace and security remains fundamental to protecting and developing pastoralism in Africa. Part of the policy challenge here is the position of pastoralists in remote areas, often on the edges of states, and their mobility. Therefore, pastoralists can be regarded as contributing to conflict and insecurity, for example, by supporting armed insurgency groups or perpetrators of organised crimes. Similarly, although pastoral movements have a strong economic and ecological rationale, these benefits are easily outweighed by national security concerns. As proposed in the policy framework, dialogue with pastoral communities is central to the process of improved security, as is integrating pastoral areas into mainstream development policies and plans.

3.3.2 Demographic trends

In general, population growth in pastoralist areas is estimated at 2.5 to 3.5 percent per year, which equates to a doubling of population every 25 to 35 years. Historical analyses indicate that globally, pastoral areas are unable to absorb or sustain a growing human population and that as population grows, at some point 'excess' people move away from pastoralism as a way of life and a means of livelihood. These push factors in pastoral areas can combine with pull factors from urban centres, which may offer alternative and less risky or easier lifestyles and job opportunities. Town and cities also tend to offer better education and health services. As people leave pastoralism, other people remain very much in the system and continue to rear livestock as the main means of livelihood. In part, pastoralism survives because there are so few alternative ways of living in arid and semi-arid areas. However, in areas with relatively higher rainfall and the option of crop production, pastoralists are under increasing pressure from farmers and in the absence of land tenure, lose their land and way of life.

In theory, job creation in pastoral areas might be linked to commercial exploitation of natural resources such as oil, minerals or natural gas. Very often however, pastoral areas remain

undeveloped (e.g. due to insecurity) or when investment does occur, few jobs fall to pastoralists (e.g. because of low levels of education) and revenues are rarely re-invested locally. These trends cause further resentment and at times, trigger conflicts.

As human population grows in pastoral areas, the impacts of natural or other disasters are amplified as more people are affected. Various and potentially damaging livelihood strategies are used by those who fall out of pastoralism. These strategies include: non-sustainable use of natural resources, such as cutting trees for charcoal production and sale; sending daughters to work as house servants in towns, thereby exposing them to risk of abuse; engaging in illegal contraband trade; and criminal activity such as ‘organized livestock raiding’ or banditry.

Demographic trends are very much linked with other trends in pastoral areas, especially loss of rangeland and commercialization of livestock production and marketing. For example, the ‘high export’ and relatively commercialized pastoral areas of Sudan and Somalia are characterized by a gradual transfer of livestock from smaller/poorer herders to larger/richer herders, with the former falling out of pastoralism and the latter expanding their herds and selling more animals into the export markets. Simultaneously, richer and more politically-connected herders are able to create private enclosures on the rangeland, which further limits the productivity and growth of poorer/smaller herds. This displacement of smaller production units by larger units is typical of agricultural development globally, and in pastoral areas contributes to pastoral destitution and out migration.

In South Africa the pastoralist population seems to be increasing as a result of government efforts to bring development to pastoral areas. Pastoral communities are keeping the traditions of extensive livestock production and common ownership of pasture land.

3.3.3 Global trends

Emerging global trends are leading to both threats and opportunities for African pastoralists. Some of these trends are long-term and predictable, whereas others are unpredictable and manifest as shock. These trends include:

- globalization of markets and trends in the international and private sector standards governing trade in livestock products;
- Decentralisation and localisation
- improved communication technologies;
- food price increases and financial crises;
- increasing urbanization;
- international migration and remittances;
- counter terrorism, organised crime and insecurity;
- new and emerging diseases;
- climate change.

a) Globalization and shifting global markets and related trends

Globalization of markets and trade has been accompanied by increasingly stringent international standards for food quality and safety, and disease control. For Africa as a whole, these trends are often viewed as problematic and barriers to access international meat markets, which few countries other than Botswana have been able to cross. However, access to lucrative markets in Europe also involves issues of competitiveness and quality. In the case of accessing European markets, African countries would need to compete with well-established, large-scale and politically adept meat exporters such as Argentina and Brazil.

An important consideration is that despite rising international standards, livestock and meat exports from countries such as Sudan, Somalia and Ethiopia are increasing. These trends indicate that standards on food safety and disease control tend to be outweighed by issues of demand and price, with trade proceeding on the basis of bilateral arrangements between countries. If so, there are still considerable opportunities for African pastoral producers to export livestock or meat, both to the Middle East and other regions. Similarly, urbanization within Africa affords opportunities for greater domestic and regional trade.

b) Decentralisation and Localisation

The process of decentralisation and localisation that are going on in many parts of Africa are important developments with multifaceted implications for pastoral development. Among other issues, they are meant to bring the issues of development closer to the people. These have brought desirable outcomes when they are matched with the corresponding power and resources. Capacity issues need to be addressed if the process of political decentralisation is to bring sustainable change and development.

c) Improved communication technologies

Although many advances in communication technologies have yet to reach pastoral areas, there is little doubt that the expansion of mobile phone networks and mobile phone ownership is highly beneficial for pastoralists. Pastoralists are becoming better informed about local and international political events, are better able to access market information, and can communicate more rapidly and easier with relatives and traders, including internationally. The growing systems around remittances and migrations are also assisted by mobile phone communication. Increasingly, the private sector is exploring options for delivery financial services, including banking, via mobile phones, with systems already in place in some countries. It follows that national policies on the communication sector are highly relevant to the development of pastoral areas.

d) Food price increases and financial crises

Between March 2007 and March 2008, global food prices increased an average of 43 percent. During that period, wheat, soybean, maize and rice prices increased by 146 percent, 71 percent, 41 percent, and 29 percent respectively. Undoubtedly, rising food prices contributed to a significant increase in food insecurity worldwide, particularly among poorer populations.

These food price increases impacted on pastoralists because in a typical year, they need to buy a substantial proportion of their food needs in the form of cereals. For some poorer pastoralists, up to 85 percent of food needs are acquired through direct purchase meaning that food price increases have a direct impact on food security. Although food prices started to fall in May 2009 due to various interventions, food prices remained high in most countries. Food emergencies resulting from the combined effects of chronic food insecurity and high food price levels, persisted in 31 countries.

In response to the food price crisis, some African countries are resorting to the development of agribusiness which requires large land areas. Similarly, foreign countries are investing in agribusiness in Africa as a means to secure food supplies domestically. Cases of large scale land acquisitions in pastoral zones have been reported in relation to this trend, thereby adding another cause of land loss to problems faced by pastoralists.

