

CONCORDIS INTERNATIONAL

SOCIAL COHESION AND INFRASTRUCTURE CARTOGRAPHY IN OUHAM PENDÉ



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Executive Summary

Through a series of maps, the cartography exercise funded by the UN Peacebuilding Fund and conducted by Concordis in the first half of 2022 as implementing partner to the FAO portrays the state of infrastructure related to transhumance across the prefecture of Ouham Pendé and makes recommendations that address conflict between herders and farmers around transhumance.

Concordis worked with communities involved in and affected by transhumance. Transhumant herders, semi-settled and settled communities identified infrastructure around transhumance specific to their route or location – what works, what no longer works and what would be most critical to reduce conflict around transhumance.

Used well, the maps will be a robust reference for targeting future funding and activities around infrastructure to support peaceful transhumance. Concordis has already used the data to inform proposals for repairing and restoring infrastructure including wells, markets, multifunctional livestock parks and cassava drying areas.

As the maps and report illustrate, this repair and restoration is much needed. The report includes clear recommendations common to all areas of Ouham Pendé for improved access to water, the restoration of infrastructure to maintain and improve livestock health, improved infrastructure around markets and the potential to reduce gender-based violence by reducing the distance women need to travel to reach agro-pastoral infrastructure. It makes specific geographic and technical infrastructure recommendations for the sub-prefectures of Ngaoundaye, Paoua, Bocaranga & Kouï, Bozoum & Bossemptele.

The report places the recommendations in the context of transhumance in Ouham Pendé, historical and current. It describes the origins of transhumance in the Central African Republic and the creation of interdependent relations between herders and farmers. It references the impact of the 2012 / 2013 crisis, which left settled communities fearful of and defensive towards transhumant herders and which displaced and stigmatised herders, undermining the trade and mutually beneficial relations that had long enabled peaceful transhumance. Delivering on the recommendations would be a strong step towards realising the potential for peaceful transhumance described in the report.

The report draws on findings from Concordis' consultations in Ouham Pendé in 2019 and 2021¹ which amplified the voices of settled, semi-settled and transhumant communities, setting out their lived experience, hopes and fears regarding transhumance. Findings include information on how transhumants select their routes and the impact of changes to routes on all communities.

Findings from the earlier consultations are combined with learning from the cartography exercise in the report to provide maps, narrative and insights for each key area of infrastructure.

Access to water is a pressing infrastructure challenge for settled, semi-settled and transhumant communities. Given the potential for conflict around access to water, communities see the rehabilitation and maintenance of waterpoints as part of the state's security provision. Those with access to rivers and other natural sources report barriers including cultivation and contamination, but the major issues are faced by communities who depend on boreholes and wells, including pastoral wells for livestock, for their water. Almost all communities report unreliable or broken **infrastructure around**

¹ These and other Concordis reports can be accessed at <https://www.concordisinternational.com/centralafricanrepublic>

water and make suggestions for its repair or restoration which they say would reduce conflict and improve relations between farmers and herders.

The absence of veterinary services, including veterinary pharmacies, sub-posts and vaccination parks, is a concern for both settled and transhumant communities. Almost all communities report that services are non-existent or unreliable. Herders are willing to pay taxes for the provision of **infrastructure around cattle health** including vaccination and other veterinary services, while settled communities want transhumants' livestock treated to prevent cross-border contamination affecting their own animals. Restoring infrastructure around cattle health will provide incentives for herders to use agreed corridors and border crossings where this can be accessed and the resulting revenue from taxation will be important for building infrastructure including state institutions. The report provides insights on perceptions of state institutions supporting agricultural development and cattle health: the services of ACDA, ANDE and FNEC have been much missed since the crisis: although all three are gradually restoring services to Ouham Pendé, this restored presence is not yet recognised by the majority of those who spoke to Concordis in 2022.

Infrastructure around herding, including cattle pens (enclosures) and pastoral wells (puits pastorales), is almost all reported as destroyed or damaged. Repairing and restoring this infrastructure is important not only to reduce conflict around trampled crops and water for livestock but also to restore economic activity through functioning cattle pens at cattle markets.

90% of herders say they buy farming produce at least once a week and 90% of farmers say selling to transhumants is important for their livelihoods, demonstrating the importance of **infrastructure around trade**. This is underlined by findings from the 2019 and 2021 consultations that trade between settled and transhumant communities forms a socially cohesive, economically symbiotic relationship that contributes to peaceful transhumance. The report highlights the need for easy and safe access to markets, particularly for women, and for better infrastructure at the markets, including sheds and stalls for the display of goods.

Cassava drying areas are most mentioned by those naming **infrastructure to support a peaceful co-existence**. The report details why this is so and examines categories of infrastructure communities recommend resourcing. It is striking that herders and farmers also recommend improvements to the other's key infrastructure: when considering what is necessary for a peaceful co-existence, each recognises the benefit of the other having the infrastructure needed for their livelihood. This is a marked change from the much more adversarial relationships between herders and farmers described in the 2019 consultations, before four years of intensive peacebuilding work by Concordis with the herding and farming communities.

The report includes information gathered during the cartography exercise on **security and conflict around transhumance**, supplemented with learning from the 2019 and 2021 consultations. Sustainable security requires infrastructure including veterinary services, vaccination parks and fully functioning waterpoints. Linked to access to water, communities agree that a mechanism for resolving disputes over shared natural resources – together with one for informing local communities of the arrival of herders – is an overriding priority. Advisory Groups established after the 2019 consultation are widely recognised for their role in preventing and resolving conflicts. Sources of conflict captured in the cartography exercise are set out in the report: while not all would be solved by improved infrastructure, most will be reduced if the report's recommendations are realised.

Data collected shows that **gender based violence** (GBV) is not always inflicted by people from outside the survivor's community. The correlations between cases of GBV committed outside the home and a lack of agro-pastoral infrastructure, however, are striking: the data suggests that the restoration and renovation of this infrastructure, in particular safe access to waterpoints, would reduce incidences of GBV and increase the likelihood of peaceful transhumance in Ouham Pendé.

Recommendations for Infrastructure: Common Priorities and Priorities by Area

Recommendations common to all areas

1. **Increase access to water.** Lack of water is a daily challenge for both herding and settled communities and a driver of conflict. People and animals need separate places to access drinking water, free from obstacles that block or make reaching these hazardous. Repairing broken boreholes and constructing more in places that need them is recommended to provide a secure and adequate source of water for each community. Provision of separate access to water points for people and livestock is also recommended.
2. **Restore infrastructure to maintain and improve livestock health.** There is a lack of veterinary services, including veterinary posts, clinics and pharmacies, in all areas covered by this programme. Restoration of these services to give adequate access in all areas is recommended. The restoration of vaccination parks across all areas is also recommended. The provision of infrastructure for livestock health must be accompanied by the provision of materials for use with this infrastructure: veterinary services need medications and vaccination parks need vaccines.
3. **Improve infrastructure around and access to markets.** The lack of easy, safe access to markets is a barrier to trade. Building markets in sufficient locations for each community to have easy, safe access is recommended. The provision of infrastructure that improves access to markets, including mobile phone coverage, road and bridge maintenance and improved public transport, and of infrastructure at markets, including market stalls (“etalage”) that prevent sellers having to put goods on the floor, is also recommended.
4. **Reduce the distance women need to travel to reach agro-pastoral infrastructures.** There is a correlation between the absence of agro-pastoral infrastructures and the presence of gender-based violence and physical violence. Most victims of GBV outside the home are violated on their way to markets, water points and the fields they farm. The restoration and provision of agro-pastoral infrastructure is recommended to reduce the distance women need to travel to this infrastructure and hence reduce the incidence of GBV outside the home.

Recommendations in Ngaoundaye

1. **Repair and construct boreholes and wells.** Although the community around Ngaoundaye prioritises other infrastructure to improve relations between herders and farmers, the map of water structures in Ouham Pendé shows there are no working boreholes or wells in the northwest (Mann, Mbere, Kollo, Ngaoundaye) and northeast (Nzamari, Toulao) of the sub-prefecture. It is recommended that wells are repaired or constructed in these locations and wells in the centre of the sub-prefecture (Mbai Deng, Mbai Bere) are maintained to ensure they continue to function.
2. **Provide more infrastructure around veterinary services, particularly at the border.** There is only one fully functioning vaccination park around Ngaoundaye. The restoration to full function of the vaccination park on the border at Mbere is strongly recommended: transhumant and settled

communities call for livestock to be vaccinated when entering CAR. As veterinary services in the area are not working well, it is recommended that those in Mbere and Ngaoundaye are restored and that additional veterinary services are provided in the area between Ngaoundaye and Pougol. Restoring a recognised presence of FNEC, ACDA and ANDE across the sub-prefecture is crucial in this border area: FNEC and ACDA are present but not recognised as such by those interviewed, while an ANDE presence is noted despite an actual lack of presence. It is also recommended that local veterinary agents advise on whether existing facilities to treat livestock for ticks are sufficient for the area or if more need to be constructed to ensure all livestock, including livestock crossing the border, are treated.

3. **Restore infrastructure around regular and livestock markets.** It is recommended that markets at Ngaoundaye and Mbere are repaired, together with the livestock market at Mbere. A decision by local authorities is needed on whether the livestock market at Mann is restored or if the Mbere market is adequate for this area. No fully functioning cattle pens (enclosures for confining livestock) are reported in the area: it is recommended that the one in Mbere is repaired as a priority, as this is near the border and a livestock market, and that those in Kowone, Mann and Ngaoundaye are reconstructed.

Recommendations in Bocaranga & Kouï

1. **Repair and construct boreholes and wells.** The repair of broken boreholes or wells is recommended in Bezere, Bokombissi, Herba, Kouï, Koumpala, Mbinaye, Mbotoga, Ngoutéré and Tollé. The construction of new boreholes or wells is recommended in Bocaranga, Bokombissi, Herba, Kouï, Loura, Ngoutéré and Tollé. Every pastoral well around Bocaranga and Kouï noted in interviews was reported to be out of service: it is recommended that these are repaired or re-dug to give sufficient watering places for livestock.
2. **Provide more widespread infrastructure around veterinary services.** The restocking of the veterinary position in Ngoutéré (*requested in focus group, not shown on map*) and repair of the veterinary pharmacies in Bocaranga and Loura is recommended. Most communities request a veterinary pharmacy in their village: it is recommended that more are opened in or around Bezere and Mbotoga to ensure all communities have one within walking distance. The repair of the vaccination parks in Bezere, Bokombissi and Ngoutéré is recommended. Other communities also request a vaccination park and checks should be done to make sure these repairs will give sufficient capacity and ease of access to allow the vaccination of all livestock. More pharmacy and veterinary representatives are recommended: a veterinary position in Mbotoga, the presence of FNEC agents east and south of Bocaranga where none is noted, including consideration of repairing the FNEC building in Loura. Action is recommended to make sure existing ACDA and ANDE presence across the sub prefectures is recognised: ANDE presence is requested in Bezere and Kouï, despite an ANDE technician being present in nearby Bocaranga.
3. **Restore infrastructure around regular and livestock markets.** It is recommended that both regular and livestock markets between Bocaranga and Belé (at Koumpala, Loura, Bokombissi, Koun-mbam) are repaired and furnished so that they can function fully and that the livestock

markets at Belaka and Mbotoga are restored. Those in the south west prioritise the need for cattle pens almost as highly as animal health and markets (and higher than in any other sub-prefecture) – it is recommended that cattle pens in Koumpala, Lima camp (Bocaranga), Loura, Mbodala and Mbotoga are reconstructed and that those in Bezere, Bocaranga and Dewa are repaired.

4. **Improve access to markets.** Those questioned in Kouï did not list the repair of bridges as a priority for peace, but it is recommended that the bridges at Sangoldoro and Dewa are strengthened and repaired to ensure they are not a barrier to trade between communities that improves social cohesion.

Recommendations in Bozoum & Bossemptele

1. **Repair and construct boreholes and wells.** The repair of broken boreholes or wells is recommended in Badali, Boyabane, Kokol (market) and Pompey. The construction of new boreholes or wells is recommended in Badali, Bouforo, Boyabane and Taley. Pastoral wells in Badali and Bougango are not working and the pastoral well in Boyabane is reported as damaged: it is recommended that all three are repaired or redug to give sufficient watering places for livestock.
2. **Provide more infrastructure around veterinary services.** The restoration of veterinary services, including a veterinary post and pharmacy, is recommended at Badali, Bouforo, Boyabane, Kokol and Taley. Sufficient vaccination parks to ensure adequate capacity and ease of access to allow the vaccination of all livestock is recommended, to supplement the working vaccination park at Bougango: parks could be sited at Boyabane, Kokol and Taley, making use of sites abandoned since the crisis. Steps to increase awareness of the presence of FNEC, ANDE and ACDA across the sub-prefecture is recommended: Bozoum has FNEC, ACDA and an ANDE technician, but those interviewed report the lack of presence everywhere except Bougango. The issue may be the capacity of agents to travel and the likelihood of the security situation enabling this.
3. **Restore infrastructure around regular and livestock markets.** No markets around Bozoum are described as working well. It is recommended that markets at Badali, Boyabane, Bouforo, Koundé, Kokol and Taley are repaired or refurbished so that they are fully functional. This would involve, for example, erecting sheds and places for sellers to display their produce other than on the floor in Boyabane market. Cattle pens need to be repaired at Bougango or Bouforo (so there is one close to Bouforo market) and reconstructed at Badali, Bavara, Bétara, Boyabane and Taley.
4. **Improve access to markets.** Bridges are reported damaged at Badali and Bétara. It is recommended that the one at Badali is repaired to improve access to the regular and livestock markets and that local authorities decide if repairing the bridge at Bétara is also a priority.

Recommendations in Paoua

1. **Repair and construct boreholes and wells.** The repair of broken boreholes or wells is recommended in Benamkor and Gouzé. The construction of new boreholes or wells is

recommended in Bedaya, Bavara, Belé, Benamkor, Biakombo 2 camp, Gouzé, Poubaindji camp, Pougol and on the corridor between Bemal and Bedaya. The pastoral well at Benamkor is one of only three in the whole prefecture of Ouham Pendé reported as working: it is recommended that those reported as not working in Bemal, Pougol, Paoua, Gounzé, Poubaindji and Gouzé are repaired or re-dug to give sufficient watering places for livestock.

