

How to prevent land use conflicts in pastoral areas

Pastoral development



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Acronyms

CCRO	Certificate of customary rights of occupancy
CDA	Collaborative Learning Projects
COSOP	Country Strategic Opportunities Programmes
DLCI	Drylands Learning and Capacity Initiative
FPIC	Free, prior and informed consent
HTDN	How To Do Note
ILC	International Land Coalition
ILRI	International Livestock Research Institute
JVLUP	Joint village land use planning
PHG	Pastoralist herder groups
PKH	Pastoralist Knowledge Hub
PRM	Participatory rangeland management
SECAP	Social, Environmental and Climate Assessment Procedures
SRMP	Sustainable Rangeland Management Project
WISP	World Initiative for Sustainable Pastoralism

Introduction

IFAD's pastoral development programme recognizes that pastoralists exist within challenging environments and require a specialized programming approach. A number of IFAD supported projects focus on strengthening governance of land tenure as a platform for more sustainable pastoralism. Increasingly today, pastoral areas are sites of tension and conflict due to an often-complex set of issues including poverty, population pressures, contested territorial claims, undefined or shifted resource boundaries that often do not align with administrative boundaries, weakened customary institutions and increased availability of firearms amongst other. Conflict 'multipliers' include phenomena such as land grabs, foreign land investments and climate change, many of which are aggravated by insecurity of tenure (Jonckheere et al, 2017). As a result, any development intervention working in pastoral areas needs to be able to prevent and respond to conflict should it arise.

This How To Do Note (HTDN) is focused on how the increased levels of conflict over land and natural resources in pastoral areas can be prevented and/or if existing already, transformed into positive outcomes. It identifies why land tenure is a complex issue within pastoralism; the combination of factors that are contributing to more insecure pastoral tenure and triggering pastoral area conflicts; and introduces some of the frameworks, tools and approaches that can be used as part of project design to reduce the potential for conflict.

This HTDN complements the [IFAD Toolkit](#) and [HTDN on Pastoralism](#) produced in 2018, and the [IFAD Land Tenure Toolkit – Lessons Learned Pastoralism, Land Rights and Tenure](#) produced in 2014 that provide an introduction to pastoralism, and land tenure and governance systems supported. The objective of this Note is to provide guidance that project developers and others need to consider when working on IFAD projects in pastoral areas, in recognition of the heightened sensitivity of land and resource issues.

It unpacks some of the complexities associated with pastoralism and gives guidance on how to address the different parts, helping to prevent conflicts from occurring and resolving those that might already exist. This document has drawn from the guidelines [Improving governance of pastoral lands: Implementation of the Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forests in the contexts of national food security](#) (FAO, 2016), and it is recommended to read these guidelines in full to receive more broader guidance on pastoral land tenure and governance issues.

Preventing conflicts in pastoral areas is an IFAD priority as conflict impacts the ability of individuals and communities to achieve food security. The first section of this HTDN explains the context of conflicts over land and natural resources in pastoralist areas in order to provide a broad understanding of the issues. Section two then provides guidance on how project designers and implementers can promote conflict resolution or transformation, peacebuilding and improved governance for land tenure issues so that conflicts are less likely to take place.

Section 1 Understanding land use conflicts in pastoral areas

1. Conflicts in pastoral areas

Conflicts can be common in pastoral areas and how they are perceived and handled has a strong influence on their outcomes. Often conflicts can be 'latent' – unseen particularly to an outsider, lying quietly under the surface, but can be triggered and become violent by an event or action such as building a badly-situated water point. Asserting rights to resources and/or when seeking to redress injustices or inequalities, conflict can become an inherent feature of pastoralists' struggle for change. As a result, conflicts are often inevitable, legitimate and even desirable depending on circumstances and views of the involved parties. Development actors need to recognise this and be prepared to take steps to avoid conflicts and/or manage them well when they occur. People prefer peaceful situations to conflict, and will only resort to fighting as a last option. Handled well, conflicts can be transformed into positive outcomes.

People deal with conflict in different ways, often related to the value that they put on their relationships and their goals. Some common responses to conflict include avoidance, confrontation, compromise and withdrawal. Pastoral communities have their own ways of preventing or resolving conflict. It has been shown that where pastoral communities find a common reason or goal for peaceful interaction, they will take it. Pastoralists as a group have many common values, issues, history, experiences, needs etc and these are good starting points for building a common vision and finding 'connectors' (issues that can form bridges or connections between conflicting parties, discussed more below). Though more challenging to identify, pastoralists and *other* groups can also have commonalities – whether this be securing food security in a harsh environment, or protecting land from large-scale acquisitions. These linkages, capacities for peace and the 'connectors' between different groups are the building blocks of systems of political and economic interaction that can ensure stable, peaceful and just futures for societies prone to or once in conflict.

There are often synergistic relationships within pastoral groups and with other land users (farmers, urban dwellers etc) to foster interdependence and communication – not only are these invested in for economic capital (sale or exchange of goods) but also for social capital (good relations). Enhancement of crop-livestock interactions such as the 'manure contract' between herder and farmer communities (manure traded with access to fields for grazing post-harvest), increased trade of goods and services, intermarriage and other exchanges can help to strengthen positive relationships between groups and facilitate joint coping strategies and peaceful dispute resolution in times of crisis. Understanding and building on these relations is a good starting point for interventions and such as service delivery.

2. Why land tenure in pastoralist areas can be highly complex

Pastoralists base their livelihoods on rearing livestock. Mainly found in dryland areas, they rely mostly on natural grazing, and access often scarce and sparsely distributed natural resources by moving with their livestock. Scientific research now recognizes that dryland areas have structural variability and there is no stable state to return to after crisis. In the drylands it rains in concentrated bursts and in unpredictable patterns over time and space which, when combined with different soil types and varying topography, creates concentrated micro-niches of moisture and nutrients that support plant growth (Krätli, 2015).

The pastoralist system of production works with this structural variability by using flexibility and optionality. In order for this to work, pastoralists must have access to large areas of rangeland including wet and dry season grazing areas. Most pastoralists only use dry season grazing areas for a small part of the year and rather, spend a considerable proportion of the year in wetter areas where agricultural production is also possible, often in a symbiotic relationship with farmers. Seasonal transhumance can also occur between lowland and mountain highland areas, and also north - south migration across ecological zones as in West Africa. What is important for pastoralists is to have access routes giving them the ability to move through the landscape bypassing or passing through agricultural lands as needed. These routes may be hundreds of kilometres long and cross international borders. Indeed, rangelands may cut across or not easily fit with political or administrative boundaries. There may be overlapping territorial claims (see below). Different institutions and particularly where new ones have been introduced, may manage resources in a conflicting way, and there is often a disconnect between state and customary institutions.

3. Why communal governance of land and natural resources is necessary

In many pastoral areas, pastoral groups have established flexible and communal systems of governance for grazing and water sources across a territory or landscape following the use described above. These systems allow them to have access rights over a wide area of rangeland shared with other members of a group or from different groups, so all can benefit from and manage the high variability and uncertainty in resource availability (see Box 1). Pastoralism may need to exist next to crop farming or other land uses – though traditionally these relations could have been symbiotic and self-supporting, with the extra pressures on land use and particularly when land use is not well planned and/or managed, tensions even conflict can arise.

Box 1 Pastoral land and natural resource rights

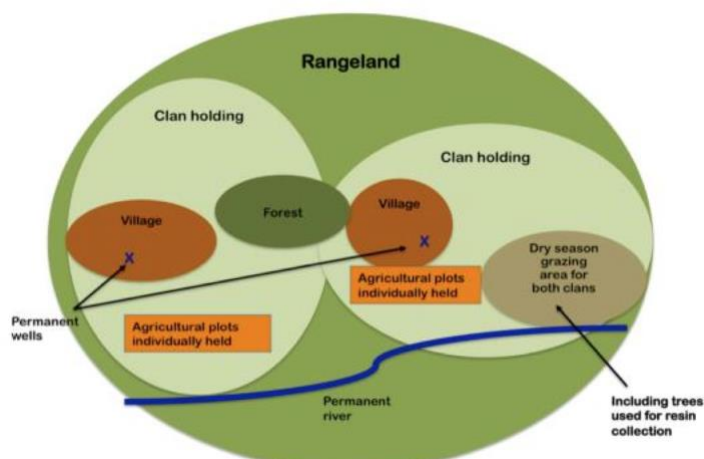
Pastoral land rights consist of access to the resources required to sustain mobile livestock production such as pastures and water points as well as the right to move between seasonal grazing areas, water points, pastoral settlements or encampments, and markets. Customary tenure arrangements have mixed aspects of common property and exclusive ownership. A family, clan or entire ethnic group could claim common rights to an area of pastoral land. Pastoral tenure rights are often referred to as 'fuzzy rights' as often they are not clearly defined, yet allow people to use property belonging to another for specific purposes or limited periods of time. Such arrangements have been common, and they have created complex systems of rights and duties among pastoral users. In these property systems, individuals could have exclusive access to some types of resources, and hold these rights as members of social groups that are capable of defending the territorial integrity of the entire group rather than by virtue of a title deed issued by a government authority. Access arrangements are often reciprocal so one group can access another group's territories and vice versa (Behnke and Freudenberger, 2013 referred to in FAO, 2016).