The more recent global financial crises probably had less direct impact on pastoralists, but indirect impacts would include reduced private sector investment, limited expansion of banking services into pastoral areas, and reductions in official humanitarian or development aid.

e) Urbanization

Urbanization is associated with both problems and opportunities for pastoralists. Urban centres pull people, especially young people, away from pastoral areas thereby, reducing the number of people available in the pastoral force in some cases. Unfortunately, the low levels of education and literacy in pastoral areas means that urban migrants are more likely to find employment in low paying jobs, requiring few skills and placing people at higher risk of exploitation. For people from pastoral backgrounds who do find work, remittances back to their families are an important source of income.

For those people remaining in pastoralism, especially relatively wealthy pastoralists with larger herds, the growth of cities and towns provides economic opportunities. Such growth is usually associated with an expanding middle-income population, and as incomes increase, so does the demand for livestock products such as meat and milk. Assuming that basic infrastructure such as road and mobile phone networks are in place, pastoralists can benefit from increasing demand for their products. Nor are urbanization trends restricted to African countries. The rising export of livestock from Somalia, Sudan and Ethiopia is partly driven by growing markets in the Gulf States, related to the expansion of cities and middle-income populations in these countries.

f) International migration and remittances

Some pastoral areas of Africa, especially those with long coastlines, have a long history of out-migration to find work overseas and send remittances home, dating back to the 1940s. More recently, major conflicts in some pastoral areas have led to large numbers of people fleeing violence and persecution, with substantial formal and informal international migration to European countries, the United States, Canada and elsewhere. These trends are beneficial in terms of the financial remittances, but also have implications because it is often the wealthier, educated and better-connected people who migrate which to some extent, represents a form of brain drain in terms of entrepreneurial and education skills. In addition, there are the considerable social consequences of the permanent break-up of families.

g) Counter-terrorism, organised crime and insecurity

The terrorist attacks on the United States in September 2001 prompted changes to the foreign policies of the US and other countries, which in summary, shifted the objectives of development aid more towards the domestic security objectives of donor states. These changes had implications for aid programs in some pastoralist areas, because in some cases, these areas were perceived as either harbouring terrorists, or areas where disaffected youths were at risk of being recruited by terrorist or extreme religious groups. Some pastoralist areas witnessed a mix of aid programmes and direct 'development' interventions of foreign military forces, with the aim of influencing local political allegiances.

h) New and emerging diseases

Globally, factors such as the increase in international travel, trade in agricultural commodities, intensification of livestock production systems, urbanization and population growth, climate change, and conflict have led to concerns over the risks from new or emerging pandemic diseases. The HIV/AIDS pandemic is evidence that new disease can indeed appear and spread rapidly, while avian flu has had a far lower impact on human health but continues to receive much international attention. So far, pastoral areas have probably been less affected by HIV/AIDS than other, more densely populated areas, but statistics on prevalence are limited. With growing urban migration, trade and road networks, the risks to pastoralists are clear, and yet these areas usually have very weak health services.

g) *Climate change*

Pastoralist production systems evolved over generations as a response to marked rainfall variability, and used the main strategy of mobility to access limited water and grazing resources in large ecosystems. Additional strategies included the rearing of different livestock species, to utilize different types of vegetation and because each species has different watering requirements. Decades before climate change was recognized as a global phenomenon, pastoralists selectively bred their livestock to emphasize traits such as drought resistance and milk production. They also altered the species composition of their herds in the face of rainfall and other trends, such as market opportunities. Pastoralism adapted to drier periods and wetter periods, to changes in disease risks, and to conflict.

In Africa, assessments of climate change are themselves highly variable, with different assessments predicting very different climate scenarios and related outcomes. For pastoralist areas, weather systems in West Africa and the Sahel depend on different systems to those in East Africa, meaning that it is difficult to generalize about climate change and pastoralism in Africa. Furthermore, while some analysts claim that drought is worsening in pastoralist areas, it is also important to distinguish between drought as defined by rainfall, and drought as defined by its impact on human livelihoods. Where consensus exists, it is more on the increasing impact of drought on pastoralists which in turn, can be explained by increasing human population, decreasing livestock holding among poorer herders, and declining access to productive rangeland.

At policy level, it is important to recognize the considerable adaptability of pastoralism if pastoralists are enabled to practice mobile livestock production, which in turn, means security of access to sufficient rangelands. In the event of either drier or wetter, conditions, pastoralists will adjust herd composition and migrations. More speculatively, policy should support research and understanding among stakeholders on role of pastoral rangelands in carbon sequestration, and the possibilities for carbon trading if pastoral areas are conserved and managed with this outcome in mind.

4. Framework principles, objectives and strategies

Using the description of pastoralism presented in Section 2, and the analysis of policy issues in Section 3, this section presents the policy framework along with a set of strategies for achieving the policy framework objectives. The framework is structured around three main entities: a set of guiding and cross-cutting *principles*; two main *objectives*; and *strategies* against each of the objectives.

4.1 Framework principles

4.1.1 Recognize the rights of pastoralists

The framework explicitly recognizes the *rights* of pastoralists, and the need to provide security, services, infrastructure and economic opportunities in pastoral areas which are comparable to non-pastoral areas. This principle is articulated as a response to the high levels of conflict in pastoral areas, and the low levels of basic services, of which health and education are particular concerns. It further recognizes that under the broad challenges of health and education, are a set of specific barriers of service access for women and girls. The principle relates directly to international human rights conventions and laws, including the right of people to protection from violence, the right to pursue a livelihood of their choice, and the right to education and health.

4.1.2 Political and policy processes

The framework highlights the *processes* required to ensure improvements in the political, social and economic capital of pastoralists. This principle covers issues of representation and voice, and processes for improving dialogue and understanding between pastoralists and policy makers. It further recognizes issues of governance, the role of traditional institutions and the active inclusion of pastoral women and men in processes of policy and legislative reform. Improved understanding of the economics of pastoralism among policy makers is central to policy process.

4.1.3 Pastoralism as a way of life and a production system

The framework supports pastoralism as a way of life and as a production system. It supports multi-sectoral, coordinated approaches which combine to protect and develop human, social, financial, natural and physical capital. Implicit in this principle is the concept of supporting livestock-based development while simultaneously, improving basic services and relevant infrastructure.