- 2. Provide infrastructure around veterinary services.** Veterinary services are needed across the sub-prefecture of Paoua. Veterinary pharmacies are recommended to give easy access to those in Bemal, Bedaya, Belé, Benamkor, Bleat, Gouzé, Poubaindji camp and Pougol: while every community requests a local pharmacy, it may be sufficient for transhumants to have access to two or three on a corridor and for settled communities to have one within walking distance. The repair of vaccination parks in Bleat, Pougol and construction of vaccination parks in Bedaya and Bavara are requested: this would seem likely to give adequate access across the sub-prefecture. Steps to increase awareness of the presence of FNEC, ANDE and ACDA across the sub-prefecture is recommended: Paoua has FNEC, ACDA and an ANDE technician, but those interviewed report the lack of presence everywhere in the sub-prefecture. This may reflect the lack of capacity of agents to travel - the Paoua Chef Sector lost their motorcycle in an armed group attack - and the challenges of the security situation in allowing this.
- 3. Restore infrastructure around regular and livestock markets.** It is recommended that regular markets at Bedaya, Benamkor, Gouzé and Paoua are repaired and refurbished, for example in Gouzé building sheds for butchers to display meat for sale. Livestock markets should also be repaired at Bedaya, Belé, Benamkor, Gounzé, Paoua, Pougol, Poubaindji camp and Zara. Note that, although communities report both regular and livestock markets at Bemal as working, the markets still need work to prevent the sheds and display areas being pulled down by heavy rains. Cattle pens on the Bemal-Paoua axis – at Bemal, Bedaya and Paoua – need repairing. Those at Benamkor and Pougol need reconstructing and it is recommended local authorities make a decision on how many cattle pens are needed in the south of the sub-prefecture, to serve livestock markets at Belé, Gounzé and Poubaindji camp.
- 4. Repair the bridge at Paoua.** As noted elsewhere in the report, replacing the main crossing in town with a temporary structure that cannot carry heavier vehicles is a barrier to smooth passage to market. It is recommended that the repair of this bridge be made a priority.

Concordis' approach to the project

Concordis works inclusively and impartially alongside conflict-affected communities, identifying and implementing workable solutions to root causes of conflict.

As part of our peacebuilding, we undertake extensive consultations in the places where we work. The teams move beyond the urban centres and meet people where the conflict is fought and felt, in villages and on cattle corridors.

This consultation engaged 785 people:

- 493 in focus groups: 292 through individual questionnaires
- 229 women: 556 men
- 371 from the settled population (47%): 414 herders (53%) including 183 foreign transhumants and 231 semi-nomads
- The 292 individual questionnaires included 51 foreign transhumants, 91 semi-nomads and 150 farmers. 98 respondents were women

Definitions: Foreign transhumants bring their cattle across an international border during the seasonal migration, semi-nomads move their cattle within CAR during the seasonal migration.

The Concordis team was made up of 3 Program Officers, 1 Senior Program Officer and a Program Manager.

The team used a combination of key informant interviews, individual questionnaires and focus groups to build both quantitative and qualitative datasets.

These were used to glean a nuanced understanding of the conflict dynamics, disaggregated by gender, age, ethnicity and place, and to understand the opportunities that exist to build social cohesion and economic prosperity, to mutual benefit.

At the same time, the team geolocated and mapped infrastructure relating to transhumance that was present, broken or reported as being needed.

142 pieces of infrastructure were identified, recorded, geo-located and photographed.

To analyse the results, the team produced a series of maps, including overlaying the mapping of conflict dynamics over maps of infrastructure that was present, absent or broken. These combined maps were used to demonstrate where and what infrastructure should be provided as a matter of priority, to address drivers of conflict and promote lasting social cohesion.

This report was prepared for the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO).

This and similar reports can be found at: <https://www.concordisinternational.com/centralafricanrepublic>

A note on the cartographic form: as only the localities visited by the field teams are presented, maps are not intended for general use but only in the context of the research conducted. Major roads and rivers are

shown as well as international and prefectural borders. The analysis of the findings references the sub-prefectures of Ouham Pendé² as shown below.

The sub-prefectures of Ouham Pendé³



² This report refers to Ouham Pendé as it existed prior to its 2022 division into two prefectures, Lim Pendé and Ouham Pendé

³ (Source: https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fichier:Ouham-Pende_sub-prefectures.png
<https://reliefweb.int/map/central-african-republic/r-publique-centrafricaine-ouham-pende-24-janvier-2014>)

Context:

Historical context of transhumance in Ouham Pendé

Central African Republic (CAR) has a long history of coexistence, especially between migratory groups and settled communities. The territory is composed of savannah drylands (92%), where environmental inputs for food production are highly variable. Animal breeding (pastoralism) and farming are food production systems that have adapted well in CAR to this variability by adopting complementary seasonal mobility (transhumance in herding and shifting agriculture in farming).

While for centuries people in the area have moved their livestock in response to seasonally influenced changes in their environment, a major shift occurred in the 1920s, when the French colonial administration began attracting Mbororo Peulh herdsman from neighbouring colonies to Ubangi-Shari, as CAR was then called, to supply the colony with meat.⁴ These early transboundary herders arrived via Ouham Pendé, a natural entry point from neighbouring Cameroon. Since then, these herders have been finding ways to coexist, to mutual benefit, with farmers in the region, exchanging meat, milk and manure for salt and farming produce such as millet, sorghum, manioc, vegetables and groundnuts.⁵

The relationship is also one in which conflict management has been vital. Conflicts are inevitable when, for example, a cow strays from its herd at night and tramples fields a local farmer had been cultivating and whose produce was a source of survival.

A formal attempt to reduce such conflicts was established in the 1960s by segregating the land, creating administrative districts or communes (*communes d'élevage*) in which only pastoralism is permitted (Bonnet et al., 2017). There is debate about whether this zoning is still fit for purpose, or indeed whether it has ever been fully respected.

In the past, relations between herders and farmers were more interdependent as seen through significant interactions among livelihood groups, with sharing of labour, mutual trade, renting out oxen for ploughing, grazing cattle on fallow lands and crop stubble, and manuring crop lands. Relations between transhumant herders and settled communities have come under particularly severe strain since the violence of 2012 and ensuing *coup d'état* (Betabelet et al., 2015; Ankogui-Mpoko and Vircoulon, 2018). Driven by claims of neglect and marginalisation in the northern borderlands, particularly among Muslim communities, the Séléka rebellion was viewed as targeting Christian ethnic groups along with government institutions. In response, former police forces and settled communities mounted local self-defence groups that morphed into the Anti-balaka armed group, which, in turn, began targeting Muslim communities, claiming they must have supported or enabled Séléka attacks (Conciliation Resources, 2017). This resulted in a large-scale

⁴ J.B Suchel, "élevage des Bovins République Centrafricaine", *les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer*, Paris, 1967, pastoralism 137. It concerned the Mbororo *legnols* (sub-groups) (Wodaabe, Djaafun, Danedji, Oudda), who were themselves motivated to escape the increasing weight of taxation and control elsewhere.

⁵ Boutrais 1994; Landais and Loste 1990; Bonnet et al. (2017). *Contribution à la relance du dialogue local à Berberati*. Paris: IRAM; FAO-DRC-CRS, *Situation de la transhumance et étude socioanthropologique des populations pastorales après la crise de 2013-2014 en République centrafricaine*, March 2015, p. 9.

flight from the area by Muslim groups, including most Peulh herders, traders and diamond collectors, which had a significant impact on livestock movements and trade (FAO, 2015; Schouten and Kalessopo, 2019). The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) figures showed at the time that 540,000 people were driven out of the country with another 690,000 internally displaced. Ouham Pendé was deeply impacted.

While the uprising took little over a hundred days to overthrow François Bozizé, the new government struggled to exercise political authority or to deliver services outside the capital. In this vacuum, other groups emerged, including Retour, Réclamation et Réhabilitation (3R), established to provide protection to transhumant Peulh herders amid continuing violent incidents resulting in deaths;⁶ two ex-Séléka groups, the Mouvement Patriotique pour la Centrafrique (MPC) and the Front Démocratique du Peuple Centrafricain (FDPC); and Révolution et Justice (RJ), which later divided into two factions, RJ Sayo and RJ Belanga. The 3R has since emerged as the dominant group in the northwest, though its political legitimacy has been sorely eroded amid accusations of war crimes, including the killing of 46 unarmed civilians in Ouham Pendé in May 2019.⁷

Exercising de facto political authority in the areas they controlled, the groups encouraged herders from across CAR's borders to come and make use of the lands previously used by those who had fled or lost their cattle during the crisis. Chadian herders, some of whom had been associated with banditry, commonly known as the *zaraguina* phenomenon (Seignobos, 2011a), moved into the vacated pastures. Often referred to locally as "foreign transhumants", these Chadian herders appear, in part, to originate from the Lake Chad region, where seasonal transhumance has been disrupted by Boko Haram, military operations and security measures including the closing of borders, and harassment from state authorities.⁸ Some of these herders, often well-armed, ignored the transhumance routes established to avoid conflicts, trampled fields, and burned villages in conflict with local communities on their way.

These abuses have left settled communities fearful of and defensive towards transhumant herders more generally, with repercussions for herders who had been active in the area for many years as well as those who, facing a variety of push factors in their home contexts, may be seeking to settle in CAR, or at least to conduct the seasonal migration of their herds in ways that are peaceful and beneficial to stakeholders in the transhumant economy.

⁶ In his paper, "Écosystème des groupes armés en Centrafrique," Thierry Vircoulon observes, "Le mouvement 3 R dirigé par le Peul Sidiki dit avoir trois priorités: protéger la communauté peul et mettre fin à la discrimination dont elle est victime ; le retour des personnes déplacées ; mettre en place dès règles régissant la transhumance" (Vircoulon, 2020, p. 20).

⁷ Human Rights Watch, "Central African Republic: Armed Group Kills 46 Civilians", July 18, 2019.

⁸ They had been hosted in Logone (Cameroon) and Zinder (Niger), but these regions rapidly became overcrowded, and they were forced to seek out new migration routes, which is why many of them progressively pushed their transhumance southwards to the Chad-CAR border region, arriving in Ouham Pendé and Ouham. C. Rangé, *Insécurité dans la région du Lac Tchad : où en est le pastoralisme et comment penser son développement*, FAO-CIRAD, March 2018, pp. 2-3.

In 2018 3R signed agreements with other armed groups that resulted in a temporary halt in armed confrontations, allowing herders who had fled the fighting to return cautiously to Ouham Pendé.

In addition to the settled communities and transhumant pastoralists, Ouham Pendé and western Ouham also hold semi-settled pastoralists, many of whom have returned recently after fleeing during the crisis. Some of the herders coming from Chad are Central African herders displaced because of the conflict.⁹

Amid these complex, fragile relations, a new wave of transhumant herding has emerged in northern CAR within the last 10 years: hired, young herders, traveling without family, often armed and running large herds. Many settled communities spoke of feeling unsafe around these herders, who do not have the welfare of their own family at stake when conflicts arise and lack recourse to the wisdom of older family members or an ardo¹⁰. Their presence creates a very different dynamic from the more traditional ways of conducting transhumance.

Because of their borders with Chad and Cameroon – countries with important pastoral communities that are now experiencing rapid change – Ouham Pendé and Ouham will continue to be a pivot for transhumance. They were a key part of the CAR Government's National Plan for Recovery and the Consolidation of Peace 2017-2021 and remain central to seasonal livestock transhumance.

The potential for peaceful transhumance in Ouham Pendé

The northwesternmost prefecture in CAR, bordering Chad and Cameroon, Ouham Pendé comprises six sub-prefectures and 23 communes. Sub-prefectures include Bozoum, with five communes, Paoua, with eight communes, and Bocaranga, with three communes. Ouham Pendé has about 435,000 permanent residents across a surface area of 32 100 km². In addition to its settled communities, many semi-settled herders and transhumant herders also live in Ouham Pendé for much of the year, although their numbers are hard to estimate.

Ongoing violence has disrupted traditional herding patterns, undermined trade and damaged mutually beneficial relations that have long enabled peaceful transhumance. While 2020 was widely seen as a more peaceful year for transhumance than previous years, 2021 was marked by an upsurge of violence, particularly in the northwest parts of Ouham Pendé, as well as in western Ouham, even as settled and transhumant groups continue to engage with each other through trade and social events.

Yet seasonal herding and farming can offer mutually beneficial production systems.¹¹ Herders understand their dependence on local communities for certain products. Settled communities are aware of the benefits herders can provide as purchasers of their produce and as vendors of meat, milk and, because of their long-range mobility, important secondary supplies including manufactured goods. The two production systems can co-exist if clear agreements are made: herders can pasture on fallow farmlands

⁹ Interview data, also see Archamnaud, L., & Tidjani, I. (2016). *Étude des réalités agricoles et pastorales en Ouham*. London/Bangui: UKAid/Action contre la Faim/DRC/Solidarités;.

¹⁰ An ardo is a leader in the field for a group or camp of Peulh herders. All Peulh herder groups will have an ardo who represents them. The ardo is involved in all decision making by the group. Ardos may agree to travel together in bigger groups. .

¹¹ IPIS/Concordis Promoting peaceful and safe seasonal migration in northern Central African Republic, Results of consultation with transboundary herders semi-settled herders and settled communities in Ouham Pendé and Western Ouham, Antwerp, December 2020. P.70

and fertilise it to the benefit of farmers, as well as providing oxen for traction. Collaboration can make transhumance and arable farming mutually beneficial production systems – increasing herds and crop yields and strengthening livelihoods through commerce. More generally, interdependency between livelihoods is a firm foundation for boosting economic and social interaction, making communities more resilient and increasing the opportunity cost of violence.

Most herders and settled people realise their respective subsistence depends on one another. Almost all settled communities recognise transhumance as integral to their local economy. Many express appreciation for the longstanding symbiotic social and economic relations, with some describing it as ‘vital’ to their welfare.

The understanding above – and the learning that follows – draws on a series of consultations, interviews and focus groups conducted by Concordis International in Ouham Pendé and Ouham in 2019 and 2021¹². Findings and recommendations from these consultations have been used to guide and support the current FAO funded project.

Transhumance in Ouham Pendé today

Settled, semi-settled and transhumant communities are all looking to ensure their livelihoods and their security, which, for them, are closely intertwined. For some, this means maintaining the health of their cattle; for others it is about growing sufficient crops for the next season; others, still, have diversified their livelihoods and have multiple occupations.

These activities do not necessarily put communities in competition with one another – quite the opposite, as they are keenly aware of their economic interdependency. However, while friction between communities has existed since the earliest transhumance, the security situation, changing transhumance dynamics and recent history in Ouham Pendé and Ouham have seen a breakdown of previous relationships and agreements and caused a rise in violent conflict.