Further, there are often complicated layers of use, access, ownership and rights from landscape level through to an individual tree or well. For example a particular group or tribe may have rights to use the overall rangeland landscape including wet and dry season grazing areas. They can control the use of this landscape by members of the group, as well as its use by visitors or secondary users from outside. Within this there may be clan territories. Then there will be rules and regulations for use of each type of grazing land with stronger restrictions placed on important dry season grazing areas with permanent water points. There may also be household plots of cropping land or group/individual enclosures or grazing lands. And finally there may be 'tenure niches' such as a well or a tree for hanging beehives. Each of these 'nested' tenure layers or types will have its own governance structure, institutions and rules of use and access.

Figure 1 Nested land tenure systems

Nested layers of land tenure from landscape through to clan holdings to tenure over an individual tree or well, mean that pastoral land and natural resource systems are highly complex.

Figure: 'Nested' system of governance in the rangelands (Source: Flintan 2013)



4. How conflict is avoided through negotiation over use rights

One set of authors explained triggers or sources of conflict to be resources in “surfeit” (plenty) rather than or as well as, resources in “scarcity” (Lind and Sturman 2002). Indeed, conflict hotspots in dryland areas are often water points. Livestock can graze on remote rangelands only as long as they have access to water. In dryland areas pastoralists frequently dig deep wells for water access, with customary institutions established that control the use of these water points. Control over water points has traditionally provided the mechanism to ensure sustainable and peaceful resource use. Individuals and groups controlling access to water points may also have *de facto* control and access to the surrounding grazing lands (Jonckheere et al, 2017).

Customary tenure arrangements offer different types of rights including the right to use, the right to transit through, and the right to own. Indeed, most pastoral groups have customary mechanisms that ensure conflict is prevented with other pastoralist groups over access to natural resources. Spontaneous agreements can also be common in pastoral systems: in India for example Maldhari pastoralists now strike deals with popcorn factories to feed their animals the corn culms and camp near leaking factory water pipes (Krätli, 2015). Pastoral communities may be struggling where customary institutions have weakened or broken down. Recent reports from Nigeria suggest that one of the reasons for the increasing levels of conflict between livestock herders and farmers is due to the breakdown of customary systems of herding and conflict resolution: cattle herding is increasingly being left to young men or boys, aged 9 to 25 years, who often lack the civility and maturity to resolve disputes amicably (International Crisis Group, 2017).

Many pastoral societies require that territorial boundaries remain open and fluid with continual negotiation over access in which individuals or user groups re-evaluate their share of, and level of control over resources. This can create tension with more sedentary communities with whom pastoralists share resource rights, particularly where statutory law gives priority to the settled populations (Jonckheere et al, 2017). However, relationships between mobile pastoralists and sedentary farming groups can also be positive and mutually-beneficial, for example in the trading of goods or exchange of services such as post-harvest grazing for manure. However, where sedentary communities have more secure land rights than pastoralists, it creates an unbalanced ‘playing field’, and the traditional systems of reciprocity can break down. If a common goal can be found for both parties then it becomes easier to find solutions to conflict, and reciprocal relations can be rebuilt.

5. How pastoralist flexibility and opportunities are being blocked through land use change

Land use changes from rangelands due to conversion of such as crop farming (small local encroachment through to large state-sponsored irrigated farms) have resulted in the extensive fragmentation of rangeland grazing systems in recent decades. This is squeezing pastoralists into smaller territorial areas and disrupting their access to the resources they need for livestock production. Loss of access to natural resources is a key cause or trigger of conflict in pastoral areas. Often the conflict situation is amplified by changing power relations internally and externally to pastoralist communities (see Box 2).

But it is not just external factors that are impacting levels of rangeland fragmentation and land use change. Pastoralism itself is also changing with increasing commercialisation sometimes leading to pastoralists themselves fencing rangeland areas, removing resource access for others, and forcing many poorer pastoralists out into alternative less mobile and often more vulnerable livelihoods. There is said to be increasing wealth differentiation in pastoralist communities that can result in elite capture of resources, further risking outbreaks of conflict.

Box 2 Sources of changing power relationships in pastoral communities

Power relationships in pastoral societies are in a constant state of flux, an attribute closely related to mobility and flexibility. Alongside this inherent dynamism, significant widespread changes in power relations have taken place in recent years influenced by many factors. Among these factors is the growing power of the state and its encroachment on governance of pastoral lands and also the powerful influence exerted by development agencies and their projects. Factors contributing to shifting power relations include:

State interventions: enforced settlement programmes; inequitable laws or application of law.

Elite capture of pastoral power: educated elites gaining power over customary institutions; absentee herd owners.

Change in property regimes: delimitation of pastoral zones; allocation of private individual or group rights; land grabbing/reallocation.

Development priorities: loss of land, water and other resources to crop farming, hydroelectricity schemes, urbanization, mining etc; closure or blocking of migration routes; loss of land to conservation projects and protected areas.

Change in territorial identities: land claims over forced interventions on land (e.g. land clearance); aggressive disputes over land.

Armed conflicts: conflict between pastoralists and farmers and among pastoral groups; border conflicts in pastoral areas; disruption of the pastoral economy; degradation of shared institutions of cooperation and conflict resolution.

Source: FAO, 2016

6. How external factors exacerbate underlying tensions

Conflicts over land or natural resource access are intensified through a number of external factors that can serve to exacerbate underlying tensions. These include climate change where a greater number of crisis events disturb local production systems, trigger displacements of people and their livestock, and place increasing pressure on resources. Having said that:

Mobile livestock-keeping is potentially more resilient to global climate change than any other land-use systems. Their mobility and adaptability make them uniquely placed to cope with climate variations. Pastoral resource management capacities to cope with such vagaries have gradually eroded due to the encroachment of other land users on rangelands, particularly in recent decades (IFAD 2018b).

As such it is important to strengthen pastoralists' adaptability, coping and resilience capacities as part of conflict prevention processes. Further, a combination of causes have been documented as contributing to the highly visible pastoral area conflicts in Nigeria, Sudan, Mali, Chad and Somalia amongst others, where humanitarian agencies have long been involved in peacebuilding efforts. Negative narratives about pastoralist violence have been fuelled by fear, the media, or higher level interests keen to see conflicts continue in order to gain access to land, fight proxy wars etc. Loss of access to resources can become entwined with other factors, including long standing socio-ethnic divisions stoked by external actors. Conflicts then escalate as a result of poverty, inequality, extremism, guns, rural banditry and commercial cattle raiding. Thus pastoralists are now wrapped up within wider geo-political contexts, triggered by competitions over resources, fuelled by institutional failure, corruption and land and resource tenure insecurity.

7. Good governance over rangelands and resources

Relationships between pastoralists and others have always been dynamic and sometimes disruptive, but predominantly they have had to be collaborative in order to maximise access to scarce, variable and ephemeral resources. Shared needs, positions and interests are the starting point for this collaboration. In recent decades pastoralist systems have been severely challenged in terms of maintaining their flexibility and adaptability in the face of loss of grazing lands and other resources. Customary governance has been weakened, or been stretched beyond its capacity as new factors come into play. Systems of negotiation and reciprocity between farmers and pastoralists are less balanced as increased statutory governance favours settled farmers. Coupled with weak representation and inability of pastoralists to contribute to decision making processes including those that pertain to their lands, a situation often exists where pastoralists are often victims of conflicts due to factors beyond their control. Where new state-supported institutions have been established, they may take the power and marginalise already existing institutions creating tensions that can later lead to conflict.

To avoid or transform conflicts in these situations it requires taking clear steps and approaches, whilst engaging all stakeholders, supporting fairer negotiation processes, strengthening management of resources, building relationships and supporting a more enabling peaceful environment. More details on How To Do this are taken up in the next section.

Section 2. Guidance for IFAD projects in pastoral areas on preventing land and resource conflicts

1. Overview

Pessimists will point to the on-going marginalization of pastoralists in many countries and the fact that pastoral areas continue to be affected by droughts, conflicts and other crises. They will continue to question the viability of pastoralism as a land-use system. Yet it is clear that in most rangeland environments, no other land-use system can replace pastoralism on a significant scale. The outcome of pessimism is that isolated resource patches are removed from the pastoral system, leaving pastoralists poorer, more vulnerable to drought and in greater competition for the resources that remain. Strengthening governance of tenure is the route to overcome this cycle of marginalization. Reduction in vulnerability, poverty and conflict are the dividends (FAO 2016, p135).

Section one has provided the context within which conflicts over resources are occurring in pastoral areas. This second section provides guidance on how to promote improved governance of land and natural resources so that firstly, conflicts in pastoral areas are less likely to take place and secondly, to enable greater opportunity for conflicts to be resolved. Further, IFAD project developers are encouraged to design interventions that can support pastoral production systems while being sensitive to the possibility of land and resource conflict and make proactive, prevention or mitigation measures for this.

To ensure land tenure governance is considered within project design processes, project developers need to be clear on IFAD's policy and principles that support pastoralism (mentioned above and discussed in detail in the [Pastoralism HTD note](#)). Designers and implementers are encouraged to use participatory processes for active learning and listening, and to recognise that conflict is frequently about broken relationships and power inequalities. It is crucial that project design and implementation processes take the pastoral context into account as described in the previous section. Customary conflict resolution mechanisms can be an important starting point for addressing conflict issues and need to be understood and integrated into project design and implementation.

Framework for this section

The FAO document *Improving Governance of Pastoral Lands* identifies nine key actions for avoiding and managing conflict within its Action Area 6 (see Box 3). Using these key actions as a broad framework, alongside lessons learned from IFAD projects and case studies from elsewhere, this section identifies what to look out for in identifying project and programme-based interventions that can help prevent conflict in pastoral areas through addressing land tenure issues and in some cases manage and/or even resolve them.