4.1.4 The importance of strategic mobility

The framework is explicit in its support to pastoral strategic mobility. It recognizes that mobility is the basis for efficient use and protection of rangelands, and, that mobility is key to appropriate adaptation to climatic and other trends. The principle is reflected in the practical strategies of the framework, such as securing access to rangelands for pastoralists through supportive land tenure policies and legislation, and further development of regional policies to enable regional movements and livestock trade.

4.1.5 The importance of regional approaches

Relevant to all four preceding principles is recognition that pastoralism has special potential to benefit from regional approaches to policy reform and harmonization. This potential stems from the cross-border nature of many pastoralist communities, and fits well with the existing or emerging policy frameworks of RECs.

4.1.6 Managing risks

The worsening impact of natural disasters, especially droughts, is contributing to the increasing levels of destitution in pastoral areas. Although risk-based approaches to managing drought, such as drought cycle management, were developed many years ago in East Africa

these approaches have not been institutionalized. Emergency aid responses to drought are still dominated by food aid. The policy framework aims to promote risk management rather than emergency response for pastoral areas.

4.1.7 Acknowledge and build on existing policy processes

Policy on pastoralism has been evolving over many years, with a considerable body of negative and positive experiences to draw on. The AU policy framework recognizes the need to incorporate and support existing or emerging policies at national and regional levels which to varying degrees, all aim to: enhance the political representation of pastoralist women and men; integrate pastoral development policy into national and regional policy frameworks; promote sustained conflict resolution; legitimize alternative models of service delivery in pastoral areas; maximize efficient livestock production by enabling pastoral mobility and securing access to rangelands; manage risk by institutionalizing drought management; and, support the marketing of livestock and livestock products.

4.1.8 Updating the policy framework

The policy framework recognizes that pastoralism is changing in the face of complex trends, some of which are predictable and others which are uncertain. As a new framework, it is anticipated that over time the framework will be updated to take account of emerging trends and opportunities, and the lessons of applying the framework. The principle of pastoralist involvement in policy development (item 4.1.2) is seen as central to the process of revising the framework.

4.2 Framework objectives and strategies

The objectives of the policy framework are shaped around two main areas:

- First, the framework acknowledges the complex and the multidimensional nature of pastoralism, but also, the limitations of governance frameworks and policies including inappropriate policies in some cases, and weak policy coordination. This is a generic set of policy constraints which can be related to misunderstandings about pastoralism as a way of life and production system, and in turn, reflect under-representation of pastoralists in policy and legislative reform processes. Therefore, Objective 1 of the framework covers issues of pastoral political representation, the legitimacy of traditional pastoral institutions, government commitment to pro-pastoral policies in general, integration of these policies into national frameworks, the roles and rights of women, and related issues.
- Second, a more specific area dealing with the core economic activity in pastoral areas – livestock production – and approaches to protect and develop livestock assets, and further integrate the trade of livestock and livestock products into domestic, regional and international markets. This livestock-focused objective in the framework emphasizes the importance of mobility to make efficient use of rangeland resources, and the ecological and economic logic of enabling in-country and regional mobility. The objective also covers the need for risk-based approaches to drought management in pastoral areas, and related strategies for protecting core livestock assets during drought as a means to encourage rapid post-drought recovery.

Objective 1

Secure and protect the lives, livelihoods and rights of pastoral peoples and ensure continent-wide commitment to political, social and economic development of pastoral communities and pastoral areas.

This objective focuses on policy and institutional strengthening processes, and support to good governance which aims to:

- Further recognize the role of pastoralism in development.
- Demonstrate further commitment to pastoral development policy and related budgetary support.
- Fully integrate pastoral issues into national and regional decision-making processes.
- Acknowledge the legitimacy of traditional pastoral institutions.
- Strengthen the roles and rights of women in pastoral communities.
- Mainstream pastoral issues in poverty reduction programmes.
- Ensure policy support to models of basic service delivery which are designed specifically to suit the context of pastoral areas.

Strategy 1.1 Recognize the role of pastoralism in development

As described in section 2.3, pastoralism makes considerable economic contributions to African countries, but these contributions are not always fully understood or acknowledged in national development policy of pastoral areas policies. Pastoralists make use of scarce vegetation and water resources available in hostile and marginal arid and semi-lands, to produce meat, milk and other animal products. Pastoralism helps to protect and safeguard certain national resources existing in these ecosystems. Yet, pastoralists live under enormous stress and constitute the most vulnerable segment of Africa's population. Policies directed at pastoral development often emphasize technical issues but overlook crucial social, economic, environmental and political measures which could empower pastoral communities to manage their resources better for their own benefit and that of the countries concerned.

While some progress towards supportive policies for pastoralism is evident at national and regional levels, there is still a considerable need for improving understanding of African pastoralism in terms of its economic and ecological rationale, and the rights of pastoralists to access their rangelands and pursue a livelihood of their choice.

The process for reaching a common understanding of pastoralism across Africa involves two main processes. The first is the broad process of dialogue between government and pastoralists, political representation of pastoralists, engagement with pastoral leaders and civil society, and forums at different levels, from local to regional. Second is the need to support dialogue with contemporary economic analysis which reveals the true economic value of pastoralism, and assists government to position pastoralism relative to other land use systems, and other productive livelihoods and sectors.

Strategy 1.2 Demonstrating commitment to pastoral policy development

African leaders, through the AU, have expressed commitment to taking joint responsibility for strengthening mechanisms for promotion of peace and security, shared values, cooperation/partnership and development, and institutional strengthening. The commitment of the AU to the eradication of absolute poverty in Africa including in pastoral communities is also evident from several initiatives. These include the New Economic Partnership for African Development and its long-term objectives, which include eradicating extreme poverty in

Africa and placing African countries, both individually and collectively, on a path to sustainable growth and development, and halting its marginalization in the globalization process.

Moreover, as members of the United Nations, African governments are also committed to the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which include the eradication of extreme poverty and hunger, achievement of universal primary education, reduction of infant mortality, improvement of maternal health, combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, achievement of gender equality and women empowerment, ensuring environmental sustainability, and promoting global partnership. These Goals have profound relevance for pastoral communities. The realization of these goals calls for a policy platform which will form the basis for:

- (i) Continent-wide commitment to the political, social and economic development of pastoral communities and pastoral areas;
- (ii) Reinforcing the contribution of the livestock sector to the national, regional and continental economies.

Demonstrating real commitment to pastoral policy necessitates changes in attitude towards pastoralism and realizing the need to:

- (i) Abandon biased perceptions that pastoralism is an archaic livestock production system and pastoralist suffering is self-inflicted, because pastoralists choose to pursue obsolete traditional life style;
- (ii) Recognizing the many positive aspects of pastoralism and integrating them into national and regional socio-economic development strategies – as described in more detail under strategy 1.1 above.