While settled communities widely recognise the benefits of transhumance, many emphasise that it can only work harmoniously when practised according to long-established principles and procedures – and the crisis of 2012 and 2013 marked a shift away from these norms. 60% of the settled population reports continuing destruction of their fields by transhumant herders and some farmers say they are planting fewer crops, not only because they continually find their fields have been trampled by transhumant livestock or otherwise damaged and crops destroyed, but also because transhumant herders are less willing to pay compensation, particularly in areas where 3R is active, and farmers face increased physical insecurity in the fields, with female farmers especially exposed to risks of sexualised violence and both male and female farmers expressing fear that working in their fields will expose them to the risk of violence.

Before the crisis, many farmers and herders could build on decades of carefully constructed relations, agreements and conflict-resolution mechanisms. Ardos would arrive before the herds, announcing their

¹² These and other Concordis reports can be accessed at <https://www.concordisinternational.com/centralafricanrepublic>

presence and seeking permission for the livestock to follow. Gumiers¹³ would indicate what direction the herds should take to stay on corridors and avoid fields where crops had not yet been harvested. Committees including technical service members and representatives of both communities would go and inspect crop destruction and agree the level of compensation. Since then, farmers have encroached upon pasture lands (*communes d'élevage*) and transhumance routes and, in turn, herders encroach upon farmland. Concordis reporting teams noted transhumant activity beginning before settled communities have finished harvesting their crops, prompted by competition between herders for natural resources (water, pasture) causing some to begin their journeys earlier, and farmers leaving crops in the ground for longer, beyond the usual start of the transhumance.

New groups of herders, many of whom are unfamiliar with the agreements and mechanisms of the past, have also begun to exploit the pasturage of Ouham Pendé. Finally, armed groups are changing the incentives and power dynamics within relationships around transhumance.

Relations between settled communities and transhumants

Social cohesion between settled, semi-settled and transhumant groups was severely impacted by the crisis of 2012 / 2013 and perceptions of other groups based on ethnicity remain entrenched. A significant minority among both the settled population and transhumant herders identify their conflicts as linked to a specific group, although the vast majority do not blame whole groups.

In consultations, over a third of settled interviewees describe their relations with herders as hostile and fewer than a third as familial and/or friendly, with a quarter saying relations are entirely non-existent.

For many settled people, the violence experienced and perpetrated by herders or groups they associate with herders during the crisis is still too recent and remains an obstacle to good relations with herders. Male farmers explain that they are: *“afraid of the transhumants because we are unsafe due to their weapons. Before the crisis, we lived peacefully with them, but after 2013, they joined the Seleka coalition in order to slaughter us.”* Some differentiate between different kinds of herders, based on their origins: *“the Mbororo who lived here before the crisis can come back, but the Chadian and Sudanese who have weapons, they are not welcome”*, insisted women living on the Paoua-Bebingui axis.

Settled people also emphasise the difference between transboundary herders who travel with their families and those who do not. Female herders are consistently seen as more integrated into the local population and are not subject to suspicion. Herders with families, both semi-settled and transboundary, are viewed as actively seeking to integrate themselves with and be accepted by the local population and the presence of women and children appears to be highly reassuring for settled communities.

A fundamental change often mentioned is the transition from traditional and familial transhumance to an activity carried out by armed young men. References to hired herders who are young, armed, and non-Sango speaking, coming in from Cameroon and Chad, continue to grow and fear of these armed, young herders is a powerful, often repeated factor in perceptions of the other. Settled communities talked of violence and threats of violence, especially in the fields they farm and chiefly from the new wave of

¹³ Gumiers are selected by the mayor of the commune from the settled population. They know the bush and help guide the herders on where to go and what to avoid. They also collect communal taxes.

transhumant herders. At the same time, many more herders returned from Cameroon in 2020 and 2021 with their families, rather than as young men alone.

Findings from the 2019 consultation show that, several years after the crisis of 2012/2013, herders are careful not to blame local populations for violence. Only one group of transhumants accused youth from a local village of harassment.¹⁴ In 2021 transhumants again did not blame settled communities for violence: more than half of transhumant herders identified armed groups as the chief cause of insecurity and almost half referred to banditry.¹⁵

Social cohesion – measured through the proxies of interaction at key social events – has improved recently, despite conflict in northeast CAR, political instability in Chad and the global pandemic. Participation and willingness to participate by both settled communities and transhumant groups in two key events in the life of the other community – weddings and funerals – grew significantly between 2019 and 2021. The more groups interact socially, the more likely they are to report feeling secure. A significant majority of the settled population who participated in transhumant wedding ceremonies also said they feel secure.

Choosing and changing transhumance routes

Transhumant groups' criteria for selecting their routes and timing their transhumance remain:

- sufficient pasture at their destination
- access to watering points along the way
- access to markets en route where they can sell cattle and milk and make necessary purchases
- the quality of the path, including for example the absence of deep ditches, where cows might break a leg, and poisonous flora
- reduced risk of tsetse flies and mosquitoes carrying disease
- security, both for their cattle and for the herders themselves.

Most routes are reported as having remained unchanged, but actual routes used appear fragmented and unclear, forming a complex web which rarely follows official routes.

Herders are now using routes that had been unused: their presence has been noted on the Bozoum-Bossemptele axis and, after intervention by Advisory Group members, there is now acceptance of the presence of herders on the Ngoutere to Bilakare axis.

Reasons for the fragmentation and changes include:

- Agreements that existed in the past around routes and pasture lands are no longer routinely adhered to by herders. Villagers are unhappy about the non-respect of *zonage* into farmland and pastureland by herders, but herders express similar frustrations.

¹⁴ IPIS/Concordis Promoting peaceful and safe seasonal migration in northern Central African Republic, Results of consultation with transboundary herders semi-settled herders and settled communities in Ouham Pendé and Western Ouham, Antwerp, December 2020. P.46

¹⁵ Concordis, Promoting peaceful transhumance in northern Central African Republic: Findings from the 2021 consultations in Ouham-Pendé and western Ouham, London, 2021. P.6.

- The borders between pastures and farmland are usually intuitive: water courses and main roads.¹⁶ However, foreign herders, without pre-existing knowledge of them nor the necessary language, communication and negotiation skills, may easily cross them.
- Many herders say they used to follow official cattle routes, but these have now been taken over by armed groups who put up checkpoints and take money. This drives herders to seek new routes, often closer to villages and roads for protection from FACA/ MINUSCA forces deployed along main roads.
- Other herders stay as far away as possible from roads and villages to avoid disputes with settled communities.
- Some herders pay taxes to armed groups – in this case, often to 3R – who then allow them to graze anywhere. Some herders say they feel safer in areas controlled by 3R, because 3R has been shown to intervene on their behalf in conflicts with farmers.
- Farmers cultivate fertilised lands used for transhumance and pasture in the past but abandoned during the crisis years. Reasons include needing more space to grow crops and adapting to the ecological changes of the CAR drylands. Reporting teams noted fewer mentions in 2021 of farming on transhumant corridors than in 2019.
- Returning herders complain that some settled communities ignore longstanding transhumance corridors and cultivate fields adjacent to historically recognised waterpoints
- Many herders who state their *zone d'attache* as being in CAR have been uprooted and displaced for years during the crisis, either to a different location in CAR or to neighbouring areas in Chad or Cameroon. Over the past two years they have begun to return for the dry season (becoming *de facto* transboundary herders) but say they often cannot return to the locations of their previous cattle camps because these locations have been taken over by other herders, occupied by farmers, or have become otherwise inaccessible. They now seek pastures elsewhere, on unfamiliar grounds, facing the issues and mistrust that transboundary herders face, among settled communities with whom they have not yet developed significant relations despite a shared history and language.

Consequences of changes to transhumance routes

- Changes to transhumance routes leave all communities uncertain: where to take cattle, where they will encounter cattle, how to stay safe and avoid conflict, when cattle will arrive near local communities and how and where to engage with each other to make new agreements around transhumance?
- Herders complain that it is harder to find clear corridors: farmers plant on areas that used to be set aside for migrating livestock and seem surprised when livestock return the next year.
- Farmers say the 'bush' and far-flung fields have become more insecure because of armed groups and the more erratic transhumance routes of herders¹⁷. Farmers report spending less time on farming activities because of fear of exposure to violence while in the fields. Women in particular feel at risk of sexual violence by men with weapons moving through the fields and

¹⁶ Source: affirmed in various interviews with local authorities

¹⁷ Focus group with settled people, Benamkor, 21st February 2019.

both men and women report incidents of rape when women are alone and unable to protect themselves.

Infrastructure around Water



Access to water drives transhumance. Herders migrate to maintain the health of their livestock during the dry season. They take on the risks of transhumance believing these outweigh the risk of losing all their livestock through lack of pasture and water. Every year, as the rains stop, herders from Chad begin moving southward in search of pastures in areas of Chad such as Moyen-Chari and across the border in areas including Ouham and Ouham Pendé.¹⁸ Competition for water is one of the causes of herders beginning their journeys earlier and transhumant groups' criteria for selecting their routes and timing their transhumance include access to watering points along the way.

Access to water is also a pressing infrastructure challenge for settled communities. Communities across Ouham Pendé and into western Ouham describe a lack of access to drinking water as one of their major daily challenges.

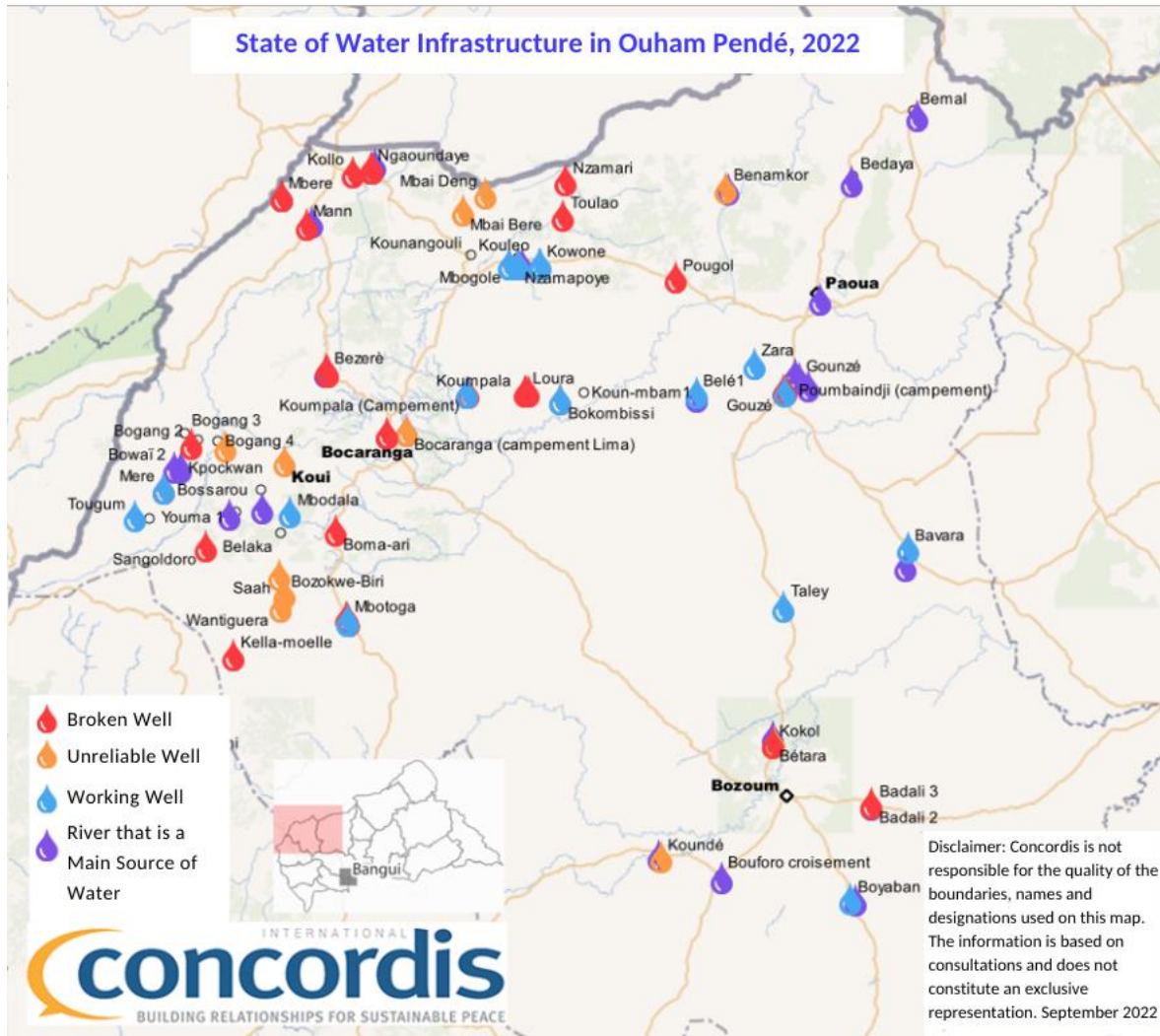
Water has also become a source of tension. While reporting teams noted more collaboration over water point usage in 2021 than in 2019, it continues to be a conflict driver. Returning herders complain that some settled communities ignore longstanding transhumance corridors and cultivate fields adjacent to historically recognised waterpoints. Limited or defunct infrastructure can make water a contested resource between transhumant herders and settled communities. Yet boreholes and other waterpoints are also locations at which transhumant herders and people from local settled communities encounter each other. Rehabilitated water sources that are well maintained and managed can turn watering points into sites where settled communities and groups moving through can meet and inquire about each other's goods and services. Crucially, they can troubleshoot potential conflicts simply by exchanging

¹⁸ OIM, Tchad — Dashboard De Suivi Des Mouvements De Transhumance 3 (Décembre 2019 — Mars 2020), <https://migration.iom.int/node/8764>

information early, on topics from transhumant movements in the area to which fields have not yet been harvested.

Throughout Concordis' consultations in 2019 and 2021, participants in workshops called for the rehabilitation of waterpoints – in Ndim and Letélé in the borderlands with Chad through to areas near Paoua (Bilakaré and Gouzé), further south (Boyaban) and in the western regions (Bezéré, Koundé and Betoko). In many areas delivery of state services, including the maintenance of water infrastructure, in support of transhumance has ceased. Communities see the rehabilitation and maintenance of waterpoints as part of the state's security provision. Participants ask for support to develop and maintain the waterpoints, including creating separate access for people and livestock, keeping herds away from water sources used by settled communities for drinking. They also request markets around the water points to enable trade and highlight the potential for information sharing and social interaction. Reporting teams note mention of approaches to watering points in Chad that seem to be working well and could be adopted and adapted in CAR.