Box 3 Key elements in avoiding and managing conflict

1. Understanding conflict triggers and multipliers – conflict analysis.
2. Restoring capability of traditional institutions.
3. Strengthening social cohesion and good social relations.
4. Strengthening environmental management and sustainability.
5. Repairing relationships.
6. Making governance and decision making processes fairer.
7. Establishing tenure clarity.
8. Strengthening (institutional) capacity to buffer and respond to crisis.
9. Addressing factors underpinning structural inequity.

Source: FAO, 2016

2. Conflict analysis to understand context, triggers and multipliers

A conflict analysis is the foundation for identifying whether conflicts are likely in an intervention area and if so where, together with what appropriate conflict-sensitive project/programme based interventions could prevent or resolve them. A conflict analysis is required to:

- Understand the context of the conflict;
- To ensure that project interventions and activities do not cause and/or exacerbate conflict;
- To understand the effects of conflict on project interventions and activities; and
- To understand how a project can prevent or mitigate conflict and particularly violent forms of conflict, as well as how to transform conflict into positive outcomes.

Conflict analysis involves a detailed and wide-ranging assessment of the potential factors and on-going processes that have either previously led to, are currently causing, or might potentially cause conflict in the future. If a thorough conflict analysis is not undertaken then there is a risk that conflicts will arise during project interventions that will have a negative impact on results (see examples in Box 4 and Box 5). In areas prone to conflict, it is also recommended that a conflict analysis forms part of COSOPs (Country Strategic Opportunities Programmes).

Box 4 Kidal Integrated Rural Development Programme, Northern Mali, IFAD

IFAD has undertaken projects in Mali since 1982 and continued to work in the northern regions of Mali at a time when other donors had pulled out due to continued levels of conflict. IFAD supported the Kidal Integrated Rural Development Programme in the pastoral region of Kidal, focused on reducing competition for access to natural resources. Poverty in the northern regions is characterized by environmental degradation, lack of infrastructure and chronic food deficits. The Kidal programme empowered vulnerable groups, ensuring nomadic communities fully participated in decision making for planning social infrastructure, and continued to make progress despite extremely challenging circumstances. However, an evaluation suggested that the risks linked to conflict were underestimated, and a more thorough analysis would have helped to plan mitigation efforts from the start. The participatory approaches were a significant step forward, but conflict was a major threat to the sustainability of the project. The evaluation recommended that the COSOP should contain a more thorough analysis of conflict-related risks and measures to reduce this threat (IFADb, 2012).

Undertaking a review of existing literature is a first task towards understanding the history behind the possible causes of conflict, and for fully understanding the context and background (needs, positions and interests) of different stakeholders. It is particularly important to understand the history of such as land use and access in an area, as land- or resource-related disagreements or conflicts often have an underlying historical dimension that repeatedly resurfaces despite seeming to be resolved.

A second task within a conflict analysis is a stakeholder analysis of all groups with interests in a proposed project intervention area including pastoralist groups, farmers, settlers, migrants, companies, government, NGOs, etc. Tools that generate understanding of the priority issues of key stakeholders and the power relationships between them are helpful here, as is an analysis of what is driving the often complex and long-term interactions and inter-relationships. Conflict mapping including of the status of relationships is a good visual tool (see below).

Box 5 Failure to undertake a conflict analysis in Jordan risked conflict issues being missed in project sites

In the project Jordanian National Programme for Rangeland Rehabilitation and Development significant problems arose in one of the project sites due to conflicting views between groups (sedentary and transhumant), which led to the site being abandoned. In this case, although an essentially sedentary target group had been identified, no consideration was made of the possibilities that a transhumant group (with no real incentive to participate in decision making processes) also claimed usufruct or use rights to the same land at certain times of the year. Conflict arose when the transhumant group tried to access the grazing lands that they had used on a seasonal basis for many years, and were prevented from doing so by the sedentary livestock keepers. As a consequence, activities at the site stalled and alternative sites had to be identified. If a conflict analysis had been undertaken at design and/or early implementation, this situation could have been avoided with potential solutions being the inclusion of transhumant groups in the design and planning of interventions to ensure that they participated in decision making process and benefited from interventions: or if this failed then another site could have been chosen (IFAD, 2007a).

During a conflict analysis, existing or potential community-based conflict resolution mechanisms can also be identified as a foundation for conflict mitigation or transformation. Identification might involve understanding the current strength of traditional mechanisms, for example the strength of pastoralist traditional leaders to still negotiate reciprocal grazing agreements. The use of DFID's Sustainable Livelihoods Framework within a conflict analysis is a useful approach for seeing how conflict is impacting livelihood assets as well as which of those assets will be useful in conflict mitigation: conflict can be viewed as a shock or stress to the livelihood system. An example from Senegal and Chad (see Box 6) shows how carrying out a conflict analysis and using this to guide interventions on specific resources such as water has not only lead to safe and conflict-free water delivery, but also contributed to a more peaceful environment generally.

Box 6 Senegal and Chad, IFAD

The expansion of irrigated cultivation in Senegal has led to a reduction in flood plain pastures of the Senegal River in eastern Senegal, restricting pastoral seasonal movement north into Mauritania and creating greater conflict within cultivated areas. The IFAD project *Agricultural Development Project* in Matam and the *Support to Agricultural Development and Rural Entrepreneurship Programme* here created 'pastoral units' - new institutions of groups of pastoralists that shared the same water point – and who are now responsible for negotiating sustainable access to pastures and regulating the sinking of new boreholes. Support was provided for strengthening the capacities of livestock keepers and their organisations. developing participatory land use management plans for each pastoral unit and the establishment of rangeland management committees. Important partnerships have been mobilised with public institutions, local services, producer organizations, NGOs and research institutes. As a result pastoral units and their management committees, through dialogue with the government, managed to obtain the construction of schools and health posts in their region. Through negotiation with other herder groups and decentralised government offices, they succeeded in limiting the number of licences for drilling private wells to avoid overgrazing.

In Chad pastoralist production started shifting from the north into sedentary farming areas of the south following long periods of drought. Herders damaged unharvested crops, and trampled newly-seeded land at the beginning of the rainy season as they returned north resulting in conflicts with the farmers. The IFAD-supported *Pastoral Water and Resource Management Project in Sahelian Areas* undertook a full participatory diagnosis of pastoral resources as well as conflict management practices that guided interventions. 154 water point management committees were established, responsible for maintenance and repair of wells, conflict prevention and protection of the environment, and 77 surveillance committees were set up around natural depressions to ensure that ponds are accessible to all users. Transhumance systems have been secured by establishing water points and marking three transhumance corridors in the central and western parts of Chad, under the management of joint committees from administrative and traditional authorities, pastoralists and farmers, and local representatives of central government line agencies. Traditional authorities (transhumant tribal chiefs and sedentary canton heads) have been able to make a definitive contribution to managing the conflicts, which have reduced in number and violence.

Source: Jonckheere et al, 2017

A summary of issues that a conflict analysis can cover include:

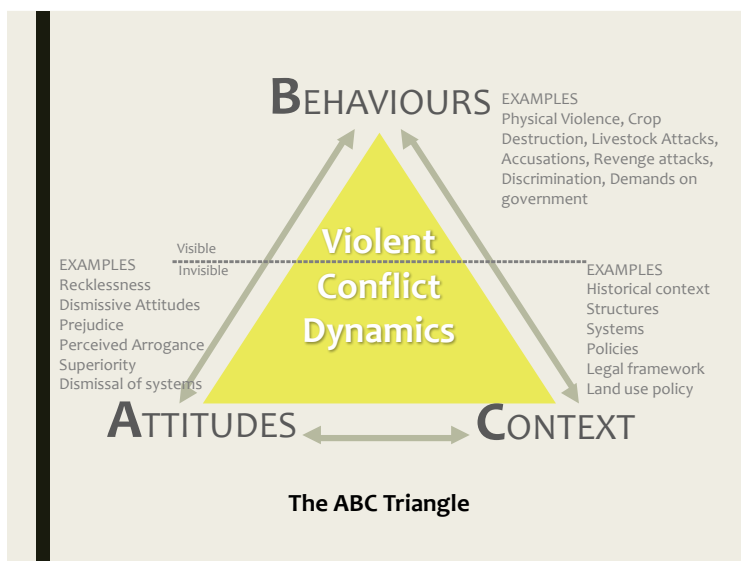
1. Context and recent changes in tenure rights and access to natural resources.
2. Context and recent changes in agro-ecological conditions and understanding of how these are impacting on livelihoods and vulnerability including such as climate change and environmental security (rainfall patterns and impact on grazing and water sources).
3. Efficacy of livelihood approaches and impacts on these including safety nets, kinship support, poverty levels and other.
4. Relationships and networks including understanding current and historical links between stakeholders such as with other pastoralists, rural communities and the state.
5. Conflict hotspots where conflicts have occurred before or it is known that there are a set of issues that could lead to conflict.
6. Local community organisations including traditional authorities through such as an assessment of strength and legitimacy in dispute resolution.
7. Representation and accountability including how marginalised pastoralists are in relation to the state and what mechanisms there are for redressing this (Adapted from FAO, 2016).

Tools for Conflict Analysis

There are a wide range of tools and processes available for undertaking a conflict analysis related to land and natural resource use. They differ in terms of depth of analysis and use depending on the information required. These can be applied as part of a project design or in a more indepth participatory analysis with focus groups and discussions at the wider community and intercommunity levels as the initial step in conflict resolution in project implementation. Annex 1 contains an annotated bibliography that introduces some of these tools, and summaries are provided here:

1. ABC Triangle

Not all conflict is open or visible and drivers of conflict are often hidden. There can be many sources of conflict which can be strongly interconnected. There are three main areas to consider - the context, the behaviour of those involved and their attitudes – and using the tool ABC Triangle can help us to understand these, as well as the interconnections between them. An ABC triangle can be produced for each key actor in a conflict. This allows greater insight into the motivating factors of the different parties, so firstly one better understands the situation and secondly it can become clearer what type of interventions are required and/or could be supported.