Stakeholders involved in pastoral policy development process should also devise measures including affirmative action that will:

- (i) Ensure equitable distribution of national resources to all the segments of society including pastoral communities;
- (ii) Improve budgetary allocation to address marginalization of pastoral communities;
- (iii) Institutionalize participatory monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of such measures.

Under point (ii) above, it is important that African governments and regional organizations recognize that public investment in pastoral areas is augmented in a manner that is at least proportional to the economic importance of pastoralism. It is to be recalled that Ministers in charge of Agriculture, Land and Livestock have recommended for an allocation of at least 3 per cent of public investment for the livestock sector.

Conflict mitigation and management is one of the major issues that prompted the AU pastoral policy initiative. Adequate conflict mitigation and management implies:

- (i) Proper identification of sources of conflict, such as depletion or scarcity of resources;
- (ii) Immediate response;
- (iii) Recognizing and supporting traditional conflict management mechanisms;
- (iv) Sensitization work on the prevailing national laws and regulations.

Strategy 1.3 Integrating pastoral issues into decision-making processes

Pastoral development touches on a wide range of issues, notably:

- (i) Equitable access to land, water, capital and technology resources;

- (ii) Equitable access to services, especially education, human and animal health, communication and finance;
- (iii) Increasing the value of livestock and preserving pastoral ecosystems;
- (iv) Market access for pastoral products and services;
- (v) Greater participation of pastoral people in decision making and policy debates;
- (vi) Harnessing the collective power of pastoral people and their organizations.

Judicious integration of these issues into national and regional development strategies will be helpful to bring peace and security to pastoral lands and communities by preventing conflicts related to competition over scarce pastoral resources, and by reducing the risk of marginalized and frustrated pastoralists pursuing violent means to acquire resources or political influence. Policy-making processes should promote multidimensional approaches and avoid sector specific paths to policy development; this requires strong coordination within government. The integration of pastoral policy with land policy, natural resource management strategies and poverty reduction programs would be of particular – but not exclusive – importance in this regard.

Strategy 1.4 Acknowledge the legitimacy of indigenous pastoral institutions

Pastoralists are facing the challenge of adapting to socio-economic and cultural transformations resulting from globalization and emerging issues such as population pressure, reduced access to rangelands, food price and financial crises, and other trends. This situation imposes the challenge of blending tradition and modernity in pastoral policy development. In this respect, it calls for:

- (i) Recognition by state and local authorities of the important role of traditional pastoral leadership and structures in governance, including conflict resolution, management of land tenure and mobility, and facilitation of interactions between pastoralists and other interest groups such as crop farmers;
- (ii) The need to address age-old rigidities in traditional beliefs and structures, which discriminate against women;
- (iii) Build on and thereby improve indigenous rights to pastoral resources of land, pasture and water;
- (iv) The need to acknowledge the legitimate rights of pastoralists to pastoral lands by granting them communal land ownership on a priority basis.

In this regard, pastoralists should always be adequately compensated and/or their consent should be required in case of expropriation of their communal pastoral land for bio-energy production, development of oil and mineral deposits, and construction of basic socio-economic infrastructures e.g., roads, telecommunication lines, power distribution lines, health and education establishments, or any other infrastructure intended to serve public interest.

It is important to note the positive actions taken in this direction at continental, regional and national levels. In this respect, the *Framework and Guidelines for Land Policy in Africa* adopted in July 2009 by the AU Assembly of Heads of State and Government is a key point of reference, and includes measures designed to improve indigenous tenure arrangements.

Strategy 1.5 Strengthening the role and rights of women in pastoral communities

In practically all the African pastoral communities, women traditionally play an important role in livestock rearing, processing milk, selling dairy products and maintaining households. Yet, they do not own valuable property, are the least educated, and are excluded from decision-

making processes and resource management and allocation. As a consequence, they benefit the least from pastoralism. Policy measures and interventions have not specifically addressed this imbalance by creating gender equality and empowering women and youths in decision-making. As policies are developed, gender considerations must be taken into account while ensuring that women have equal rights with respect to education, access and ownership of property and resources and active participation in development activities including peace building. Equal rights for women to inheritance should be particularly enforced. Measures concerning women's rights to inheritance and land ownership contained in *AU Framework and Guidelines for Land Policy in Africa* should be fully applied in this case.

Strategy 1.6 Mainstreaming pastoral issues in poverty reduction programs

a) The need to break the cycle of persistent poverty in pastoral communities

Even though appreciable efforts are being made to ameliorate the challenges faced by pastoral communities, they still face alarming and worsening levels of vulnerability and poverty, protracted and severe insecurity, spatial isolation and political marginalization. The persistence of poverty in pastoral communities relates to the inability of most African countries to satisfy the basic needs of the pastoral communities. Balanced and broad based development programs, adequately designed and implemented in the interest of all the segments of the population, can be instrumental in eradicating extreme poverty.

b) Making pastoral development an integral part of sustainable development

The need to recognize pastoralism as part of Africa's political, economic and cultural development has been demonstrated throughout this document. Economically, pastoralists produce very substantial amounts of animal products, and contribute considerably to livestock trade. They adapt to economic and environment changes, drawing on efficient traditional systems of governance and social welfare. To take advantage of these positive aspects of pastoralism, appropriate governance and an enabling pastoral policy environment is needed.

A specific, priority policy area is the need to clarify property rights in pastoral regions. This is detailed under strategy 2.1 below, and is crucial not only for pastoral women and men, but also for foreign or local commercial investors, some of whom seek to engage in ranching or the development of oil and mineral deposits. The ability to secure access to pastoral land resources through a variety of tenure systems that guarantee returns for short- or long-term investments is important for the improvement of livestock productivity in general, and food security in particular. Clear property rights in livestock farming also have the potential of increasing revenues through taxation and enhancement of export of livestock products.

Strategy 1.7 Service delivery

Within a given country, pastoralists experience the worse levels of basic service provision. This problem relates to the political marginalization of pastoralists, and the relatively high transaction costs of service provision in remote, large areas with small and mobile populations. In general the education and health indicators for pastoral areas of Africa are among the lowest anywhere in the world. Given the pressures on pastoral economies, education must be viewed as a key long-term strategy for economic diversification.