The two main sources of water in Ouham Pendé and Ouham are rivers and wells. Wells differ in size and structure: a small borehole drilled through the rock may provide one stream of water while a community pastoral well dug to the water table may provide separate streams for people and animals. Water will also be needed for activities beyond drinking, including irrigation and those associated with breeding livestock, such as disinfecting cattle against disease.



The map shows rivers that are used by settled, semi settled and transhumant communities as a main source of water and wells that are working, not working or unreliable. Those that are shown as unreliable would include, for example, a borehole well in Kouï that is not sufficient for the population and may not be working because of overuse.

Water infrastructure around Bocaranga and Kouï

Some transhumant, semi-nomad and settled communities access water from rivers and other natural sources. Settled communities in Bezerè name the Mbimbali and Tare rivers, semi-nomads camp close to the Lima stream or (M)Bimbo river and Fulani breeders also mention sourcing water from the Lim, Lemaus and Ngou-Moundou rivers. These groups still report some issues with water infrastructure: herders say farmers have now cultivated areas near the river that used to be reserved for livestock and transhumant, semi-nomad and settled communities report water points or boreholes that are broken. Transhumants in Bokombissi say natural water sources on their routes are sometimes contaminated, while semi-nomads in Loura say it is difficult to find water during the dry season.

Most communities say that infrastructure around water does not work as it did before the 2012/2013 crisis. Boreholes are broken, wells have dried out and communities do not have the financial means or the technical skills to fix and rebuild.

Settled, semi settled and transhumant communities all recommend that more wells are constructed and that broken wells are repaired.

Wells – or more wells than already exist - are requested in Bocaranga, Bokombissi, Kouï, Loura, Ngoutéré and more generally along transhumance corridors. Fulani breeders in several locations, farmers on the Mbotoga Bouar axis and in Herba and Tollé say pastoral wells would help to improve relations between farmers and herders and transhumance in the area. Farmers in Kouï say the only agro-pastoral infrastructures that cause conflict are the boreholes: the water is not sufficient for the population of the town and some neighbourhoods lack drinking water, with women having to travel a long distance over a long time to fetch water.

The repair of broken wells is requested by groups in Bezere (where one of three is broken), Bokombissi, Herba, Kouï, Koumpala, Mbinaye, Mbotoga (where three are broken), Ngoutéré and Tollé (where two of four are broken).

Farmers in Ngoutéré say relations between farmers and herders would be improved with the provision of a drinking trough.

Groups in Bokombissi, (M)Bezere and Mbinaye say there is conflict around natural water sources.

Water infrastructure around Bozoum

Communities around Bozoum rely on natural water sources. This is particularly true where wells have broken down. Semi nomads in Badali say that for the moment because of insecurity there is nothing except the natural rivers. Semi-nomads in Kokol have no difficulty with water because the camp is very close to the river. Fulani breeders in Taley say the rivers are infrastructure that works.

Several groups say that water infrastructure, along with other infrastructure, has broken down since the crisis. A butcher reports that functioning wells used to exist on the Bocaranga Tataley axis, Bouar Kparé, Koundé, Bokayan axis, Bossemptelé Boyabane axis, Boyaram Bobalo axis, Paoua Kokol axis, but some are now destroyed and others broken.

Wells are reported as broken and / or their repair requested in Badali (three boreholes, two broken), Boyabane (two broken), at the Kokol market (a water pump has been down for some time) and Pompey.

Wells – or more wells - are requested in Badali, Bouforo, as a priority along the route followed by semi-nomads interviewed in Boyabane, in Pompey and Taley.

Water is reported as a source of conflict. Semi-nomads in Boyabane say the only conflict in the area is around a swamp 10km south of the village. They report that a group of settled people armed with traditional weapons prevent herders from watering their livestock there because they need the water to prepare cassava for the market. Herders say the Zouin watercourse to the southwest of Boyabane works, but the Djoué watercourse causes disputes between farmers and herders who have to use the same source of water because of the lack of boreholes and water wells. Farmers in Bouforo describe

another natural water source that creates conflict: the natural spring water is used by the settled community and by herders for their livestock, which often leads to conflict around the water point.

Communities make suggestions to reduce conflict around water. Communities in Badali, Bouforo, Boyabane and Taley say that the existence of pastoral wells or multiple community boreholes would strengthen inter community ties. Other suggestions include a water use management system and water conservation troughs for livestock. Some request the provision of separate sources of water for settled and transhumant communities. Farmers in Bouforo ask for boreholes in the village, with herders using natural water sources 3km from the town. This may reduce conflict but also the opportunities to strengthen social cohesion and trade.

Reports sometimes differ across communities. In Koundé, for example, farmers report one borehole that works and one that does not work, but breeders say the pastures work and do not mention problems with infrastructure around water.

Water infrastructure around Paoua

As the map shows, for many communities in and around Paoua the river is one of the principal sources of water. Transhumant herders in Bedaya talk about the river, a group in Benamkor use the Pende river to water their livestock and those in Bavara say the Nana and Bimbi rivers play a very important role in raising their livestock as there is no other source of water on the corridor. Semi nomads in Benamkor say they use the natural watercourses. A group of Fulani semi-nomad women in the Poubaindji camp name the Mbiba and Naraye watercourses and the Vouh river is also mentioned. Semi-nomads say water is their main concern: some streams are already starting to dry. Those in Belé say it is difficult to find enough pasture and natural spring water in the dry season, as streams dry up.

There is conflict around the use of river water. Herders in Bemal claim that on the Naraye river, 2km from Bemal, toxins that the settled population pour into the river to kill birds also harm livestock. Farmers in Gouzé say that use of the Nana watercourse, which did not cause conflict in the past, has become conflictual with a new wave of transhumants who don't respect the fields planted near the water.

Communities take steps to supplement natural water. Semi nomads in Benamkor have built a well at the camp for their family. Those who use the river at Bedaya, Bavara, Belé, Benamkor, Gouzé and Poubaindji camp ask for more boreholes to be drilled and transhumants request pastoral wells, including on the corridor from Bemal to Bedaya and the corridor through Benamkor and specifically at Biakombo 2, which they say would strengthen inter community ties or improve transhumance. A group of Fulani near Paoua believe the authorities lack the initiative to build or rehabilitate water points along the corridors or around the camps.

Despite the presence of natural water, communities in the area say the lack of drinking water creates conflict, including disputes between women in search of water. Herders in Bavara avoid using the two boreholes for water because of clashes with settled women who prevent them from accessing the boreholes. Breeders in Bemal and Fulani women in Poubaindji camp say the lack of boreholes in both areas causes settled women to come to the river for water, leading to conflict when cattle descend on the same watercourse. Farmers in Bavara say there is only one borehole to supply the entire village and that the drilling of more boreholes would improve relations between communities.

Communities away from natural water sources around Paoua describe more conflict around water. This is caused by too few boreholes in places like Pougol, where the three boreholes are not sufficient for the whole population, leading to clashes around these water points, and Benamkor, where farmers say boreholes have broken down and need rehabilitating to reduce the disputes between communities over water. Farmers in Gouzé, where there are four boreholes in good condition and four in poor condition, say women are forced to fetch water from the forest because of conflict around insufficient water at the water points. A group of Fulani semi-nomads say water points are the main source of conflict between farmers and herders and where many altercations take place. The most important way forward is to construct water points at the camps and on corridors which will stop the herders from having to interfere with those used by the farmers.

Farmers in Benamkor were the only group around Paoua to mention the water management system as a source of conflict. According to them, FACA controls a water point and anyone who wants to use it must pay.

Infrastructure around Cattle Health



The importance of infrastructure around cattle health

Both transhumant herders and settled communities express concern about what they describe as an absence of veterinary services. Transhumant herders complain that veterinary services are much diminished and emphasise that the health of their cattle is essential to their own survival. Settled communities report that the reduction in vaccination services and veterinary facilities together with the growing numbers of large herds entering CAR has caused a deterioration in the health of transhumant livestock, leaving settled communities concerned about infection of their own herds. Herds belonging to semi-settled Wankobankoe men, for example, in Konkpala Camp, were alleged to have become ill as a result of a lack of controls on cattle being brought into CAR.

Herders are willing to pay taxes that are reasonable, consistent, and linked to the provision of vaccination, information and other services¹⁹. Settled communities also call for veterinary services to be provided to transhumant herders, urging that they be situated at border crossings to reduce the likelihood of cross-border contamination, and more widely across CAR including to settled communities.

Providing vaccination and veterinary services at border crossings will also incentivise transhumant herders to cross at officially designated locations and enable registration and other regulatory controls. There will also be the opportunity when connecting over vaccination and other veterinary services at border crossings to question transhumant herders about their planned routes.

State institutions supporting cattle health

At their best state institutions organise social and economic life, reducing potential frictions by separating incompatible activities or mediating between competing interests. The importance of organising transhumance was well understood by the Central African government as it attempted to

¹⁹ Concordis, Promoting peaceful transhumance in northern Central African Republic: Findings from the 2021 consultations in Ouham-Pendé and western Ouham, London, 2021. P.8.



reserve land for grazing and agriculture in the 1960s. Although the degree of implementation of this policy is still debated, the situation in the country today means it is no longer in effect.

The primary state institutions inquired about in this consultation were the National Federation of Central African Herders (**FNEC**), the National Agency for Livestock Farming Development (**ANDE**) (part of the Ministry of Herding and Animal Health) and the Central African Agency for Agricultural Development (**ACDA**).

As the national association of herders, FNEC agents advocate for herders' rights, issue the Cartes des Eleveurs that are important to differentiate herders from armed groups, and provide services including veterinary pharmacy supplies and accommodation for herders. Importantly for peaceful transhumance, they are also able to take part in bringing a peaceful conclusion to conflict, particularly where a herder believes they are being treated unjustly.

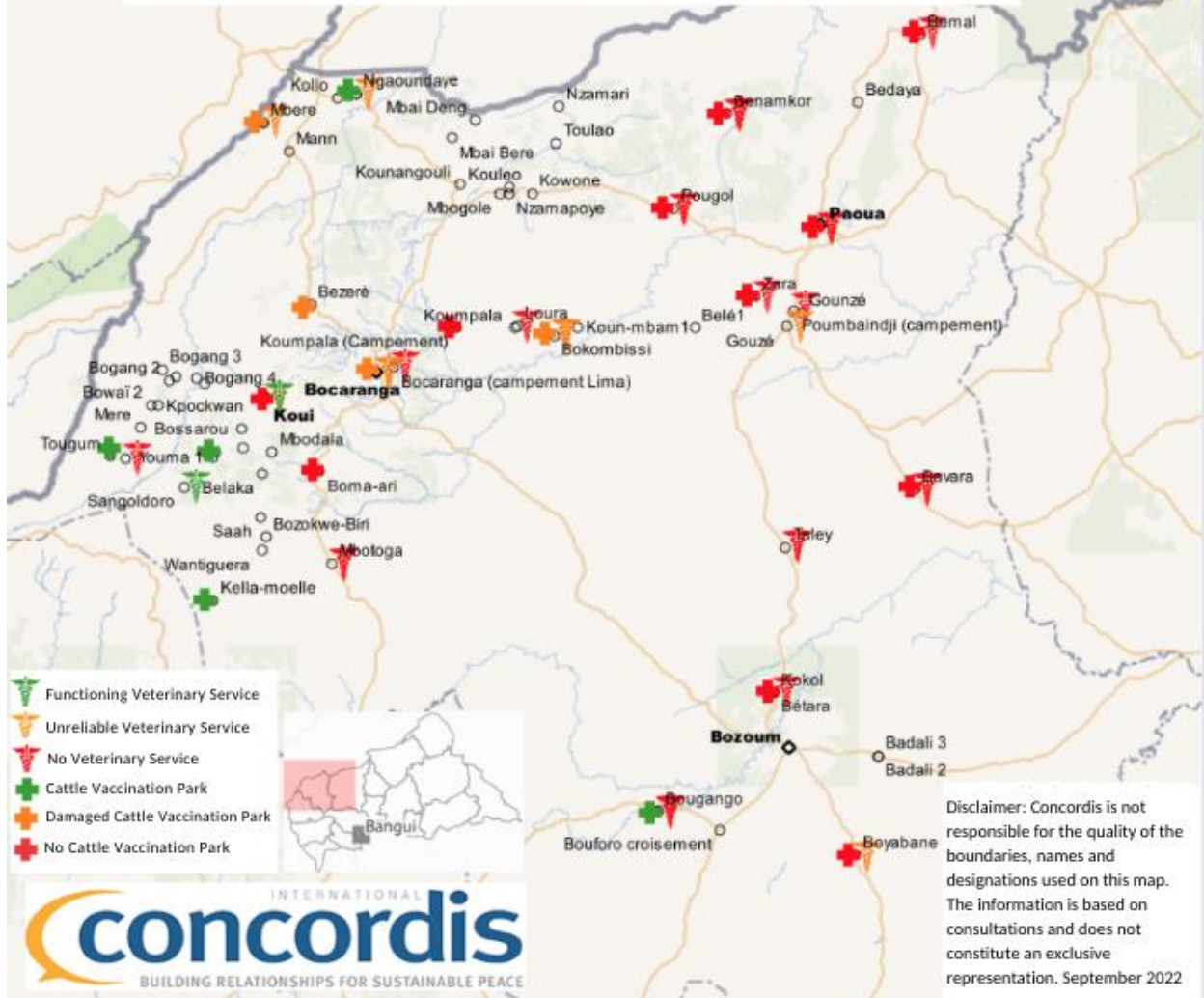
ACDA (for farmers) and ANDE (for herders) provide advice and are essential to manage herder-farmer conflict. They used to deploy when there was crop damage to assess and estimate payment for damage. In addition, ANDE is responsible for livestock vaccination campaigns and veterinary advice: the intention is that all ANDE Chef Sectors are veterinary trained.

FNEC, ANDE and ACDA agents lack transportation: they are present in the prefectures, but their ability to provide services related to transhumance outside the larger towns is impeded by their inability to travel.