How to use this tool:

- Draw up a separate ABC Triangle for each of the major parties in the conflict situation.
- On each triangle, list the key issues related to *attitude*, *behaviour* and *context* from the viewpoint of that party. If the parties are participating in this analysis, then they can each make a triangle from their own perspective.
- Indicate for each party what you think are their most important needs and/or fears in the middle of their own triangle. This will be YOUR perception.
- Compare the triangles, noting similarities and differences between the perceptions of the parties.

For more details of this tool see for example: http://competendo.net/en/The_ABC_Triangle or in application: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/333203188_A_Review_of_the_Causes_of_Land_Use_Conflicts_between_Farmers_and_Pastoralists_in_Tanzania_and_a_Proposal_for_Resolutions

2. Conflict Tree

The conflict tree is a graphic tool to stimulate discussion about the causes and effects of a conflict, and to get agreement on the core problem and priorities for addressing these. It is best used during a group discussion so that different causes and effects can be discussed and agreed upon. The roots of the conflict can go very deep and where possible one wants to get to the lowest root cause. Addressing this cause or other causes may or may not be within the scope of the intervention or even, the influencing sphere of the project – but nevertheless interventions should be developed keeping all causes and effects in mind, and where possible, positively influence them.

How to use this tool:

- Draw a picture of a tree, including roots, trunk and branches, on a large sheet of paper, a chalkboard, a flip chart, on the side of a building, or on the ground.
- Give each person several index cards or similar paper, with instructions that on each card they write a word or two or draw a symbol or picture to indicate a key issue in the conflict as they see it.
- Then invite each person to attach the cards to the tree:
 1. On the trunk, if they think it is the **core problem**,
 2. On the roots, if they think it is a **root cause**, or
 3. On the branches, if they think it is an **effect**.
- After everyone has placed their cards on the tree, someone will need to facilitate a discussion so that the group can come to some agreement about the placement of issues, particularly for the core problem.
- An optional next step is to ask people to visualise their own organisation as a living organism (a bird, a worm, a creeping-plant) and place it on the tree in relation to the issues it is currently addressing. Is current work focusing mainly on the consequences, the roots, or the central problem?
- Assuming that some agreement is reached, people may want to decide which issues they wish to address first in dealing with the conflict.

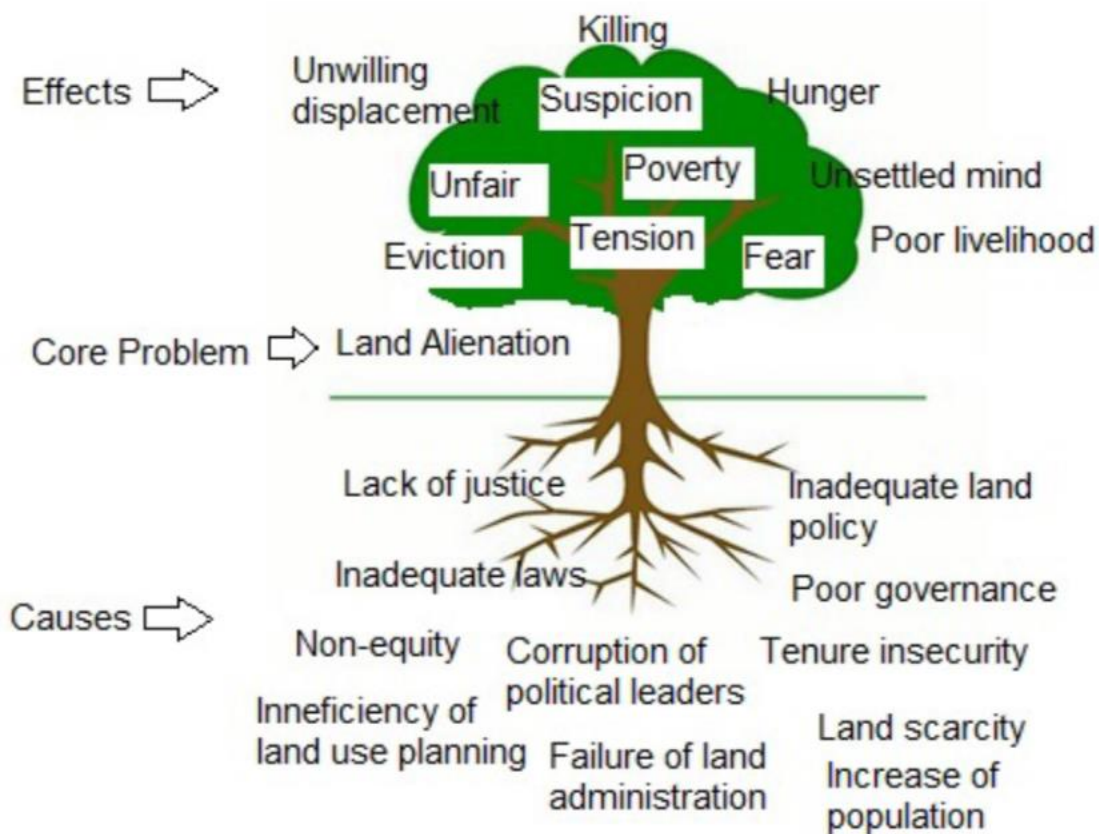


Figure 2 An example of a conflict tree (from Tanzania)

Source: Gwaleba and Silayo 2019

3. Conflict relationship mapping

This is a mapping of the relations including conflicts between the key actors in a conflict situation.

A map can include:

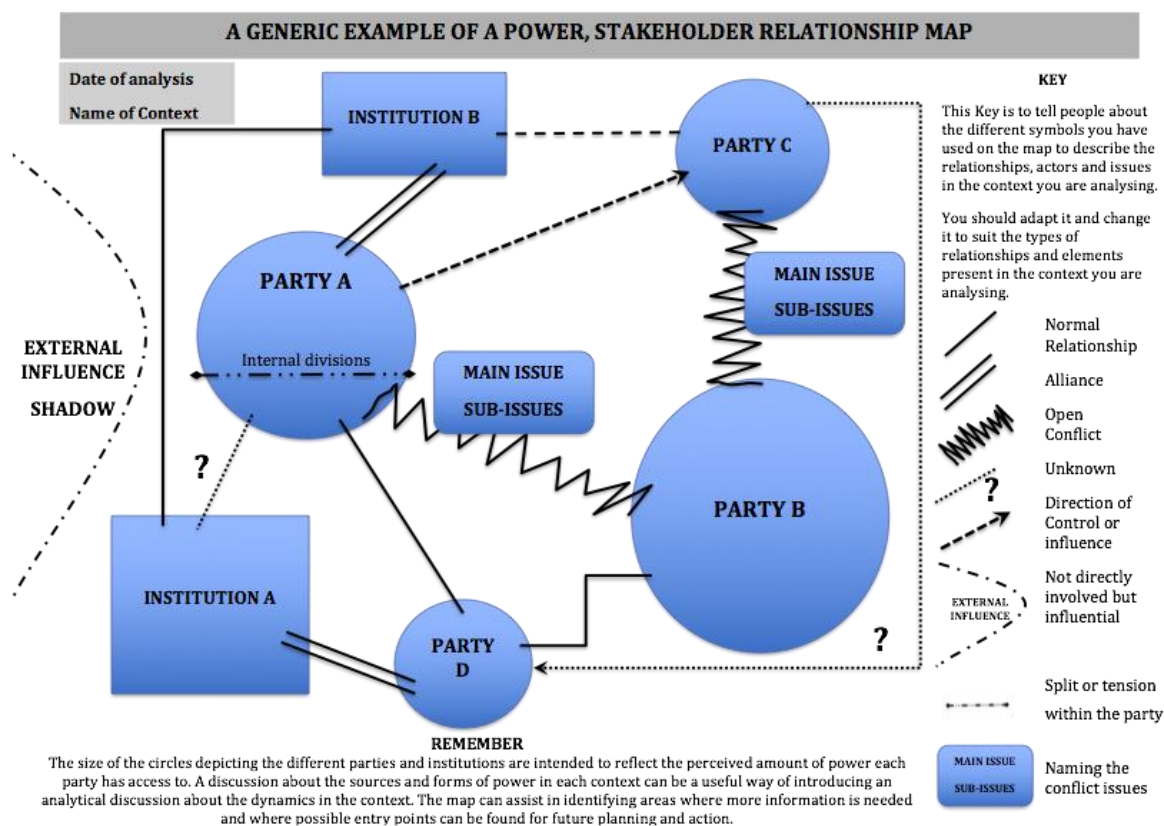
- Stakeholders involved in the conflict at different levels;
- Relative access to power of these stakeholders;
- Types of relationships between the stakeholders including broken relationships and conflicts;
- Critical issues within the conflicting relationships; and
- Overshadowing systems and structures.

Steps towards developing a stakeholder, power and relationship map:

- Identify a list of all of the relevant stakeholders in the context. Remember to include groups that are sometimes marginalised and excluded, including women and minority groups.
- Identify the sources of power within the context.
- Begin by selecting any of the stakeholders; decide on the size of the circle that should represent the stakeholder, and the stakeholder's relative access to power, and then place them on the map.
- Select another stakeholder and draw them on the map, remembering to choose a size that depicts their relative power.
- Draw a line indicating the relationship between the two stakeholders; choose a type of line that symbolically depicts the nature of this relationship (see below).