Within the broad challenge of service delivery in pastoral areas are a set of specific barriers affecting access to health and education for women and girls. While indicators for pastoral

populations are low, the use of health and education facilities by women and girls is especially low due to various problems with the design of service delivery, coupled with socio-cultural factors and gender discrimination. In addition, given the spread of HIV/AIDS, pastoralists are at particularly risk due to the very weak health care and communication systems in their areas.

Despite the problems of service provision in pastoral areas, there have been notable successes in terms of alternative service delivery models. In education these include distance learning and alternative basic education approaches; in health, community case management and community health worker systems have been proven to be effective; for basic veterinary care, community-based animal health workers can be used. In some countries, these and other approaches – tailored specifically to the pastoral context - require policy support if they are to be scaled-up and properly regulated and monitored.

Objective 2

Reinforce the contribution of pastoral livestock to national, regional and continent-wide economies.

Objective 2 of the framework is based on the need to improve *pastoral resource governance* for efficient conflict prevention and secured pastoral resource property rights, both within and across borders, and, support pastoral, *mobile livestock production*, and the processing and *marketing* of livestock products. Therefore, the strategies under Objective 2 can be summarized as follows:

- Strengthen pastoralist access to their rangelands, through appropriate reform of land tenure policy and legislation, and supported by participatory land use planning;
- Support the further development of regional and national policies to enable pastoral mobility within and between states, supported by locally-relevant livestock disease surveillance and certification systems;
- Prevent avoidable losses of livestock assets through approaches such as improved veterinary services and institutionalization of risk-based drought management systems;
- Support the marketing of pastoral livestock and livestock products, with emphasis on the policy and institutional constraints which hinder efficient marketing;
- Support the further development of credit and financial services for pastoralists, drawing especially on private sector provision of livestock loans and insurance;
- Recognize that livestock and plants in pastoral areas are a crucial element of Africa's genetic resources and therefore, should be protected on that basis;
- Support research and extension that responds to the needs and interests of pastoralists, and which draws on their extensive indigenous knowledge.

Under these strategies, it is also important to recognize and avoid strategies which have been widely applied in pastoral areas with limited success. These programmes include: attempts to introduce exotic livestock breeds into pastoralist areas, which are not well-adapted to local conditions; inappropriate water development, especially schemes involving boreholes and which ignore traditional livestock movements; infrastructure-based approaches to improving livestock marketing, which overlook the underlying policy and institutional constraints such as weak local management of markets, and excessive taxation.

Strategy 2.1 Pastoral rangeland governance

This strategy responds to a common threat to Africa pastoralism viz. reduced access to traditional rangelands due mainly to land appropriation by non-pastoral actors. The strategy is central to securing the future of African pastoralism and relates to strategies under Objective 1

such as recognizing the role of pastoralism, and committing to appropriate policy development with pastoralists, and recognizing the role of traditional pastoral institutions in natural resource management. Reference to the *AU Framework and Guidelines for Land Policy in Africa* is highly relevant to the strategy.

The strategy is cognizant of principle 4.1.7 and the progress made on pastoral land tenure in some African countries. Further adoption of these policies, with relevant local adaptation is advised. It is further recognized that in some countries, processes of government decentralization provide opportunities for supporting locally-appropriate land tenure arrangements. However, national legislation also needs to protect pastoral rangelands from commercial ventures whereby pastoral land is designated to private companies by central government. In part, such appropriation is influenced by misperceptions of pastoral rangeland as non-productive or even vacant.

The strategy also recognizes that pastoralists may not be aware of their rights under national constitutions and legislation, and therefore, are not always well-equipped to engage government. This problem shows the need to build capacities and understanding both in government and within pastoralist communities. The legal profession also needs to be fully aware of the legislative options that are available to enable pastoral land tenure. In common with other services, few legal professionals are available in pastoral areas, indicating the need for more para-legal workers who are trained in pastoral land tenure laws and administration.

Pastoralists' property rights should be recognized and secured by:

- (i) putting in place and enacting laws to recognize pastoralism as production and livelihoods system within its specificities;
- (ii) recognizing and reinforcing traditional resource management systems;
- (iii) recognizing the rights of pastoral communities to have adequate share of resources and compensation for any dispossession.

Strategy 2.2 Policy support to mobility within and between countries

Strategy 2.1 above focuses on security of access to traditional rangelands for pastoralists within countries. However, pastoral mobility also often requires movements through settled farming areas, movements across internal administrative borders within states, and movements across national borders. Therefore, strategy 2.2 is to support policy reform or development which enables these kinds of mobility. Such reform requires an understanding of the wider system boundaries within which pastoralists move, and requires dialogue and involvement of both pastoralists and non-pastoral actors.

By reference to section 3.3.2, it is evident that considerable progress has already been made in some parts of Africa, especially West Africa, in terms of formulating legislation to enable pastoral mobility. Experiences include the ECOWAS International Transhumance Certificate, whereas in COMESA certification systems for regional livestock movements are evolving which are tailored to the animal disease status of Member States and their requirements in terms of disease surveillance. Support to further developing, applying and evaluating these existing or evolving systems is needed, and these processes all require dialogue with pastoralist communities, traders and other stakeholders.

Related to the livestock trade and surveillance aspects of regional livestock movements is the issue of transboundary animal disease (TAD) control. In many countries, policies on TAD eradication or control date back to the colonial period. Therefore, these policies need to be

updated using more contemporary assessments of the economic impacts of these diseases and market opportunities, epidemiological studies, and analysis of the available technical responses, including technical and economic feasibility.

Strategy 2.3 Protecting pastoral livestock assets

Avoidable losses of pastoral livestock are excessive in many parts of Africa. These losses have direct impacts on the food security and livelihoods of pastoral households, especially poorer households, and limit the extent to which pastoral areas can supply animals for domestic, regional or international markets. Therefore, the prevention of avoidable losses relates to strategy 2.4 below on livestock marketing.