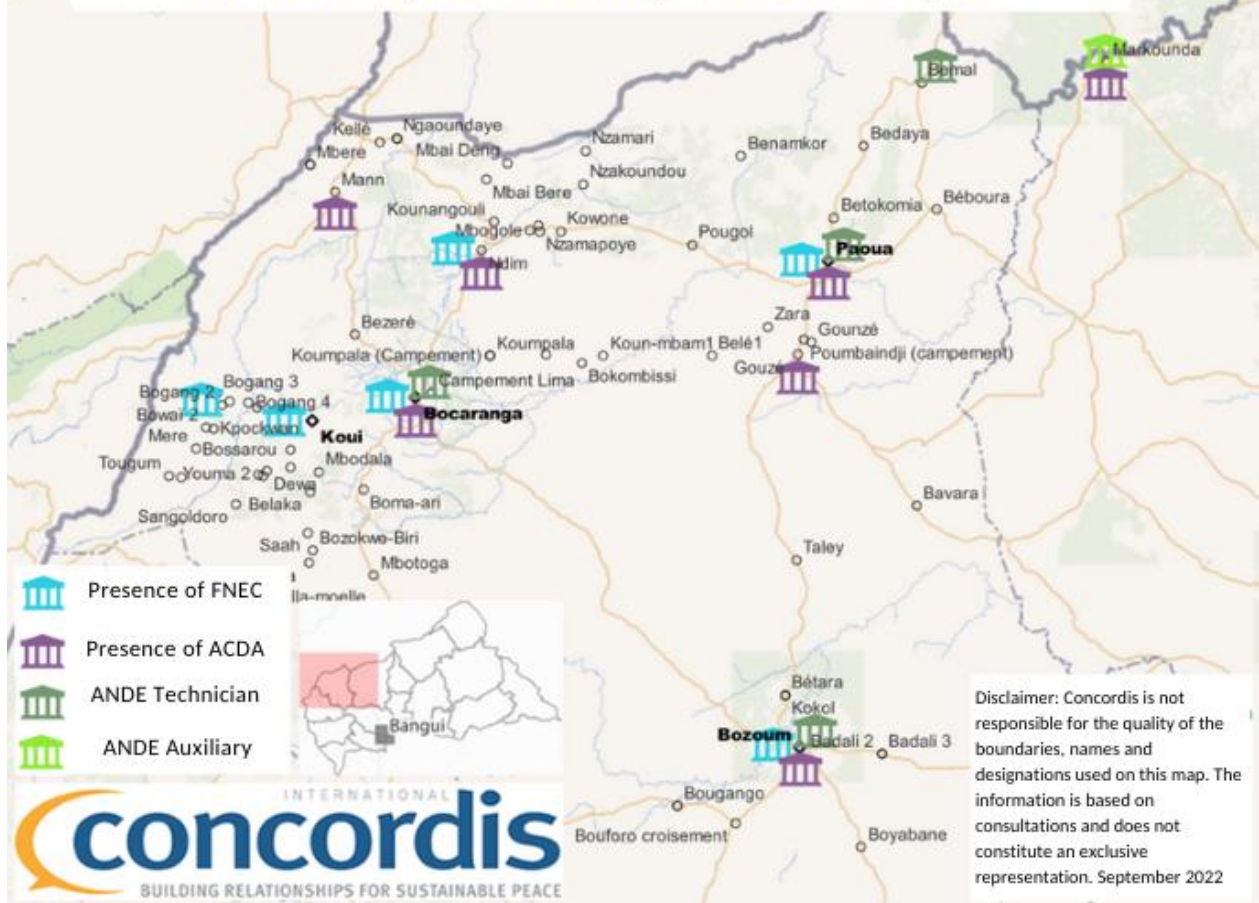
This may explain the disconnect between actual and perceived presence of these institutions. As the map shows, FNEC and ACDA have a presence in each sub-prefecture, while ANDE is present in all but Ngaoundaye. This presence is only fully reported by those questioned in Bocaranga and Kouï: in all other sub-prefectures the reported presence is much lower than the actual presence, suggesting that those questioned are not experiencing services or support that make them aware of the existence of these representatives.

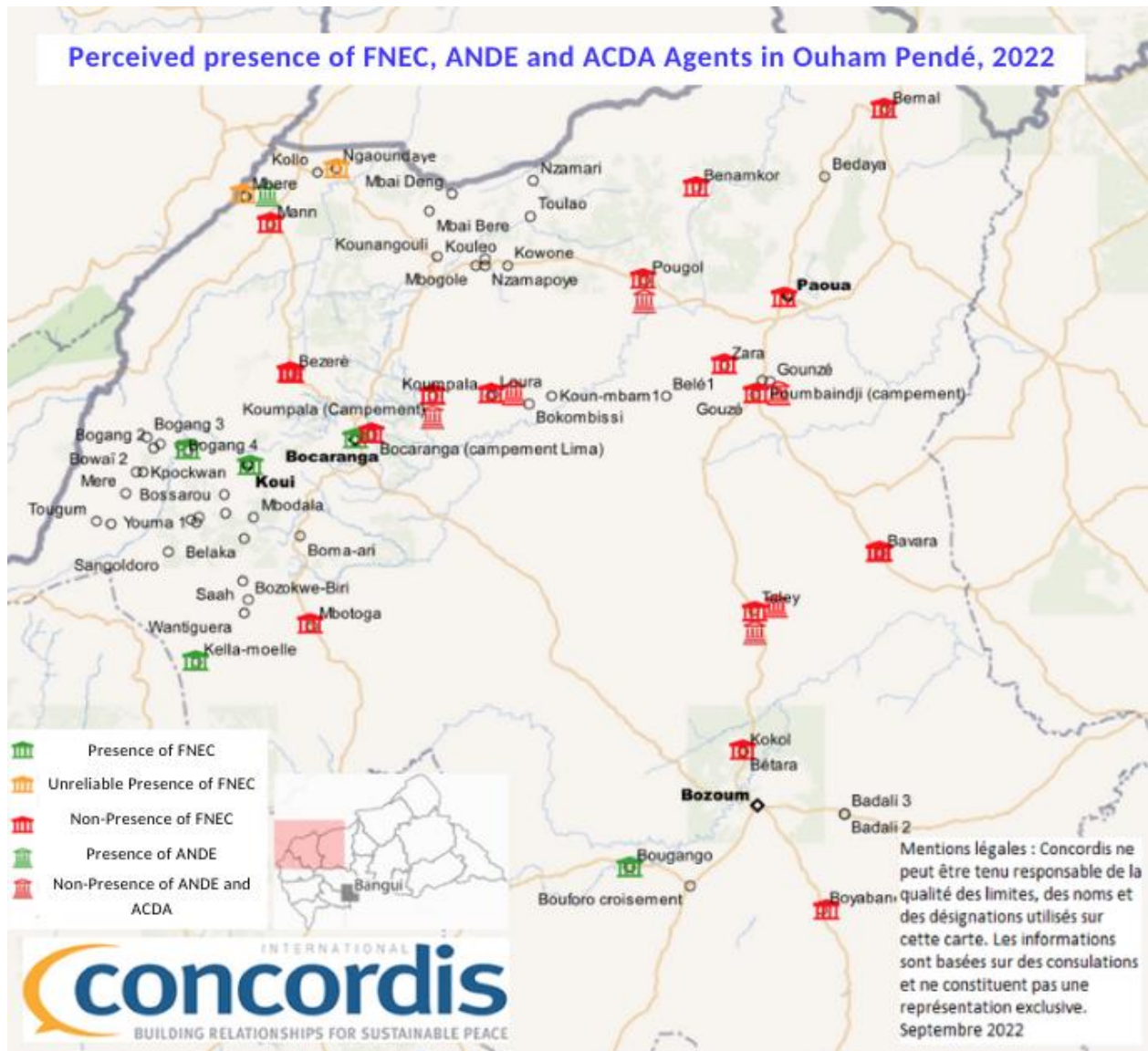
In response to the question "What would solidify relations in this locality?" 13% of responses called for an increased presence of these three institutions. Dividing by occupation between sedentary, semi-nomad and herder respondents had no significant effect on the proportion calling for higher institutional presence.

State of Cattle Health Infrastructure in Ouham Pendé, 2022



Presence of FNEC, ANDE and ACDA Agents in Ouham Pendé, 2022





Infrastructure around veterinary services in Paoua

As the map shows, FNEC, ACDA and ANDE (technician) have a presence around Paoua, but in interviews those questioned report that none of these institutions are present.

Indeed no communities report infrastructure around veterinary services that is working in the Paoua area. Fulani semi-nomads say veterinary posts existed before the crisis in Bernal, Gouzé and Bavara, with a good pharmacy in Paoua, but since the crisis there has been no veterinary post anywhere in the sub-prefecture of Paoua and the pharmacy in Paoua is only now under construction.

Fulani semi-nomads and transhumants in Bernal list veterinary pharmacies and the FNEC building as infrastructure that does not work. Fulani transhumants also say there are no veterinary pharmacies in the Bedaya area and if they need veterinary products they have to resort to buying them in Paoua or across

the border in Chad. Farmers say vaccination infrastructure is missing in Benamkor and there is no longer a FNEC representative in the area: farmers in nearby Pougol say the vaccination park needs to be repaired and that before the 2013 crisis FNEC and ANDE would come from Paoua. Semi nomads in Belé list a veterinary pharmacy, livestock vaccination park and FNEC representation as infrastructure that does not exist. Farmers in Gouzé say there used to be a veterinary pharmacy, FNEC agents and an ANDE presence, but the infrastructure around these has all been destroyed. Fulani breeders in Poubaindji camp list a veterinary pharmacy and a vaccination park as infrastructure that does not exist around the camp or Gouzé.

Transhumant breeders in Bavara say there used to be a veterinary pharmacy, veterinary sub post and vaccination park, but all the officials left because of the insecurity following the military-political crisis of March 2013 and now nothing is working and everything has fallen into ruin. Farmers in Bavara also mention a FNEC building and the presence of FNEC agents who they say used to do their job effectively, but lost their work equipment, disappeared and have not returned since the crisis.

Fulani semi-nomads and transhumants say that the presence of a veterinary pharmacy in Bemal and a vaccination park in Bedaya will strengthen relations between farmers and herders and the vaccination park will improve transhumance. Another group of transhumants want both a veterinary pharmacy and a vaccination park in Bedaya: the vaccination park will improve transhumance and both will improve relations between herders and farmers. Chadian transhumants in Benamkor prioritise the need for a veterinary pharmacy with a veterinary post while farmers in Benamkor say that the presence of FNEC agents is important to improve transhumance. Farmers in Pougol and semi nomads in Belé request a veterinary pharmacy, livestock vaccination park and FNEC / ANDE representation to improve transhumance in the area and semi-nomads in Bleat request the same three pieces of infrastructure, including the restoration of the vaccination park. Farmers in Gouzé say restoring the veterinary pharmacy would promote social cohesion, as would the restored presence of FNEC and the ACDA: herders in nearby Poubaindji camp call for both a veterinary pharmacy and a vaccination park to improve transhumance and strengthen relations between farmers and herders.

In Bavara, transhumant and settled communities request a veterinary pharmacy and a vaccination park and farmers ask for the redeployment of FNEC.

Transhumants say FNEC is currently unable to rebuild or construct veterinary posts because of the presence of armed groups around the camps and internal security forces in the city who prevent or interfere with the work of FNEC, leaving it powerless to act.

Infrastructure around veterinary services in Bocaranga and Kouï

The state of infrastructure around cattle health in Bocaranga and Kouï is more mixed and this is the only area in Ouham Pende where some communities report fully functioning veterinary services. As the map shows, FNEC has a good presence in Bocaranga and Kouï and this is recognised in interviews. Their presence is also recognised in the south (Kelle Moelle). Also shown on the map are the ACDA presence and an ANDE technician in Bocaranga: neither of these were mentioned in interviews.

Farmers in Bezere say there is a veterinary health office 2km from Bezere in Borodoul who follows the health of animals in the area. Farmers in Kouï say the presence of FNEC and vaccinations work well in the city. Both a veterinary position and a veterinary pharmacy exist in the area. Transhumant and semi nomad herders in Mbotoga say the FNEC agents in Kouï carry out work in Mbotoga.

Farmers in Bezere say there is no FNEC or ANDE presence. Transhumants from Cameroon met in Bezere agree FNEC is not present, but also say the veterinary pharmacy and veterinary post are missing. Semi-nomads in Loura say both the veterinary pharmacy and FNEC building are in need of repair. Farmers in Herba say no animal health infrastructure exists: vaccination park, FNEC buildings are missing and, although in the past FNEC and ANDE agents used to pass by, they no longer come. Similarly, transhumant and semi-nomad breeders say nothing is working in the Koumpala camp: there is no vaccination park or veterinary pharmacy and in their absence they buy ineffective products from itinerant traders at weekly markets. Transhumants and semi-nomads in Mbotoga say that in the past there was a veterinary pharmacy that dealt with products for the care of livestock, but now they too buy products from traders that don't work. Farmers in Mbotoga agree that there is now no veterinary pharmacy, but also say there is no veterinary post, no ANDE or ACDA representative and, although ANDE and FNEC representatives were present in the locality in the past through agents in Bocaranga who came from time to time, they have not been to the area since the crisis. Farmers in Ngoutéré say there is a veterinary position but it lacks drugs, while the vaccination park is damaged. Farmers in Tollé say that they have no veterinary post or vaccination park: while there was no FNEC or ANDE presence in Tollé, they were present in Ngoutéré. There is no ANDE presence in Kouï.

Farmers in Bezere request (in order of preference) an ANDE and a FNEC presence and a veterinary pharmacy for the treatment of livestock. Transhumants in Bezere ask for the restoration of the vaccination park and say the presence of pharmacy and veterinary representatives and a vaccination campaign will improve relations between farmers and herders. Transhumants in Bokombissi have a longer list of recommendations: they too call for the restoration of the vaccination park and veterinary pharmacy and a livestock vaccination campaign but add FNEC representation. Semi-nomads in nearby Loura say transhumance would be improved with a veterinary pharmacy, vaccination campaign and FNEC representative in the different locations. Farmers in Herba also recommend a livestock vaccination campaign and FNEC presence. Transhumants and semi nomads at the Koumpala camp say a veterinary pharmacy with quality products is essential: they also recommend a vaccination park and FNEC building. Farmers in Ngoutéré want the vaccination park and FNEC/ANDE presence and facilities restored and a veterinary position. Transhumants and semi nomads want a veterinary post on site in Mbotoga and request training for breeders on essential care for livestock. Farmers in Mbotoga also want a veterinary position and agent, saying this would lead to a more peaceful transhumance. Semi nomads in Bocaranga request the restoration of the veterinary pharmacy and FNEC: they add that the current representative does not understand the problems of breeders and they want a representative who is a breeder who will understand how the activities work. An ANDE presence in Kouï would help farmer herder relations.