- Record this in the key of the map, remembering that this will be used for other similar relationships as the map develops.
- If there are any issues affecting the relationship draw them on the map.
- Select another stakeholder and repeat the process; repeating for all identified stakeholders.
- Identify any overarching influences on the context, either groups that are not physically present but that still have influence, or systems, structures and institutions that affect the power relationships in the context.

Given below is a generic example of a conflict map including power, stakeholders and relationships between them. This demonstrates how complex dynamics between multiple stakeholders can be represented creatively in simple ways. Several different kinds of stakeholders are identified and depicted through this map - groups, individuals, institutions, as well as structures. The nature of the relationships between them, and within themselves, can also take many forms. There are different ways to represent alliances, normal relationships, open conflicts, and even relationships whose nature is unknown to the people who drew the map. This is important - analysis can help one understand different perspectives in the conflict, and it can also help one articulate what is now known. Internal divisions within a party (e.g. within Party A) can also be represented. Another factor to consider is the influence of actors who are not directly related to the conflict, but are affecting the dynamics of the conflict nonetheless.



Source: Smith and Omondi 2018

4. Conflict hotspot mapping

Another tool that can be effective is the mapping of conflict hotspots across a zone or rangeland landscape. Below is a map that was developed by the IFAD-funded Sustainable Rangeland Management Project (SRMP) in Tanzania, one of a set of maps that were used to guide the project in deciding where joint village land use planning would be carried out (described in more detail below). The information about conflicts was collected from local government records of recent conflicts.

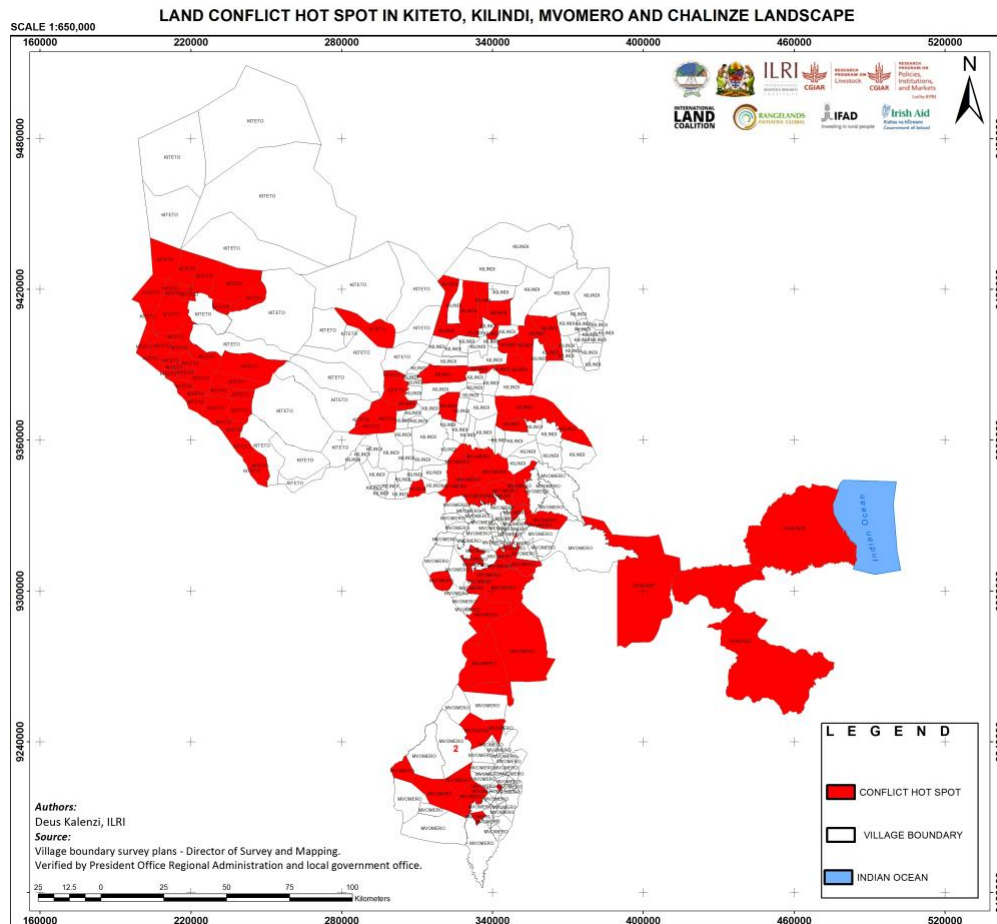


Figure 4 Conflict hotspot villages across four districts in Tanzania

3. Do No Harm

With information collected on the context, a development agency is better placed to ensure that interventions 'do no harm' in terms of influencing or even contributing to conflict. The Do No Harm methodology provides guidance for this (see below and Further Reading).

The possible and actual interaction of project interventions and the context need to be understood in order to avoid negative impacts and maximise positive ones. Careful planning is required using this information to avoid unintended negative consequences, including ensuring that budget is available to include all important parties – an experience from the IFAD-supported Mongolia Market and Pasture Management Development project highlights the importance of this (see below). As this example also shows, there is a need for constant sensitive monitoring of project interventions and their impacts and any warnings or 'red flags' heeded in a timely manner to avoid conflict escalation and/or negative impacts on project activities.

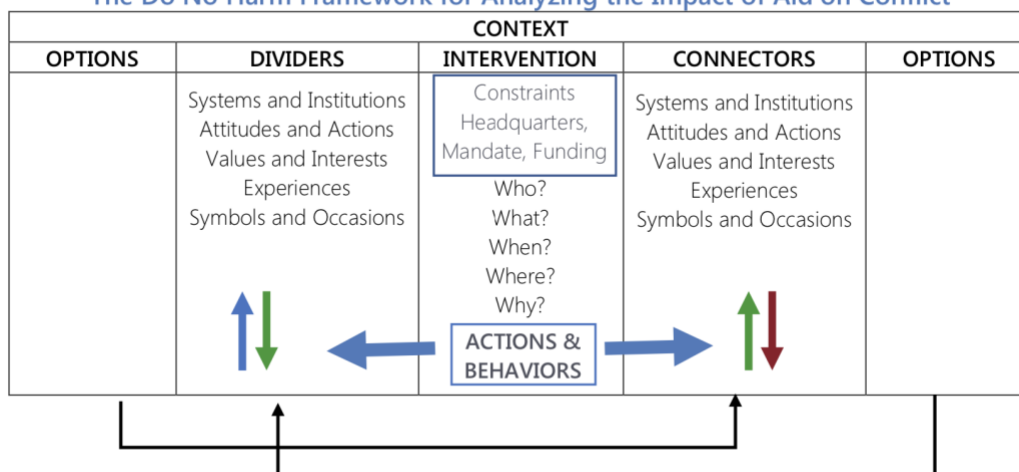
Box 7 Do No Harm through ensuring sufficient resources and information is available for comprehensive planning

In the Market and Pasture Management Development project, Mongolia, pasture herder groups (PHGs) made up of 40-100 households (HHs) were set up in the project intervention areas. However, not only did the high number of HHs prove to be unwieldy, due to budgetary constraints not all the herders could be covered by the component. This meant that the herder groups were divided into two – those supported by the component and everyone else. This led to tension and in some cases conflict between the two groups. This also meant that those not directly benefiting from the project were reluctant to approve the pasture management plan. This issue was flagged by several supervision missions, and it was agreed that at least trainings would be extended to non-project PHGs. This helped to relieve the situation somewhat (IFAD, 2017b).

The Do No Harm methodology (see further reading below) recognise six lessons as universal:

1. When an intervention of any kind enters a context, it becomes part of that context.
2. All contexts are characterised by ‘dividers’ (factors that create division or tension) and ‘connectors’ (factors that pull groups together, or help them to coexist in constructive ways).
3. All interventions will interact with dividers and connectors, making them better or worse.
4. Interventions interact with dividers and connectors through their organisational actions (or those of their partners) and the behaviour of staff.
5. The details of an intervention are the source of its impacts.
6. There are always options.

The Do No Harm Framework for Analyzing the Impact of Aid on Conflict



Source: CDA (2018)

4. Strengthening customary institutions

Project or programme interventions that build capacity of *existing* institutions to undertake improved natural resources and land governance are more likely to be successful than those that establish entirely new institutions. Existing pastoralist customary mechanisms can promote inter-community negotiation, collaboration and cooperation. They are known to work best where there are not substantial power differences. They are also low cost, promote a consensus building approach and encourage community self-reliance. Customary institutions are normally understood to be best placed for resolving local conflicts, and often government will support them in this role.

However, customary institutions can have a number of weaknesses. Their patriarchal way of working can marginalise women, who may well benefit from decisions made, yet are often not part of the decision making processes that led to those decisions. This goes against ideas of gender equality and equity. In some places overall authority levels among pastoral customary institutions are also weakening because of societal changes in terms of wealth differences and greater ethnic diversity within communities. Frequently, customary tenure systems have been over-ridden by statutory processes that do not match well with local land and resource use and for example the landscape-level management required of pastoral systems. Community elite may use their positions for personal rather than collective gain.

Defining effective and sustainable governance provides a valuable opportunity for collaboration and cooperation if issues such as 'elite capture' can be controlled. Establishing (negotiating) a shared vision helps to develop common positions and goals. Positive roles can be established for both customary and statutory governance structures: for example, the role of government as a credible enforcer of the law, and the role of customary leaders as custodians of natural resources, peacebuilders and local development agents. Other stakeholders such as development agencies or conflict dialogue facilitators may also have a role to play. In addition issues of gender equity will need to be considered and ways to ensure women as well as men in decision making and management processes identified. Support and capacity building for this will be required - for further information see the [HTD note on Gender and Pastoralism](#).