The strategy focuses on two specific approaches for preventing avoidable livestock losses, both of which are already supported by international, regional or national policies and guidelines. The strategy does not exclude other approaches to prevent livestock losses.

a) Improving primary veterinary care

This strategy relates to strategy 1.8 on improved service delivery, but focuses specifically on the need to strengthen basic veterinary services in many pastoral areas. The strategy recognizes that many African countries have already made considerable advances in terms of supporting alternative animal health delivery systems with pastoralists, especially systems which link community-based animal health workers to higher levels of para-veterinarians and veterinary professionals. There is also increasing support to the private sector provision of clinical services, under the regulation and supervision of national veterinary services. All of these approaches are supported by the international standards of the World Animal Health Organization (*Office international des epizooties*) and AU/DREA. Some African countries have also revised veterinary legislation as a means to formalize and regulate privatized, CAHW-type systems in pastoral areas. There is now a need for further support to these systems to ensure wider application in pastoral areas, and stronger links to national livestock disease surveillance systems.

b) Risk-based disaster management

The principles of risk-based drought management are widely known in Africa. Drought is a slow-onset disaster and although the exact timing of drought cannot be predicted, within a given period (e.g. five years) it can be predicted that a major drought will occur at least once. Therefore, drought is both expected within a given timeframe, and when it occurs, allows sufficient time for detection and early response.

Evaluations of early drought responses in pastoral areas of Africa have demonstrated the economic rationale for working with pastoralists to protect core livestock assets during drought. Pastoralists rarely aim to protect all livestock when drought occurs, but focus on the maintenance of adult breeding stock with a view to maximizing post-drought recovery. Early market-based interventions such as commercial destocking with private sector partners, combined with supplementary feeding of selected breeding stock, have been highly effective. These approaches are supported by international guidelines and standards for emergency livestock projects, and in some countries, national drought management guidelines.

However, livelihoods-based drought cycle management has yet to be fully institutionalized in most African countries whereas in contrast, food aid is institutionalized and therefore, the

standard response to drought. Strategy 2.3 includes the need to re-align disaster management policies towards risk-based, livelihoods approaches and early response in pastoral area, rather than waiting for livelihoods crises to evolve, and then delivering food aid.

Strategy 2.4 Marketing of pastoral livestock and livestock products

The marketing of pastoral livestock and livestock products takes place at three levels: domestic, regional (including cross-border trade), and international. Some constraints to market access can be common across all three broad market categories, whereas other constraints are specific to the type of market. For example, excessive taxation is a common constraint, whereas international standards and related challenges apply mainly to access to international markets. Each type of market also has advantages and disadvantages, with high value markets in terms of foreign exchange being relatively high risk and high cost, compared to lower value domestic markets which carry lower risks. There are also area-specific variations in constraints and options, and many constraints are not specific to the livestock sector e.g. the availability of air freight to transport chilled meat within Africa. It follows that efforts to improve the marketing of livestock and livestock products require economic and market analysis, including comparative analysis of the different market options. In general, much previous policy analysis has tended to emphasize access to high-value exports market to Europe. Therefore, while this strategy certainly does not discourage investments for the European markets, it also stresses the need for far more attention to markets within Africa, and the need to support regional trade. The general trend of urbanization in Africa indicates a growing domestic market for meat and milk which is an important opportunity for pastoral producers. There are also growing markets in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. A second strategy relates to added value, and where economically viable, the need to retain value locally through more processing of livestock products.

As with other areas of pastoral development, it is recognized that some countries and RECs are already enhancing support to livestock marketing. For example, the creation of certification systems to formalize African regional and cross-border livestock trade is an important development, tailored to regional contexts.

In addition to the generic need for market analysis with stakeholders, are the following specific strategies:

- (i) Develop livestock value chains, improve market access, reduce livestock trade barriers and non-tariff barriers, enhancing market information systems and financing mechanisms;
- (ii) Support the development of infrastructure and communications which enable livestock trade from pastoral areas, with emphasis on road networks and mobile phone networks;
- (iii) Support economic analyses of the potential for free regional trade in livestock and livestock products and other commodities in pastoral areas to generate relevant benefits to participating countries; this includes cost-benefit analyses of conventional 'border control and taxation' approaches compared with forex arrangements and commodity imports in free trade areas;
- (iv) Develop comprehensive regional TAD control programmes based on contemporary epidemiological, economic and market analysis in cross-border pastoral ecosystems, with involvement of all relevant stakeholders;
- (v) Coordinate and organize African representation at the international standard setting bodies responsible for trade standards on food safety and disease control.

Strategy 2.5 Financial and insurance services tailored to pastoral areas

In common with many other services, conventional banking systems are not accessible to most pastoralists. Formal loan arrangements are also based on collateral, defined in part as insurable assets. Although pastoralists can possess substantial financial capital in the form of livestock, in general the banking systems in Africa do not classify livestock as insurable, and therefore, pastoralists are excluded from formal credit systems.

In some countries there are progressive, alternative credit systems developed by private or government-owned banks that are tailored to the pastoral context. These schemes warrant expansion across pastoral areas, with relevant policy and regulatory support. Two important elements include livestock insurance arrangements, thereby providing pastoralists with collateral against which to secure loans, and, mobile phone networks which enable low-cost financial transactions to and from remote areas. Livestock insurance also has important implications for risk-based drought management, particularly if pilot schemes currently underway in Africa prove to be operationally and economically feasible.

Strategy 2.6 Protect African genetic resources – pastoral animals and plants

It is widely recognized that ‘genetic improvement’ of African pastoral livestock by replacing local breeds or crossbreeding with exotic breeds imported from Europe, achieved very limited impact. These technical approaches overlooked the long evolution and adaptability of African breeds, and in pastoral areas, the careful selective breeding practices of pastoralists which emphasized combinations of traits such as high drought resistance and milk production.

The livestock and plant genetic resources in pastoral areas of Africa are a considerable resource for the continent which warrant protection through national and regional policies. In some areas, dryland plants have not been fully recorded or identified and therefore, there is need to support comprehensive inventories of plants in pastoral areas, including those of potential economic importance

Strategy 2.7 Research and extension

Long-term sustainable pastoral development requires a good knowledge of the dynamics of multiple factors underlining pastoralism and here, research has a crucial role to play. Alongside support to improved primary and secondary education, is the need to strengthen institutions of higher learning and research in pastoral areas of Africa. Such institutions require support to conduct research on a range of political, social and natural science subjects, and at levels which range from local adaptation through to regional integration and global trends. The links between research and policy also need to be strengthened, so that policy responds to the dynamics of pastoral livelihoods and in the face of global factors.

Among the research programmes which are relevant across pastoral areas of Africa is the quantitative assessment and monitoring of rangeland resources, with analysis of the factors causing rangeland degradation and reduced access to rangelands for pastoralists. Similarly, further economic analyses of pastoral production are required, with comparative studies on different land use options. A second general area of research is regional TAD control, drawing on analysis of epidemiological, economic and market factors, combined with assessment of the technical and economic feasibility of different control options. Both these research topics can benefit from the extensive indigenous knowledge of pastoralists.