Infrastructure around veterinary services in Bozoum and Bossemptele

As the map shows, Bozoum has a FNEC, ACDA and ANDE presence, but those interviewed say there is very little working infrastructure around veterinary and cattle health services in the area, with the only presence mentioned being FNEC in the south west (Bougango).

A Muslim butcher interviewed in Bozoum lists the infrastructure that used to exist. There were veterinary centres on the Paoua, Baloua axis, Bocaranga, Tataley axis and at Bokayan, with veterinary sub stations on the Boaro axis, Yawa village, Koundé, Bossangoa axis, Voutou village, Badali 4. There were also vaccination parks for cattle on the Bouar axis, Kparé, Yao, Koundé, Bokayan, Bocaranga axis, Tataley, Paoua axis, Kokol, Bossangoa axis, Badal and Voutou, Bowé axis, at Gbangba. Now some are destroyed, others broken. Activities are resuming and a veterinary pharmacy has been built, although it is lacking medicines.

Semi nomads in Badali say that infrastructure existed before the crisis, including a veterinary post, vaccination park and representatives of FNEC, ACDA and ANDE. Insecurity has caused those responsible for these structures to leave the area and now nothing works. Semi-nomads in Boyabane also say that there was functioning infrastructure before the crisis: a veterinary post with a pharmacy for the care of livestock and a representative of FNEC. Following growing insecurity in the area all this infrastructure has broken down because the officials who led it have gone or been killed as a result of atrocities arising from the crisis. A transhumant group in Boyabane lists both a vaccination park and veterinary pharmacy as missing infrastructure, another group of semi-nomads lists the vaccination park as a facility that does not work. Farmers in Bouforo say FNEC and ANDE representatives used to come from Bozoum, but nowadays they are non-existent. Semi nomads in Kokol say there used to be a livestock vaccination park, veterinary post, veterinary pharmacy and a FNEC representative, but all of these are now non-existent in the area.

Breeders in Koundé say the veterinary pharmacy no longer exists after the crisis, forcing them to bring medicines with them when they start their transhumance because the price is cheaper than in CAR. There was also FNEC representation before the crisis, but this no longer exists. Farmers in Taley tell a similar story: infrastructure including a veterinary centre, veterinary post and vaccination park are all abandoned since the crisis and those who ran them are no longer in the area. Farmers used to use the veterinary pharmacy to treat small animals and poultry. In the past FNEC agents and ANDE were present in the village, but they now have no buildings in the area.

In order of priority, semi nomads in Badali want a vaccination park and veterinary pharmacy. Semi nomad and transhumant groups in Boyabane request the construction of a pharmacy and veterinary post and a vaccination park, saying these will improve transhumance and relations between herders and farmers. Semi nomads in Kokol share the priorities of FAO: they call for a campaign to vaccinate oxen in all the sub-prefectures of Ouham-Pendé. Farmers in Taley want a veterinary pharmacy and representatives of FNEC and ANDE to improve the relations between herders and farmers.

The Muslim butcher in Bozoum, perhaps unsurprisingly given his livelihood, prioritises the restoration of food and livestock markets above veterinary posts.

Infrastructure around veterinary services in Ngaoundaye

The map shows a FNEC presence and ACDA in two locations. An unreliable FNEC presence near the both the Chad and Cameroon borders was reported in interviews and the sole mention in interviews of a working ANDE presence across the whole Ouham Pendé prefecture was near the Cameroon border in the west of Ngaoundaye, where ANDE is not actually present. Interviewees also reported a functioning vaccination park in Ngaoundaye near the border with Chad. Focus groups were not conducted in this area under the partner organisation data collection scheme due to security threats.

Infrastructure around Herding



Herding infrastructures, defined here as cattle pens (enclosures for cattle) and pastoral wells (puits pastorales), are vital for peaceful relations along the transhumance routes.

Cattle pens help to contain the herds so they don't wander off into the bush or trample fields of crops. They provide security from theft as without them the animals are at best tied to trees in the open. They also separate transhumants' livestock from the villagers, reducing the chance of accidents and the spread of disease – doubly so if a well allows for people and their animals to use separate water.

A cattle pen may be basic or multi-functional, serving as an enclosure for the cattle, a cattle market and even a vaccination park, with a small corridor into which cattle are channelled which prevents them from moving while they are vaccinated. The maps show that where a cattle pen is not present there is also no reliable cattle market – underlining the links between this infrastructure and the economic activity and nutritional health of the population.

A puit pastoral is a well dug as deep as necessary to reach water, often in dried out riverbeds because the underground water level is not too far down. The water is drawn up manually (without a pump) and poured into a waterbed created near to the well. In some places the puit pastoral has an abreuvoir or trough next to it – a bathtub sized container into which water from the well can be poured and from which the animals can then drink.

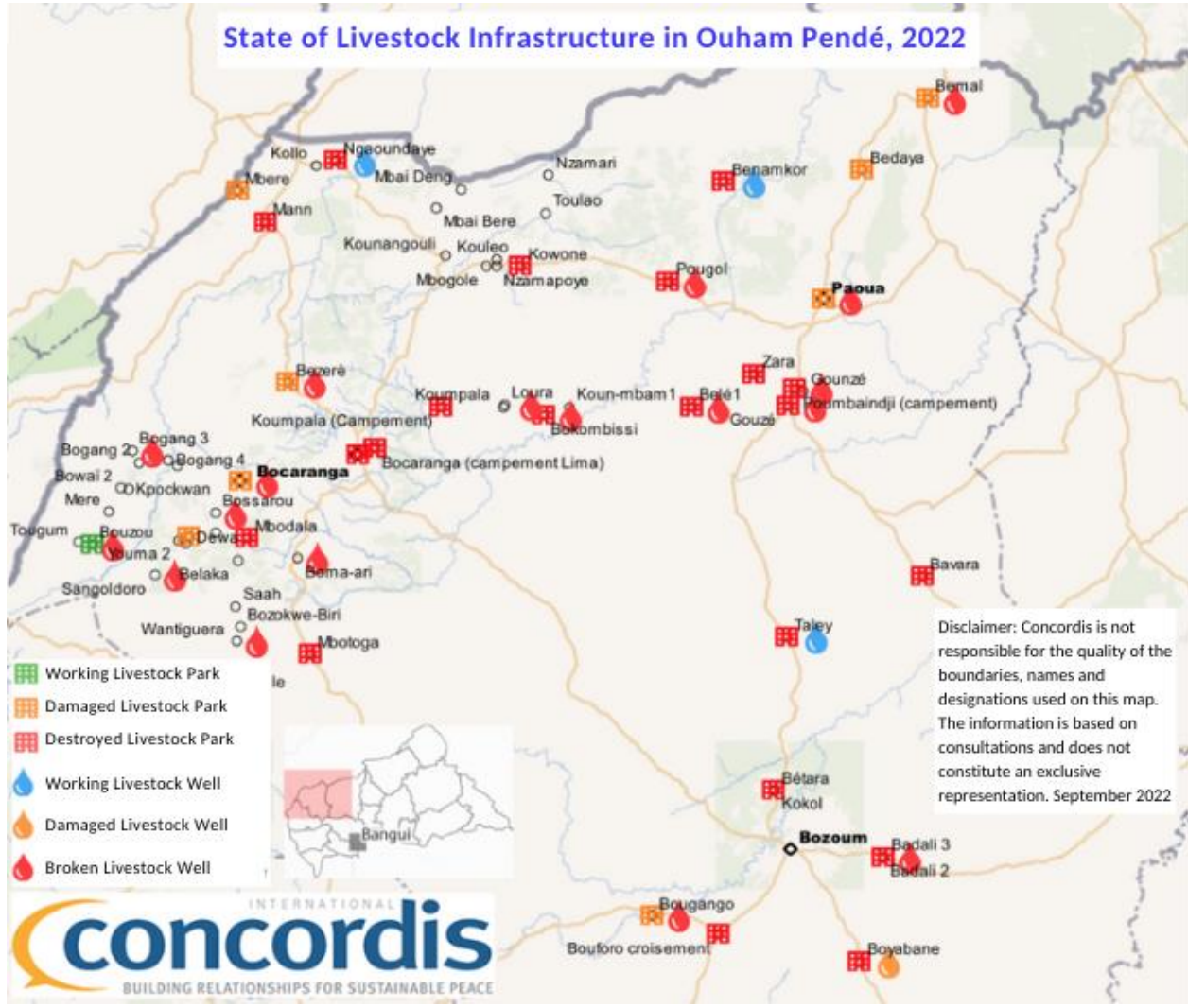
The cartography exercise also found evidence of dipping stations - waterfilled trenches used to administer a product to disinfect cattle from ticks. Ticks cause the deadliest diseases to cattle in central Africa and are the most economically destructive.^{20 21} FAO transhumance specialist, Bakary Cisse²², confirmed that these dipping stations are no longer in use because the products used for disinfecting the cattle were found to be highly toxic. Nowadays the dipping stations have been replaced by sprays that are left on the backs of cows: these are a lot less damaging to the environment and much more effective.

²⁰ <https://parasitesandvectors.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/s13071-019-3738-7>

²¹ <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC7308261/#:~:text=Rhipicephalus%20appendiculatus%20is%20the%20major,in%20East%20and%20Central%20Africa.>

²² The Concordis team lost a respected partner and friend when Bakary Cisse died in CAR in November 2022.

State of Livestock Infrastructure in Ouham Pendé, 2022



Infrastructure around Trade

The importance of infrastructure around trade

Despite challenges in producing crops and keeping livestock healthy, trade between settled communities and transhumant herders continues. Both settled and transhumant communities recognise intercommunity trade as important for their livelihood. Trade is seen by many as essential to their survival. Almost all herders interviewed in Concordis' consultations say that the supplies they obtain at village markets are important for their livelihood and 90% of them buy farming produce at least once a week. No transhumants and only 2% of settled respondents say they buy or sell solely for commercial reasons. 90% of the farmers interviewed say selling their surplus to transhumant herders is important for their livelihoods. Over seventy percent of settled people recognise they depend on obtaining products from herders - mostly cattle (41%), meat (35%) and milk (19%). Many villagers now also depend on transhumant herders to obtain imported goods. Reporting teams observed an increase in economic exchanges between 2019 and 2021.

Butchers, who profit directly from transhumance through their trade, are quick to acknowledge the benefits of the presence of herders.

One of the key learnings from Concordis' 2019 and 2021 consultations in Ouham-Pendé is that trade between settled communities and transhumant herders forms a socially cohesive, economically symbiotic relationship that contributes to peaceful transhumance. Aside from the economic exchanges which mainly occur on market days, interactions between herders and farmers are much rarer today than in the history of transhumance. Economic relations are mutually beneficial and women in both settled and transhumant groups trade extensively with each other. In short, trade is a crucial part of relations that encourage peaceful transhumance.

Intercommunity trade, as well as diversification of livelihoods that are mutually beneficial and offer exchange in goods and services between communities, also increases resilience to conflict, since this increases interdependence and hence the opportunity cost of violent conflict. This, in turn, leads to improved social relations and feelings of security. A significant potential exists for increased trade and economic diversification if more money were to circulate – which could lead communities to be more resilient to shocks and less dependent on a single activity for their food security.

Most trade between herders and farmers takes place at weekly markets, which represent a neutral and important meeting place. Women conduct much of the trading. Access to markets to monetise their produce, as well as a household's diversification of livelihoods to spread risk, are vital in promoting resilience to shocks and resilience to the effects of climate change.

The lack of easy, safe access to markets is a barrier to trade. Foreign transhumant women going to the market to exchange milk for produce at Létélé explain that they avoid the main road and instead take improvised footpaths to avoid harassment from the armed groups, both 3R and (since disbanded) RJ; but this carries the risk of moving through fields and frictions with farmers.²³ A group of herders in Tollé

²³ Focus group with Danedji Transhumant pastoralists, Létélé, 28th March 2019.

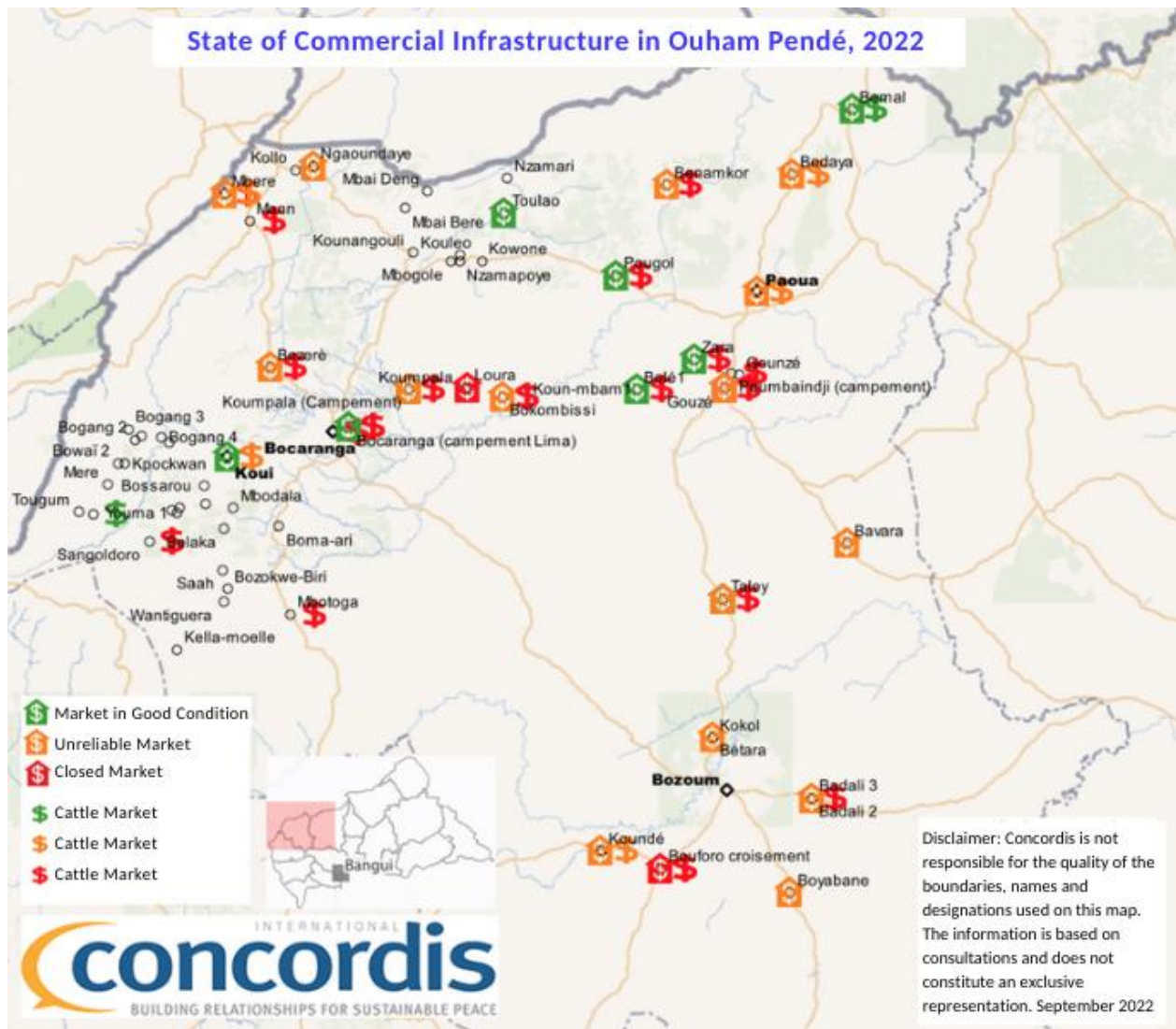
express the desire to visit larger towns and cattle markets like Paoua, Bozoum and Bocaranga to fetch better prices for their livestock but explain that harassment by armed groups around these towns has inhibited them from doing so since 2013. When transhumant herders leave official routes for safer areas, to protect their herds, the loss in trade is also felt by settled communities.