Some interventions and activities that can support a strengthening of customary institutions:

- A stakeholder mapping of different local customary institutions, their membership, structure including decision making processes, and roles and responsibilities.
- A common visioning exercise across all local groups to identify commonalities and disagreements in terms of a vision for the community and where it wants to be in say ten years' time. The commonalities are the starting point for discussions about how the different groups can better work together, be self-supporting, where adjustments may need to be made and what capacities need to be built.
- Discussions on greater gender equality and equity in the more traditional male-dominated customary institutions and how this can be achieved. Discussions on the involvement and place of the youth is also important here.
- Capacity building through such as exposure or learning visits to other communities so for example similar customary institutions can discuss similar challenges and opportunities across different geographies. This can also help to build up feelings of solidarity across different communities which leads to a stronger foundation for peacebuilding.
- Identification of 'spoilers' or those in groups and institutions who are causing trouble, rifts and/or conflict. Once identified, decisions will need to be made among other members of the group about how to influence them or in worse-case scenarios, remove them from the group.

5. Resolving conflicts and strengthening governance through land use planning

A focus on strengthening social cohesion for improved land and natural resource governance can work well in contexts where pastoralists and their neighbours have relatively good relations, for example where pastoralists are transhumant and stay for a considerable percentage of the year in locations with farming communities. Improved consultation and participation mechanisms for pastoralists, as citizens with legitimate rights, can strengthen inter-community relations and lessen the likelihood of conflicts. Fostering communication and dialogue helps to strengthen connections and interaction over a common goal such as resolving land use conflicts.

Indeed in Tanzania, joint village land use planning (JVLUP) has served to resolve conflicts between farmers and herders through addressing one of the root causes of the conflicts for both parties i.e. tenure insecurity. The JVLUP process led by the IFAD-funded Sustainable Rangeland Management Project (SRMP) (see Box 8) improved understandings of some of the critical issues contributing to the conflicts which were then discussed and addressed. Different stakeholders were brought together and informed of the process and its objectives, and given the opportunity to participate in it, so increasing the sense of ownership and commitment to it. Local communities whether farmers or herders had a common goal of securing their lands and protecting it from settlers from outside. Long and sometimes protracted discussions and negotiations were carried out to agree on land uses. Though the SRMP focused on the protection of grazing lands, *all* land uses were included in the plans so *all* land users benefited (excluding any land users that were illegal). With the JVLUP process being government approved, communities had a stronger foundation for enforcing their rights including adherence to the JVLUP plans. Grazing committees and others were established to facilitate this, and visibility was given to the process and activities locally and nationally, which added pressures on government not to renege on its commitments.

Box 8 Sustainable Rangelands Management Project (SRMP) Tanzania, IFAD

Funded by IFAD and implemented through the International Land Coalition (ILC) by the International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI), the Ministry of Livestock and Fisheries, the National Land Use Planning Commission and local NGOs, the SRMP has supported district and community authorities to carry out joint village land use planning (JVLUP) as a way to secure rangelands and contribute to land and resource conflict resolution between farmers, pastoralists and other land users. Between 2010-2020, SRMP assisted four clusters of four villages to secure village lands including shared grazing lands in Kiteto District, Manyara Region, and has made preparations for others. In the second phase of the project – 2017-2020 – the project paid significant attention to the issue of conflict including undertaking several trainings on conflict resolution/transformation at national, regional, ward and local levels of government. Further, multi-stakeholder platforms were established at district level that provided a space for conflicts to be discussed, and strategies developed to resolve them.

The JVLUP process involved participatory mapping of rangeland resources to develop understandings of which resources were used by whom and how, and if any conflicts were arising. Further details on the mapping process can be found in the mapping guidelines ([ILC 2014](#)). The next step was to facilitate agreement between village members over different land uses and the production of maps and plans, as well as to develop a joint village land use agreement to protect the shared grazing area, water points, livestock routes and other shared resources. Reaching agreement was a protracted negotiation process which took months and even years in some places where for example the process stalled due to interference from politicians and election candidates during local government elections. By-laws for the management of the resources were developed and adopted, and a joint grazing committee established with members from all villages responsible for planning, management and enforcement of by-laws. Certificates of customary rights of occupancy (CCROs) were then issued to the village livestock keepers who used the shared grazing area, in order to add to their tenure security. The process was well publicised with several high-level government officials visting the project area. The government recognises the value of the approach including in resolving land-based conflicts and is seeking funds to upscale it. The project has also been a site of learning for others, with visits made by government representatives, land experts, and practitioners from Sudan, Ethiopia, Nigeria and other. The visit from Nigeria was organised by the IFAD-Nigeria office in order to learn from the experiences of the land use planning approach and to consider its application in Nigeria where conflicts between farmers and herders are rife.

For more information see [Kalenzi, 2016](#).

Learning from the Tanzania example and others, some fundamental principles can be highlighted including:

- i) Links between the formal and the traditional systems requires the building of *trust* and *understanding* between a government and its people.
- ii) Communities must develop an understanding of their *rights* and begin to *voice* their issues and demand change.
- iii) Government should be supported in its attempts to *respond* to this voice.
- iv) Changing livelihoods calls for adapting governance systems on *co-governance* and co-operation.
- v) Adaptive institutional arrangements should incorporate the *strengths* of *both* the formal and traditional systems. The development of Pastoral Codes in West Africa is one example of attempts to do this.

6. Preventing or transforming conflict through environmental management

Environmental insecurity whether due to variability of supply of a natural resource or irregular and insecure access is often an underlying cause of conflict in pastoral areas. Though this conflict may be latent – hidden under a seeming surface of calm – it can be easily disturbed if, for example, there are sudden and/or sharp changes or disturbance to the supply of the natural resource concerned. For example, different pastoral groups in an area may have limited access to water – though this is challenging, all the groups face the same stressful situation and do the best that they can to manage it in a relatively balanced and peaceful (even reciprocal) way. However, the establishment of a large borehole in the territory of one of the groups without considering or allowing access for the others, can unbalance the situation, cause or stir-up historical disagreements, resentment, jealousy, power imbalances and ultimately, could be the spark for a conflict. Avoiding this situation through understanding the context, working with all groups in the area (and not only one group), facilitating discussions about responsibilities for maintenance and governance of access and negotiating agreements for this, can all help to avert a conflict situation.

Averting or avoiding a conflict is one way of managing a situation of environmental insecurity, another way (usually better in the long-term) is trying to address some of the underlying causes. Where causes are complex such as a lack of tenure security, this will likely need to be done alongside steps to try and 'iron-out' some of the irregularity or 'creases' in the supply of a natural resource such as water. Assisting communities to better manage the resource is one way to do this. Interventions can be targeted at trying to regularise the supply. Or interventions can try to take out or avert some of the irregularity in insecurity and risk in the water supply by for example building water supply points whilst also establishing (or strengthening) a management and governance system for these. This can include setting up the management/governance structures, the development of management plans or the facilitation of management and/or access agreements. Assisting the communities to prepare for shocks and stresses such as drought through for example storing water in large tanks or ponds, can also help to avert a situation that could lead to conflict. By doing this, one is recognising that some latent conflicts might exist, but in the absence of being able to influence the root causes in the short term, managing a situation in order to avoid the triggers and sparks that might bring a conflict to the surface, is possible. At the same time and in parallel, longer-term actions can be started to address some of the root causes of the conflict such as insecurity of tenure.

Guidance on rangeland management interventions

What is frequently needed for effective rangeland management in pastoralist contexts are approaches that operate at the scale required for maintaining the functionality of the whole rangeland landscape, whilst supporting the needs and capacities of pastoralists on the ground. Other stakeholders and land users are also found in the landscape, and relationships with these other stakeholders need to be considered and where appropriate, built. Protecting ecologically important areas from other users is also essential for maintaining the health of the system as a whole. Management works better if rights to the land and natural resources are clear and secure, however as discussed above this is often not the case in pastoral areas. As such, either rangeland management needs to occur within this context or it should seek to positively and purposefully influence the context to be more enabling and supporting. Indeed some rangeland management approaches can contribute to an improvement of resource and land tenure security and good governance of these through participatory rangeland management (PRM) (see Box 9). In Jordan for example, staff and partners of the project Mainstreaming Biodiversity in the Sylvo-Pastoral and Rangeland Landscapes where the traditional grazing lands or *Hima* have been rehabilitated, claimed that the rangeland management supported is in itself a conflict resolution methodology or tool as it brings back to communities the responsibility for ensuring health and availability of biodiversity i.e. communities had a common goal (IFAD, 2017b).

Box 9 Participatory rangeland management (PRM)

Participatory rangeland management (PRM) is a step-by-step process to improve rangeland management, good governance and resource tenure security. Originally developed in Ethiopia (see for example Flintan and Cullis 2010) and modelled on participatory *forest* management it serves to build understanding of resource use, define a rangeland management area, strengthen management and governance institutions, develop a rangeland management plan, implement the plan including rangeland restoration and improve security of tenure to resources through establishing a use agreement between local communities and government. It has been shown to improve rangeland productivity and good governance including greater participation of women. Further, when applied at a landscape level it has contributed to conflict prevention and resolution (Flintan et al 2019). Similar approaches have been and/or are being implemented by IFAD-funded projects in Swaziland, Jordan, Mongolia and Ethiopia among others.