In the area of natural science research there is also a need to conduct research which responds to the problems and interests of pastoralists. Specific research areas should be identified locally, in a participatory manner with pastoralists, and so will vary by location. Possible research programmes include:

- (i) Drought resistant forage species;
- (ii) Conservation and improvement of the animal and plant genetic resource base;
- (iii) Control of invading weeds and bush encroachment;
- (iii) Camel husbandry and diseases.

5. Applying the Policy Framework

It is important to reiterate that the underlying objectives of the pastoral policy initiative is to develop framework that could be used in the process of pastoral policy development, pastoral policy implementation; and monitoring and evaluation of progress made in these processes. The following sections outline the essential elements of these processes.

5.1 Initiation of Pastoral Policy Development Process

It is advisable that the pastoral policy development is initiated at a country level with the establishment of a national steering committee and a strong national inter-disciplinary support team of experts. The national steering committee will be charged with the mission to provide guidance and supervision at each stage of the national pastoral policy development process. It may comprise of members representing key sector institutions, such as ministry in charge of agriculture, livestock, environment, water, territorial administration, local development, health, education, agricultural research, pastoralist organisations/associations/councils, civil society organization, and development partners.

The national support team of experts may be composed of experts from livestock, justice, land, finance/economy, universities/research systems, etc., who have experiences in local pastoral issues. The team's main preoccupation will be developing the national pastoral policy and strategies, and following up its implementation after its adoption. Planning the development of the national pastoral policy implies: (i) defining national pastoral policy development objectives, results required to meet these objectives and related operational plans, institutional settings and monitoring and evaluation mechanism for the policy development process with clearly defined indicators and reporting schedule; (ii) establishing policy development timeframe following a phased out and iterative model with clear milestones to which key stockholders will subscribe; (iii) clarifying roles; and (iv) determining human and financial resource requirements. Subsequent to planning, the main task of the national support team of experts will comprise (i) identification of key pastoral issues at country level through literature review and local assessments and public consultation meetings with relevant stakeholders; (ii) drafting of the national pastoral policy; and (iii) presentation of the draft pastoral policy at local and national consultation meetings for validation before its adoption by relevant authorities.

5.2 Key steps in pastoral policy development

It is important to emphasize that pastoral policy development is a complex exercise. It should be participatory and involve the following fundamental interactive steps to be performed:

- stakeholder consultation and identification of salient problems in the pastoral sector;
- preparation of working documents for further discussion with stakeholders;
- appraisal of institutional and financial/budgetary options;

- refinement, processing and approval of the national pastoral policy;
- design of implementation programs and rationalization of institutional responsibilities for implementation;
- enactment of new and revision or repeal of existing pastoral-related legislation;
- further dissemination of information to the public, training and capacity building to support implementation

Stakeholder consultation will provide the opportunity to inform and sensitize pastoralists on the importance of the pastoral policy development process which requires their active participation. It is crucial that political commitment to the pastoral policy development and implementation is secured.

5.3 Strategies for pastoral policy development

The strategies for the revision or development of pastoral policy mirror many of the strategies described under Objective 1 of the framework.

5.3.1 Clarifying roles in pastoral policy development

Sustainable pastoral policy development and equitable access to pastoral resources, (mainly pastoral land and water) for the benefit of pastoral communities are the central issues that any pastoral policy should adequately address. The first ingredient for successful pastoral policy development consists of recognizing the interests and roles of all stakeholders in the pastoral sector. The stakeholders are not limited to pastoral communities and their indigenous institutions but also include the public at large and civil society organizations (CSOs) and they need to be identified and included in the pastoral development process.

5.3.2 Recognizing the role of indigenous institutions

Recognizing the legitimacy of and improvement on the roles and operations of indigenous power structures, institutions and rights regimes on pastoral resources in pastoral communities (pastoral resource related to conflict resolution systems, inter-tribal peace agreements permitting transhumance across tribal land boundaries) as well as providing a necessary interface between them and state-led systems of pastoral resource development and administrations are important pre-requisites to ensure ownership of the pastoral policy and its successful implementation. Issues of equal and secured access to pastoral resources, and representation on all structures that are responsible for pastoral resource development and administration should be addressed. This is of paramount importance for gender balance because many indigenous power structures in pastoral communities do not allow any or sufficient women's participation in dealing with issues related to access to pastoral resources. In addition, the empowerment of decentralized institutions in the administration of pastoral resources should be emphasized in the pastoral policy development.

5.3.3 Consultation with pastoral communities and engagement with civil society organizations

Adequate preparations must be made for an informed consultation with pastoral communities and their organizations on the major issues to be addressed in the pastoral policy. All categories of pastoral stakeholders, especially women and the youth, should be involved and there should be a look out for the dominance of established institution and interest groups and eliminate tendencies of intimidation of pastoralists during consultation meetings.

Deep engagement with CSOs will be necessary in the pastoral policy development, as these organizations can provide necessary checks and balances on government decision-making during the development and implementation of pastoral policies. Effective opportunities for feedback and iterative processes with CSOs and other special interest groups should be allowed in the consultative process. Deep engagement with such groups is likely to enrich discussions and facilitate public acceptance and ownership of the pastoral policy. Where parliamentary review and approval is required to validate or legitimize the outcomes of the policy development process, it would be ideal to give these and other groups the opportunity to offer additional input.

5.3.4 Importance of legislative, institutional and operational measures in pastoral policy development

Officials and experts involved in the pastoral policy development should know that this exercise requires comprehensive legislative, institutional and operational measures to achieve decentralized, transparent, efficient and cost-effective delivery of pastoral services. Thus, reviewing and restructuring existing institutional settings, creating entirely new institutional arrangements at local, national, regional, continental and international levels may be necessary. Public or state pastoral sector institutions could be re-structured to address problems such as scattered and restricted access to records, poor internal communication systems, obsolete operating procedures, overlapping, conflicting and unclear mandates, duplication of efforts and responsibilities, and waste of resources.

5.3.5 Ensuring availability of financial and human resources

The development of pastoral policies across the continent should take into account full financial and economic cost appraisals hence provide for adequate resource commitment and mobilization for policy development. In addition, pastoral policies should be designed, promulgated and even launched with genuine concern for the human resources and other logistical requirements necessary to carry out the process. In case existing laws and implementation mechanisms must be replaced with new policies, new arrangements should be put in place to manage the transition. Similarly, transitional arrangements and preparations such as staff capacity building and training, public awareness/information and communication, should always be taken into account in the policy development process. These are important issues to be addressed in pastoral policy development.