There is a need for investment in infrastructure that improves access to markets, such as mobile phone coverage, road maintenance and improved public transport.



Trade is at the heart of economic exchange in both settled and semi settled transhumant communities in Ouham and Ouham-Pendé communities. Trading activities in most villages and localities take place in the markets. Two major types of market were identified in the data collected: regular and cattle markets. At regular markets farmers trade in farm produce such as millet, cassava and vegetables while herders sell products from cattle including milk, dairy products and meat. Cattle markets are equally important as it is here that cattle are bought and sold. Butchers are found at both regular and cattle markets – they sometimes slaughter livestock at abattoirs and take the meat to the regular market to sell. By operating on a weekly basis and serving as a meeting point for herders and farmers, all markets provide a medium for social cohesion and economic development in the prefectures.

Unfortunately, many factors militate against this exchange of goods and services occurring at the level experienced by the communities in the past. Those questioned stressed the non-existence of marketplaces, destruction of sheds, displacement of the resident population, lack of access to markets and the presence of armed groups among others. The same is true of intercommunity markets that allow farmers and herders from different and bordering communities to trade together. Such markets undoubtedly provide promising outlets for social cohesion between transhumant and settled communities but are often inaccessible because of infrastructure problems including the breakdown of connecting bridges, particularly during the rainy season. The reconstruction and rehabilitation of broken infrastructure and facilities, both enroute to and in the markets, is vital for improved economic activities and social cohesion in these areas.



The above map gives a picture of the present conditions of the markets in Ouham-Pendé, particularly in villages and areas located in the sub-prefectures of Paoua, Bocaranga, Koui and Bozoum.

Three categories of the state of the markets in the prefecture are:

- (a) Markets in a good working condition
- (b) Markets which are operating but in some way unreliable
- (3) Markets which are totally broken.

According to data collected in most villages, most cattle markets are in bad condition such that traders find it extremely difficult to sell their goods and relate cordially on market days.

For instance, participants from Boyabane in the sub-prefecture of Bozoum stated that the weekly market in their village, Boyabane market, is currently in a horrible state without sheds and places to display goods. This forces traders, most of whom are women, to spread their produce on the floor covering a large space which often includes pathways through the market. Participants also highlighted how these limitations impact adversely on their relations both in the marketplaces and beyond.

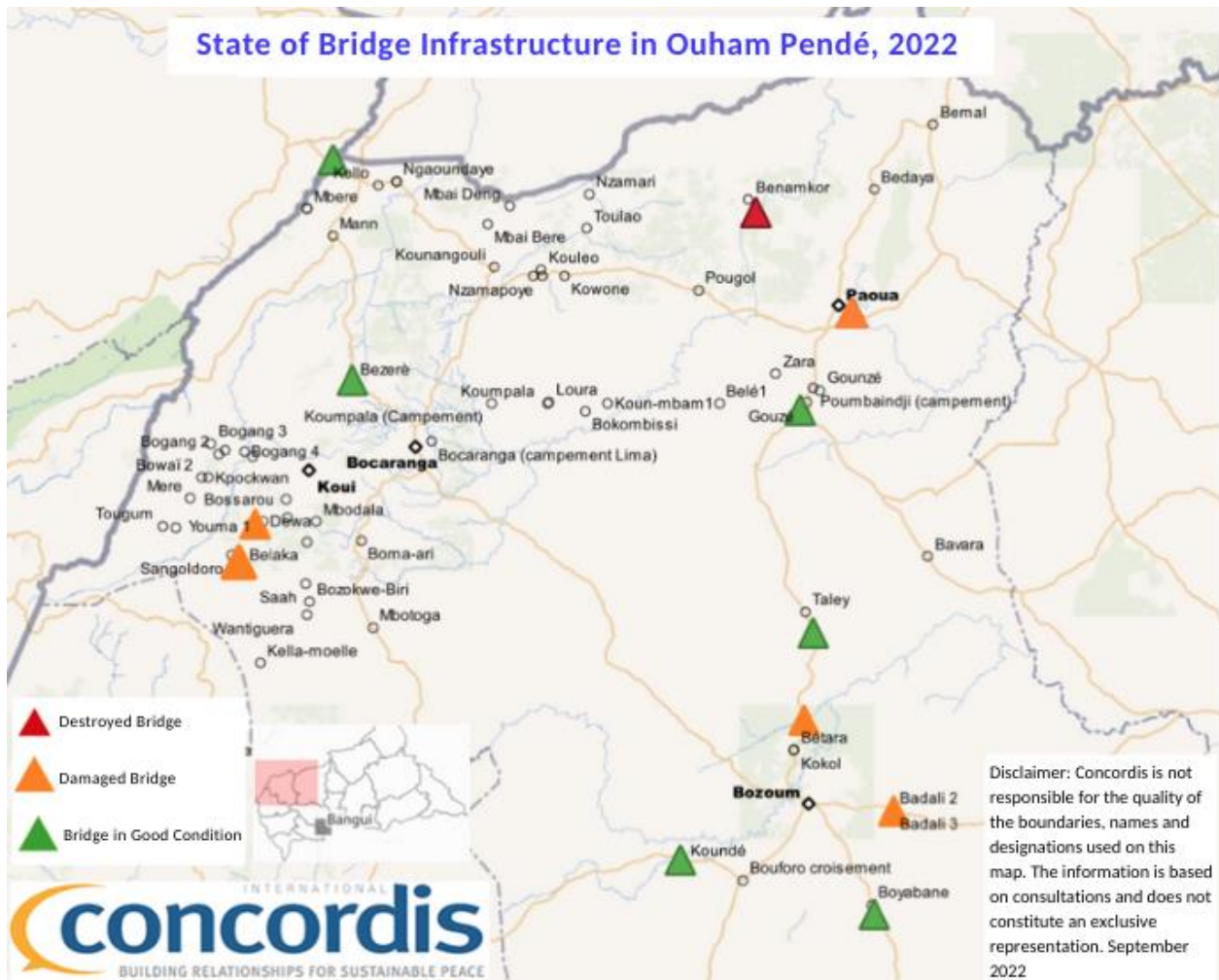
Similarly, in Gouze, a large community that attracts a huge population of traders from other villages on market day, participants decried the condition of their weekly market which lacked necessary market facilities such as sheds for the butchers to display meat for sale. The butchers, because the sheds are not available, are left with no option other than to spread their products on the floor, which participants say is unhygienic.

Bemal, a village about 53km from Paoua near the border with Chad, has a weekly market that unites many sedentary communities as well as herders from other zones including Chadian traders who come on market days. However, the market, according to the data collected, needs to be renovated as most of the sheds and display materials are pulled down by heavy rains. A focus group discussion conducted among the settled farming community in Ngoutéré, Bocaranga revealed that the market is not only small but also lacks sheds and buildings. Elsewhere in Tollé, the participants remarked that most of the agro-pastoral infrastructures were destroyed following the 2013 crisis in the Central African Republic. A particular emphasis was made about the market which has no building and shed to enable traders to display their goods.

A major complaint among respondents was that markets are starved of goods and buyers due to the state of road and bridge infrastructure, which hampers the flow of goods in the area. Whilst many bridges along the major routes are functional, some damaged structures have been refurbished with what locals have at hand and are considered unsafe.

Pictured (below right) is one such locally refurbished bridge near Sangoldoro, which is functional but unsafe to carry larger vehicles or perhaps cattle. This limits the amount of goods which can reach Sangoldoro leading to residents considering its cattle market non-functional, as seen on the Trade Infrastructure Map.

Another such example highlights the difficulty of maintaining even the most vital bridges. In Paoua the main crossing in the centre of town was washed away due to heavy rains and replaced with a temporary bridge (pictured below left). This structure is also unable to carry heavier vehicles, presenting a major logistical barrier between the airport and market in Paoua. This temporary solution is likely to last for months as MINUSCA's budget does not cover construction during the rainy season.



Infrastructure to support a peaceful co-existence

Throughout the consultations respondents were asked not only about what infrastructure existed, what state it was in and what replacement or repair was needed, but also what infrastructure would help to support a peaceful co-existence between communities, in particular between transhumant, semi-settled and settled.

The 244 respondents were each able to give multiple answers. These are captured in the table below.

Infrastructure	Count	Percentage
Cassava drying area	195	16%
Market	149	12%
Animal pharmacy	138	12%
Presence of FNEC	107	9%
Village well (Forage)	103	8%
Pastoral well (Puit pastoral)	99	9%
Veterinary post	74	6%
Cattle vaccination area	58	5%
Community warehouse	57	4%
Cattle pen (enclosure)	43	4%
Presence of ACDA	40	3%
Slaughterhouse	30	2%
Water troughs	30	3%
Butchers	19	2%
Bridge	17	1%
Presence of ANDE	14	1%
Health centre	11	1%
Seed	6	1%
Grazing zones	4	0%
NFI	4	0%
Road infrastructure	2	0%

The responses were varied but indicate what are seen as the key infrastructures for a peaceful co-existence (in order): cassava drying areas, markets, animal pharmacies, pastoral wells, presence of FNEC, village and pastoral wells.

Why is cassava drying a potential source of conflict?

Cassava is well suited to cultivation in CAR: it is one of the most drought-tolerant crops, can be successfully grown on marginal soils and gives reasonable yields in situations where many other crops do not grow well.

Cassava is also a poisonous root vegetable. It needs to be treated in a very long process to extract the poison and make it non-toxic to eat. Treatment includes:

1. Harvesting the root from the ground in its raw form (tubercule)
2. Leaving it in water for three days while the poison soaks out and the root becomes soft
3. Removing the outer skin, putting the soft flesh in a bag and leaving it with a heavy weight on top for some time to squeeze out the water.
4. Putting it on a dry, flat surface (the cassava drying area) to dry the pieces of flesh.
5. Grinding it into a powder or flour format either by pounding manually or in a mill so that it is ready to mix with boiling water into a thick paste.

The cassava drying areas needs to be well aired and flat, so growers often use rocks or pavements: cassava flesh can be seen laid out at the side of paved roads (close to the pollution from exhaust fumes) or on flat rocks which are often close to water points and wells. Cattle finding the cassava are certain to eat it as they find it a luxury food: herders may be slow to prevent this as they say cassava gives much milk and higher fertility to cows.

Grouping infrastructure to support a peaceful co-existence.

To better illustrate the responses, they were grouped into the following categories:

Communal health and water: Health centres and borehole wells for villagers

Agriculture: Cassava drying areas, community warehouses and seeds

Road and bridges: Bridges and road infrastructure

Markets and trade: Markets, slaughterhouses and butchers

Animal Health: Cattle vaccination parks, animal pharmacies, veterinary posts and pastoral wells.

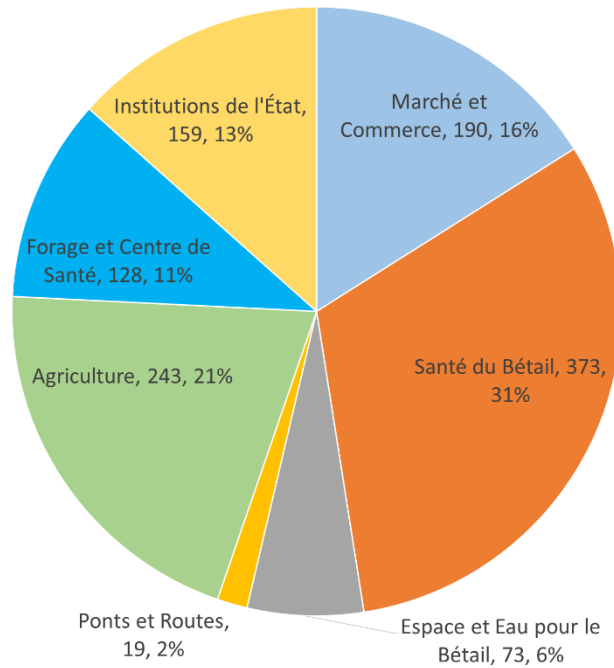
Herding infrastructure: Cattle pens and troughs.

State institutions: presence of FNEC, ACDA and ANDE

Analysis using these groupings is shown below.

Total responses grouped by category

Recommandations Ce qui Solidifierait les Relations?