The planning and implementation of interventions in pastoralist areas need to be considered at multiple scales. Interventions at one level will likely impact another – the scales are highly linked vertically as well as horizontally, and should be considered and supported as such. Interventions that occur in parallel and/or in a holistic, integrated manner are likely to be more successful than interventions at only one level.

Box 10 Multi-scale planning processes that may be required to adequately address pastoral issues

Planning and implementation approaches to better manage resources peacefully need to be considered at multiple scales including:

- Negotiation and planning at local, village and district levels to resolve local land-use conflicts and tenure issues (including livestock corridors);
- Higher-level regional or county and national planning and support of appropriate state authorities to reach agreement on how a region/county and country's resources can be shared most effectively between different land uses and to ensure coordination with respect to transhumance corridors that cross multiple jurisdictions;
- Cross-boundary regional planning and support across clusters of countries by regional bodies negotiating with appropriate state authorities to reach agreement on how a region's resources can be shared most effectively between different land users and to ensure coordination with respect to transhumance corridors that cross multiple jurisdictions including country boundaries;
- Adequate pastoralist representation (including participation) and accountability measures at all levels, ensuring that final plans are subject to checks and agreement with pastoral representatives; and
- Inclusive, multistakeholder monitoring to continuously and systematically monitor the implementation of plans against social, development and environmental standards.

Source: Adapted from FAO 2016

7. Service delivery in areas prone to conflict

Projects can be designed in ways to promote peacebuilding. Co-management of development projects (getting stakeholders from diverse groups working together), enhancing communication opportunities (e.g. through radio networks and transportation routes) and establishing shared public and animal services are some examples. Sports activities such as soccer matches have been shown to be an acceptable starting point for discussions and activities involving the youth. Theatre has proved to be a less confrontational way of discussing sensitive matters. Further, service delivery projects can be designed specifically to promote peace, which can be particularly important in areas that have seen conflict or protracted crises.

Projects that support improvements in infrastructure and service delivery should not only be designed to prevent harm, but also can be designed to promote peace. Some key issues to think about include:

- The need for an indepth conflict and governance analysis prior to planning and implementation in order to, amongst other, guide the design of service delivery initiatives.
- Accountability plays a central role in service delivery. Yet, external aid can have the effect of diluting the state's accountability for essential services and even weakening the governance framework over the long term. Misplaced paternalism on the part of the international community risks displacing governments' policy making responsibilities and stalling the evolution of governance institutions that are at the core of sustainable development.
- Access constraints and problems need to be understood and interventions designed to improve them.

- Services need to be provided in a manner that does not cause any further conflict between land users, or harm to local governance and other social systems. For example, favouring one group over another without due consultations and rationale can be one way of creating conflict.
- Service delivery projects can serve as focal point for connecting different (perhaps previously conflicting) actors together for a common purpose and cooperation, and so likely strengthening relations between them i.e. **connectors**. However, they should not be seen as a replacement for also tackling or defusing the root causes of conflict and their different manifestations and service delivery should be designed to target these causes e.g. competition over water.
- Service delivery should be designed to reduce competition and divisions between adversarial groups i.e. reduce **dividers**.
- Mechanisms and safeguards need to ensure that resources provided are not redirected for war, or free-up other resources for war.

8. Rebuilding, strengthening or establishing positive relationships in conflicts

Where conflicts in pastoral areas have deep roots, are endemic, and have become extremely hostile, a process of reconciliation and relationship building is likely to be a necessary component of project/programme interventions. Tasks are likely to include:

- Establishing a willingness to engage among all groups and/or actors by for example understanding the different needs, interests and positions of the groups and identifying a common interest e.g. resolving the conflict.
- Creating understanding across groups on the challenges and issues, and potential solutions and opportunities with barriers or hurdles to these.
- Rebuilding trust between groups for long term solutions.
- Defining the role of different groups including the state in implementing the solutions.

Development agencies and organisations can play an important role in bringing the different groups and/or actors together in a neutral space to discuss and start building these relations. They can also provide the different groups with information that helps more informed and balanced decision making. IFAD normally has a trusted relationship with government, that can help to facilitate this. Further, development interventions themselves can be designed to purposively contribute to relationship building both in terms of taking pressure off communities in stressful environments, and through including activities that bring different actors and groups to work together for a common goal or output such as building a water point: the act of building the water point together can be a time for the different actors and groups to talk in a neutral environment, share their views and perspectives and hopefully build some empathy for these, making it easier to come to agreement.

An example of an intervention that sought to do this is in Nigeria is the USAID-funded project *Engaging Communities for Peace Nigeria*, led by Mercy Corps with local partner Pastoral Resolve. The program sought to prevent violent conflict between farmer and pastoralist communities through three main interventions: (1) strengthening the capacity of local leaders to resolve disputes inclusively and sustainably, including training and coaching them in interest-based negotiation and mediation; (2) building trust by facilitating opportunities for people to collaborate across conflict lines on quick-impact projects and natural resource management initiatives that addressed shared needs; and (3) fostering engagement among community leaders and local authorities to prevent conflict through joint violence prevention planning as well as information sharing around conflict triggers and violent incidents. An evaluation of the project found that intergroup contact and trust between farmer and pastoralist communities increased or was maintained more than in non-intervention sites; perceptions of security increased significantly more in project communities than in non-project communities; and direct participants' attitudes and behaviors improved and later spread to the wider community (Mercy Corps, 2019).

9. Supporting actions to improve the enabling environment for peaceful resource use

UN agencies play a key role in addressing structural inequity and in promoting the recognition of multiple rights-holders. IFAD's mandate includes acting as a catalyst for bringing partners together and supporting advocacy and knowledge for policy. IFAD has supported pastoral networks advocating for appropriate drylands land use and greater voice for pastoralists including the Farmers Forum, FAO-Pastoralist Knowledge Hub (PKH) and the World Initiative for Sustainable Pastoralism (WISP) coordinated by IUCN (International Union for Conservation of Nature).

Important tasks for project designers include ensuring that agreed policies and processes are followed by project partners. These will include IFAD's Social, Environmental and Climate Assessment Procedures (SECAP) (currently being updated),¹ as well as IFAD's policy on Indigenous Peoples, World Bank safeguards (operational policy 14.2 on avoiding resettlement), free, prior and informed consent (FPIC), the Pastoralism Minimum Standards (already mentioned) and the Responsible Agricultural Investment principles defined by a consortium including IFAD, FAO, UNCTAD and the World Bank (2010). There is also the Do No Harm methodology to consider as previously mentioned.

In many pastoralist areas responsibilities for land issues have been decentralised to district level authorities. Strengthening the capacity of local governments and local organisations to address the unequal levels of security over land tenure and natural resource access for pastoralists is an important task for projects wanting to prevent conflicts. Pastoralist customary systems can be overturned by national government or the private sector, who may seek to exploit weaknesses in customary pastoral tenure or enforce statutory tenure. Women will often be the most marginalised, however it should not be assumed that women will be better off, particularly in the long term, from individual tenure for example. Rather, collective tenure if well-functioning, can offer equal if not, more secure tenure as long as the collective itself has strong tenure security. Changes at national levels can impact the context for interventions at the local level, and projects need to be aware of this and address as appropriate (see Box 11).

Box 11 IFAD interventions at local level in response to conflicts arising from national level reforms

In Kyrgyzstan the process of pasture reform unexpectedly resurrected a number of long lasting conflicts over pasture territories between neighbouring *aiyl okmotys* (rural municipality administrations). The Agriculture Investments and Services Project, Kyrgyzstan, helped to resolve these conflicts by demarcating boundaries around pastures and preventing potential conflicts associated with the use of the pasture areas. Public disclosure and dispute resolution mechanisms were established at local and national levels to settle disagreements between and among the administrations over boundaries and user rights (ILC, undated).

Indeed, there are considerable risks associated with strengthening governance of pastoralist tenure using formal legal processes. The allocation of formal rights over what was governed previously through customary tenure of land and resources can lead to those rights being lost and the important collective nature of land and resource use disintegrating. This has been clearly seen in Kenya where pastoralists were forced by government in the 1960s to privatise their lands and set up group ranches, with land titles provided. This created a whole set of governance and management problems including women losing out, and led to many group ranches dissolving with the land further carved up into individual titles and later sold. What had been a productive rangeland was broken up into increasingly unproductive individual pieces compromising not only the pastoral production system but the ability of wildlife to survive there. This has continued to be a root cause of land use conflicts in the area.

As indicated above, IFAD is well placed to positively contribute and influence more enabling policies and legislation for such as securing tenure and good governance. This is not only at national level, but also regionally. Working with regional economic communities or similar regional bodies can be important in this regard.

¹ The most recent draft of SECAP (2019) states that projects are considered high risk if "the adverse social impacts of the project, and the associated mitigation measures, may give rise to significant social conflict or harm or significant risks to human security" and if "the project is being developed in a legal or regulatory environment where there is significant uncertainty or conflict as to jurisdiction of competing agencies, or where the legislation or regulations do not adequately address the risks and impacts of complex projects, or changes to applicable legislation are being made, or enforcement is weak."