5.3.6 Communication plan for pastoral policy development

Pastoral policy development will require effective and robust communication through a variety of channels including newspapers, television messages, radio broadcasts and newsletters. Effective communication should be integral and crosscutting. It requires the development of a coherent strategy that takes into account the entire policy development process. One important objective of communication is to obtain stakeholder inputs and feedback at the launching stage of pastoral policy development and during implementation. This requires public education and awareness campaigns

Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) are today considered the driving force of the global information society and knowledge-based economies. Therefore, ICTs should play a significant role in:

- (i) Pastoral policy development;

- (ii) Policy implementation progress and impact tracking;
- (iii) Policy information delivery and dissemination.

Appropriate use of ICTs can improve awareness of pastoral communities and information sharing on their rights and enhance their participation in policy development.

5.4 Pastoral policy implementation

This policy framework recognizes that policy implementation strategies and modalities require as much debate and consensus building as the policy issues and challenges discussed earlier in this document. In general, fundamental points of pastoral policy implementation as follows:

- Adaptation by countries of pastoral policy implementation to the specific bio-physical, socio-cultural and socio-economic conditions prevailing in the country;
- Proper implementation, monitoring and evaluation should be institutionalized with appropriate implementation infrastructure and a clear timeframe that specifies important milestones;
- Development of appropriate progress and impact tracking systems with clearly defined indicators, efficient database, and policy information system;
- Institutionalizing departments in charge of pastoral issues within the relevant ministries; and
- Ensuring that policy implementation, monitoring and evaluation is participatory.

5.5 Tracking progress in pastoral policy development and implementation

5.5.1 The scope and value of tracking

Effective tracking of pastoral policy development and implementation is a complex and important process. Its major objective is to enable governments to perform a number of functions, namely:

- (i) Make timely re-adjustments to policy processes;
- (ii) Take appropriate measures to ensure the effectiveness and efficiency of pastoral policies;
- (iii) Learn from past successes and failures;
- (iv) Disseminate local good practices for use at the national, regional and continental level;
- (v) Improve the quality of knowledge and build capacity for further monitoring and evaluation;
- (vi) Secure and consolidate the participation and commitment of all stakeholders and development partners;
- (vii) Enable government to manage emerging issues and other incidental developments in the pastoral sector in an organic and systematic way.

5.5.2 Characteristics of a good tracking system

Establishing a good policy implementation tracking system requires the following actions:

- (i) Defining progress and impact indicators and benchmarks very clearly with related parameters taking into consideration policy objectives, the expectations of beneficiaries, and the sustainability of pastoral policy and the availability of resources;
- (ii) Allocating timeframe and frequency of data collection and reporting;
- (iii) Establishing a database network at local, national, regional and continental levels; to plan for baseline data collection;

(iv) Plan for combined internal and external tracking systems.

Good tracking characteristics also include appropriate methodology, infrastructure and equipment for data collection and processing and policy information dissemination. Direct and indirect effects of policy should be considered. Tracking should be transparent and participatory, and transparency and good governance should prevail. Capacity building of personnel in charge of policy progress and impact tracking must be performed during the launching phase of policy implementation.

5.5.3 Designing tracking system/mechanism

In developing the pastoral policy implementation tracking system/mechanism, the national steering committee and the support team of experts can get inspiration from existing tracking systems, which may have the advantage of linking technical and financial data on project implementation progress and impact.

5.5.4 Building partnership for tracking

Monitoring and assessing the effects of pastoral policy on livelihoods, secured rights of pastoralist people, economic growth and sustainable use of pastoral resources require the active collaboration of different institutions which play specific but complementary roles. At country level, depending on the institutional settings, relevant ministries (such as those in charge of territorial development, agriculture, forests, urban development and scientific research) can, apart from the Ministry in charge of pastoral issues, make significant contributions towards the tracking process. In addition national statistics departments, as well as universities, CSOs and Centres of Excellence could/should be involved in the collection and processing of pastoral policy information. At the regional and continental levels, there is need to devise and implement tools and mechanisms that would facilitate the sharing of experiences in pastoral-related participatory monitoring and evaluation systems. Such tools and mechanisms should be built on evidence provided by observatories specializing on pastoral policy issues. This means setting up a network of relevant institutions willing to collaborate in the monitoring and evaluation of the pastoral policy implementation. Networking is thus crucial in this case. Another useful tool is to collect and process geospatial data on physical pastoral issues and transform them into thematic maps providing visual opportunity for updating pastoral information as frequently as possible.

5.5.5 Sharing information, feedback gathering and documentation

As indicated earlier, dissemination of tracking information requires a robust communication plan comprising various communication channels (newspapers, television messages, radio broadcasts and newsletters). Given its iterative dimension, a good system for tracking pastoral policy development and implementation must have solid links with decision making processes at various levels as competent decision makers must be informed on the progress and impact of pastoral policy implementation on a regular basis. This must appear clearly in the pastoral monitoring and evaluation conceptual model. There should be regular and systematic feedbacks on the successes, failures and institutional bottlenecks. Feedbacks should systematically be documented and disseminated to all stakeholders. For large groups seminars and workshops are adequate means of communication while reports with precise recommendations are preferable for decision makers and inter-sectoral roundtables could also be used to share feedback.

6. Conclusion

Sustainable pastoral resource management, equitable and secured access to pastoral resources, peace and security are the core issues underlining this pastoral policy framework. Thus, it is necessary that these issues be addressed through a comprehensive pastoral policy, which confers full political, social, economic and environmental benefits to the pastoral communities. Although considerable efforts with some positive results are being made throughout Africa, a great deal more still needs to be done. This calls for both commitments from individual countries and cooperation at the regional and continental levels. The Framework set out in this document seeks to provide a set of iterative processes requiring identification of the contextual challenges facing their specific national pastoral and associated sectors and economies at the onset of the development and implementation of pastoral policies and programs. Gender issues and participatory mobilization and continuous engagement of all stakeholders in the pastoral and related sectors at all stages of policy development implementation and review were treated as central elements of these processes.

An important added value of the **Policy Framework for Pastoralism in Africa** is not simply the improvement of living and working conditions of the pastoral communities in Africa, but the deepening and consolidation of peace, security and democracy. The African Union expects that its Member States which are in the course of or are contemplating the initiation, review, revision or comprehensive development and implementation of all or part of policies designed to ensure that their pastoral systems are fully integrated into national development processes, will find this document a useful guide.