10. Concluding remarks

Working in pastoral areas, and particularly where there are conflict issues, is challenging. Conflicts can take many manifestations, though the root causes are often the same including marginalisation of and bias towards pastoralists, loss of authority of customary institutions, insecurity of tenure to land and resources, poor land use planning processes, among other. The proliferation of arms and increased stresses and shocks in pastoral areas due to such as climate change have aggravated the situation. Sometimes conflicts can be latent looking calm on the surface but still unresolved underneath. These only require a disturbance such as a badly positioned water point to trigger a conflict between local pastoral groups, or establishing an irrigation scheme for farmers in what were pastoral dry season grazing areas to cause conflicts between farmers and pastoralists. As such immense care is required when developing and planning interventions in pastoral areas, and it is highly recommended that a comprehensive conflict analysis is carried out during design. At the very least interventions should 'do no harm' to the context and not stir up, trigger or start conflicts. More positively, interventions can be designed to build peace through developing common goals and positive relations between different stakeholders. It is anticipated that this How To Do Note has provided some guidance on these issues. The authors would be happy to receive feedback and suggested improvements.

Annex 1: Additional resources and further reading

IFAD

The IFAD *How To Do Land tenure in IFAD Country Strategies (RB-COSOP)* provides clear guidance on the review process for land issues that are a part of the preparation of the Result Based Country Strategic Opportunities Programme (RB-COSOP). They include the need to identify pastoral land issues by looking at existing regional and national legislation that promotes customary tenure and resource rights access (IFAD, 2014c).

The IFAD *HTDN on Participatory Land Use Planning - Land Tenure Toolkit*, although not specifically focused on pastoralism, does cover rangelands and contains detailed guidance on the steps involved in participatory land use planning. Examples of tools and methods for collecting and analysing data are given in Step 3, and specifically Table 2. Guidance on how to undertake participatory mapping of land uses and resources is also provided; as are details of further reading, manuals and good practice (IFAD, 2014b).

IFAD's *Indigenous People Country Technical Notes* (see for example those produced for Kenya and Tanzania in 2012) clarify IFAD's approach for engagement with indigenous people. These two Technical Notes contain very useful annexes on indigenous pastoralists - with details on their land rights, history and anthropology - that can help explain the context of land use conflicts.

CDA (Collaborative Learning Projects)

Do No Harm is a methodology designed to ensure that development interventions 'do no harm' to the context in which they are operating, including not causing or influencing conflict.

Do No Harm Trainer's Manual (2018) J. Neumann and W. Heinrich. Germany: KURVE Heinrich. Internet: <https://www.ziviler-friedensdienst.org/sites/ziviler-friedensdienst.org/files/anhang/publikation/zfd-do-no-harm-trainers-manual-72453.pdf>

CDA (2018) *Do No Harm: A Brief Introduction from CDA*. Internet: <https://www.cdacollaborative.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/Do-No-Harm-A-Brief-Introduction-from-CDA.pdf>

European Union and UNEP

Toolkit and Guidance for Preventing and Managing Land and Natural Resources Conflict. Land and Conflict. EU UN Partnership 2012

https://www.un.org/en/land-natural-resources-conflict/pdfs/GN_ExeS_Land%20and%20Conflict.pdf

To improve capacity for land and NRM and conflict prevention, the EU partnered with the UN Framework Team to develop and implement a multi agency project focused on building capacity to prevent land and natural resources from contributing to violent conflict. The first outcome was an inventory of tools and a set of four guidance notes – including this one on Land and Conflict, as well as one on Strengthening Capacity for Conflict-Sensitive NRM. A second outcome is a series of training modules for UN and EU staff in country offices and local partners.

Food and Agriculture Organization

Improving governance of pastoral lands: Implementing the Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forests in the context of national food security. Governance of tenure: Technical guide. FAO, Rome, Italy. 2016 151pp

<http://www.fao.org/3/a-i5771e.pdf>

The FAO Governance of Tenure Technical Guides are part of FAO's initiative to help develop capacities to improve tenure governance. They are prepared by technical specialists and can be used by a range of actors. They translate principles of the Guidelines into practical mechanisms, processes and actions; give examples of good practice – what has worked, where, why and how; and provide useful tools for activities such as the design of policy and reform processes, for the design of investment projects and for guiding interventions. This Tenure Technical Guide for pastoral lands provides guidance specifically targeting pastoral areas. Note: Action Area 2 (Avoid and manage conflict) has been used extensively as the framework for the second section of this HTDN.

GTZ

Land Conflicts: A practical guide to dealing with land disputes. 2008 Babette Wehrmann 121pp

<https://glt.net/2012/09/18/gtz-land-conflicts-a-practical-guide-to-dealing-with-land-disputes-eng-2008/>

A wide ranging report that aims to broaden understanding of the complexity of causes that lead to land conflicts in order to provide for better targeted ways of addressing such conflicts. It also provides a number of tools with which to analyse land conflicts. Successful analysis of land conflicts is seen as a vital step towards their eventual settlement.

GIZ

Understanding, preventing and solving land conflicts: A practical guide and toolbox 156pp 2017

<https://www.esrc-net.org/sites/default/files/landconflictsguide-web-20170413.pdf>

Authored by Babette Wehrmann, this guide has been written for all those practitioners who are confronted with land conflicts in the course of their work or are in a position to prevent them and/or include land governance as one pillar in post-conflict policies. It aims to broaden the understanding of the complexity of causes that lead to land conflicts in order to provide for better-targeted ways of addressing such conflicts. It also provides a number of tools with which to analyse land disputes. Successful analysis is seen as a vital step towards their eventual settlement. In addition, this guidebook discusses a wide variety of options and tools for settling ongoing land conflicts and for preventing new ones. The guide also includes a chapter on the role of land in (violent) conflict and peace building and presents a broad range of good practices from a project level.

International Land Coalition

Women's Land Rights Toolkit ILC, 28pp 2016

<https://www.landcoalition.org/en/regions/global/resources/womens-land-rights-toolkit>

Contains information on five tools that have been used to promote, protect and strengthen women's land rights – including the use of Family Land Rights and Lineage Tree which helps identify customary tenure when women are impacted by the death of their husband. Although not specific to pastoralism, this toolkit has clear guidance and links to many other useful sources.

Mercy Corps

Peace and Conflict Sector Approach (April 2016). 14pp

<https://www.mercycorps.org/sites/default/files/PeaceAndConflictSectorApproach.pdf>

This brief document provides a clear explanation of degradation of natural resources impeding livelihoods among farmers and pastoralists in Nigeria and Ethiopia, with conflicts incited by cattle raids and grabs. Mercy Corps' systems approach identifies how disruption in one system creates conflict in another, and therefore economic development programs are introduced to reduce the competition for scarce resources – creating mutually beneficial economic ties. Details on frameworks and tools - including Do No Harm, the Relationship Mapping Tool and the Conflict and Resource Mapping Tool - are also provided.

Namati

The organisation Namati (Innovations in Legal Empowerment) provides a number of useful sources on transforming oral customary norms and practices into written rules including: Drafting by-laws for good governance of community lands and natural resources, Namati 2016 available at

<https://namati.org/resources/chapter-drafting-by-laws-for-good-governance-of-community-lands-and-natural-resources/> See also: *Strengthening Community Governance of Land and Natural Resources: The Content of the Bylaws* 8pp Namati 2016; *Ensuring the participation of women and minority groups*; and *Strengthening the land rights of women and minority groups*.

Safer world

Integrated Conflict Prevention and Resilience Handbook 64pp 2018

<https://www.christianaid.org.uk/sites/default/files/2018-06/Conflict-Prevention-Handbook-June-2018.pdf>

Produced by Saferworld on behalf of a consortium of agencies, the purpose of the guide is to support agencies to strengthen community resilience more effectively in conflict-affected contexts by providing step-by-step guidance on how to integrate a conflict-sensitive approach into pre-existing and commonly-applied resilience-strengthening methodologies. It was developed as part of the DFID funded Linking Preparedness, Response and Resilience in complex contexts (LPRR) projects.

UNEP and UNDP

Natural Resources and Conflict – A guide for mediation practitioners. UN Department of Political Affairs and UNEP, 2015 106pp

<https://www.unenvironment.org/resources/report/natural-resources-and-conflict-guide-mediation-practitioners>

The primary audience for this guide is mediation professionals and supporting institutions involved in localized or transboundary natural resource dispute, or those engaged in peace processes where natural resources play a critical role. The guide collects and summarizes good practices on the successful mediation of resource conflicts. It also features lessons learned from UNEP's work on environmental diplomacy in different conflict-affected countries, with a particular focus on how to use impartial technical knowledge to equalize stakeholder information in a mediation process.

UNEP

From Conflict to Peace building: The Role of Natural Resources and the Environment. UNEP 2009

<http://wedocs.unep.org/handle/20.500.11822/7867>

Research suggests that over the last sixty years at least forty per cent of all intrastate conflicts have a link to natural resources. Civil wars such as those in Liberia, Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo centred on high-value resources like timber, diamonds, gold, minerals and oil. Other conflicts, including those in Darfur and the Middle East, have involved control of scarce resources such as fertile land and water. The case study on Darfur demonstrates how a combination of factors created the conditions that make violence an option for young pastoralist men – recruited as militias to fight proxy wars where they are able to raid cattle.

USAID

The Land Conflict Prevention Handbook USAID, 2012 21pp

<https://www.land-links.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Module-2-Land-and-Conflict-Prevention-Handbook-Freudenberger.pdf>

This powepoint presentation for the meeting on *Best Practices for Land Tenure and Natural Resource Governance in Africa* held in Monrovia, Liberia October 2012 is a useful summary of the process for understanding land-related conflict, and options for mitigating conflict and preventing violence. Although high level and wide ranging it puts forward a clear four step process that covers **scoping** (conflict analysis), **assessment** (participatory data collection, stakeholder analysis tools, assessing legal and institutional frameworks, relevant factors in prospects for change) **proposing response options** (including process and substantive measures), and **ensuring effective roles**.

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