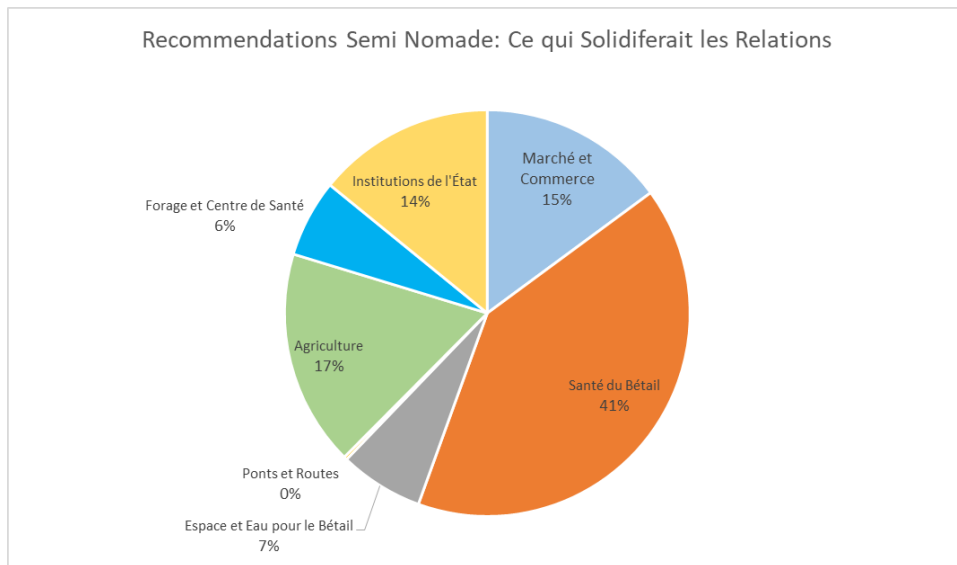
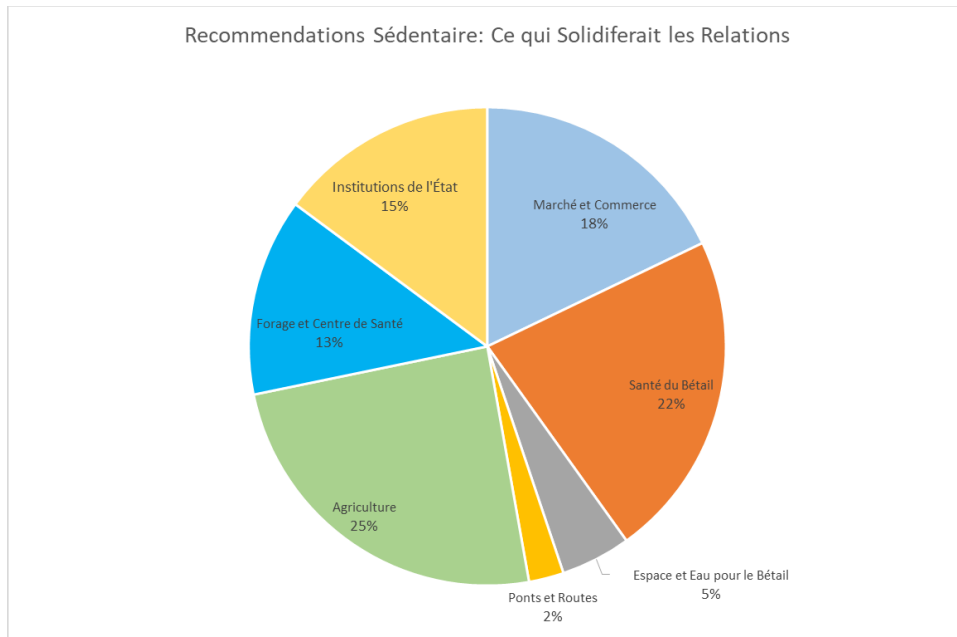


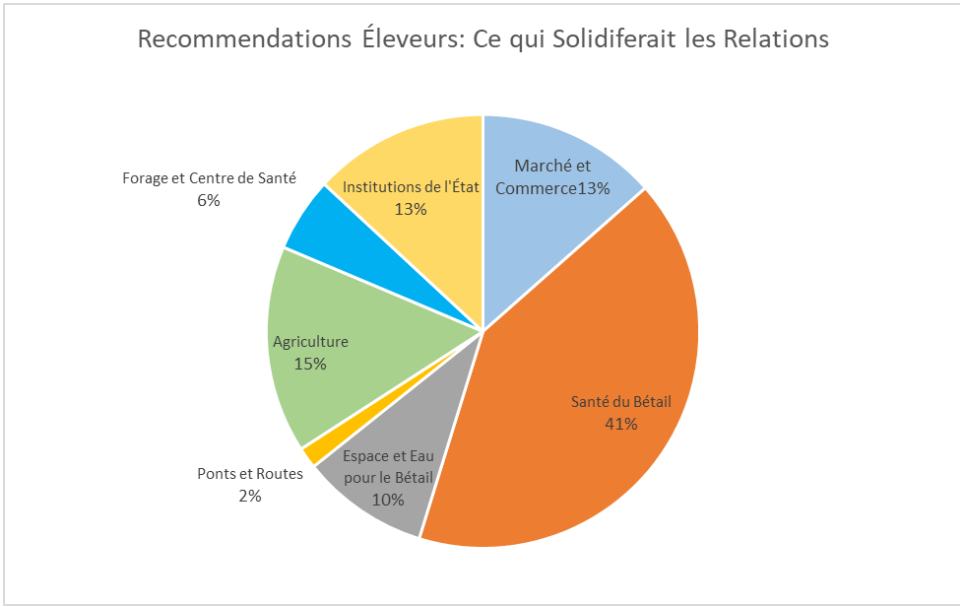
The largest areas of recommendation were animal health, agriculture, trade and state institutions. As state institutions are strongly linked with animal health (FNEC, ANDE) and agriculture (ACDA), these are the areas that emerge with strong majorities.

While it might be assumed that respondents would advocate for more of the infrastructure that serves their livelihood, an encouraging trend has been observed; herders and farmers recommend improvements to the other's key infrastructure in addition to their own. This suggests that, when considering what is necessary for a peaceful co-existence, each recognises the benefit of the other having the infrastructure needed for their livelihood. As seen below, although settled, semi-settled and herder respondents prioritised the infrastructure they use, the other's priority came in second place. Settled respondents were only slightly more likely to recommend agriculture than animal health infrastructure as needed to support a peaceful co-existence: this may be because they are aware of what infrastructure around animal health existed in the past as part of what was a more peaceful transhumance.

Responses divided by occupation:

Settled, Semi-nomad, Herders

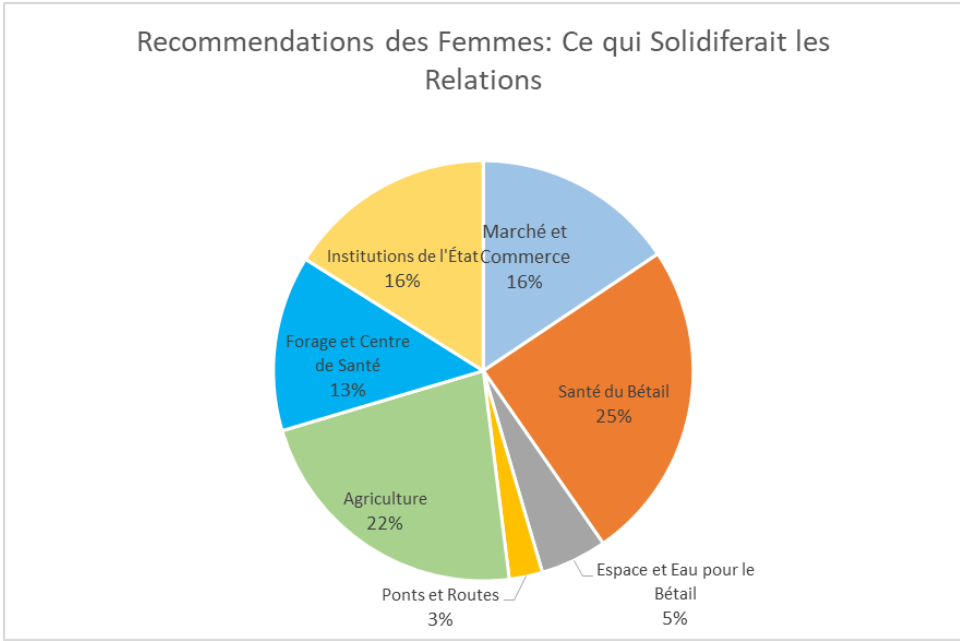


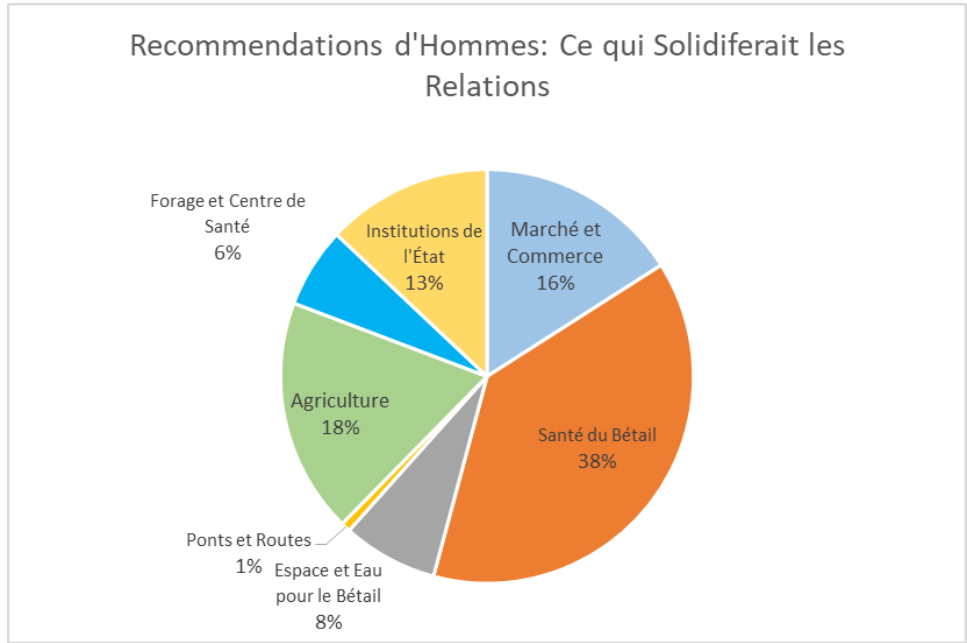


The responses, with all occupations believing animal health to be an important driver of peaceful co-existence, indicate that a cattle vaccination campaign such as that conducted by FAO as part of this programme, is likely to have a strong positive effect on relations between communities.

Responses split by Gender:

Women, Men





The difference in respondents' answers by gender suggests a tendency to recommend infrastructure applicable in those areas where the gender is traditionally more active. Women are more likely to be the ones who collect water for domestic use and experience the conflict around this: they responded in higher numbers that communal water points would help peaceful co-existence. For men, more said that more herding spaces and water points for animals were necessary for communities to co-exist peacefully: this may be because they are more likely to be experiencing conflict around feeding and watering livestock first hand.

Security and Conflict around Transhumance

The information on security and conflict around transhumance collected during this FAO funded cartography project has been supplemented with learning from Concordis consultations conducted in Ouham Pendé in 2019 and 2021. This may not always reflect more recent changes: for example in the operations, alliances and indeed nomenclatures of armed groups.

The role of the state in promoting mechanisms for peaceful transhumance

In many areas, delivery of state services, including veterinary services and the maintenance of water infrastructure, in support of transhumance has ceased. While some services such as the agents of ANDE are slowly returning, their presence is still not felt beyond major towns. Communities perceive this as both the result of and resulting in insecurity, caused at least in part by armed groups. Settled communities report a lack of state involvement in enabling passage for herders that is safe for all communities and a lack of state enforcement of regulations around zoning of land for farming and for transhumance.

Some armed groups have actively sought to appropriate roles and prerogatives normally associated with state authorities, including security, conflict resolution, taxation, governance of cattle markets and licensing cross-border transhumance. In some places, settled populations complain this has created a new public authority which is perceived to be biased in favour of herders, to their own detriment. The 2019 consultation showed that 3R had also encroached on the marketing of cattle, prohibiting butchers and traders from accessing cattle camps directly in some places, and replacing local authorities in controlling and imposing taxes on cattle markets.²⁴

Settled communities want the state to provide and secure the use of clear, demarcated zoning with designated routes for transhumance corridors. Transhumants want the state to ensure farmers leave livestock corridors as soon as the harvest is completed. There is also a role for the state to provide security for women working in the fields or living alone in villages and to assist in the creation of mobile night camping areas for livestock, where animals are kept together and prevented from running off into fields of crops.

These initiatives could go hand in hand with FNEC and other technical agencies restarting activities such as vaccinations and veterinary service delivery. The provision of these services requires security.

Security around transhumance

All communities define security in relation to livelihoods. Settled, semi-settled and transhumant communities all prioritise protection of their livelihoods and security which, for them, are closely intertwined. Most settled groups indicate that it is a lack of security that prevents them from undertaking livelihood activities. For herders, the health of their herd is imperative: when faced with restrictions – whether due to climate change, conflict or political impositions – access to alternative safe pasture becomes their primary concern. Farmers, equally, frame their security in terms of access to farmland to

²⁴ IPIS/Concordis Promoting peaceful and safe seasonal migration in northern Central African Republic, Results of consultation with transboundary herders semi-settled herders and settled communities in Ouham Pendé and Western Ouham, Antwerp, December 2020. P.73

harvest food to survive and, ideally, to sell at market. As herders measure their wellbeing in terms of the health of their herds, farmers include food security in their definition of security.

Sustainable security requires a broad approach including delivery of services, in particular the enforcement of zoning agreements, vaccinations for cattle at border crossings, rehabilitation of waterpoints and the provision of medicine and education. Security needs to be appropriate for each context, centred around the needs of those requiring security and focused on prevention of the issues currently caused by an absence of security.

There is a notable difference in stated perceptions of security between women and men. Close to 60% of women consulted in 2021 in Ouham-Pendé and Ouham reported feeling insecure compared with just over 40% of men. The youngest are the most fearful – almost 70% of young women (18-25) feel their situation is not safe.

Over 60% of those from settled communities consulted in 2021 described their current security situation as bad or very bad. In contrast under 20% of transhumant herders described their security situation as bad and none described it as very bad. This gap has widened since 2019. Reporting teams link settled insecurity to more herders now coming with arms. Transhumant herders may feel more secure because of a fall in revenge attacks towards the herders in zones no longer under Anti-Balaka control and because of much improved social cohesion in areas where the two communities were previously segregated, or zones were considered dangerous for herders. More recently, however, social cohesion has deteriorated with the arrival of bilateral forces and a rise in stigmatisation causing greater distancing of herders from farmer communities.

Almost half of those from settled communities consulted said they had suffered abuse, compared with a quarter of transhumants. Those from settled communities described the abuse as destruction of fields by cattle (58%), physical violence (14%), food insecurity (8%), rape and other forms of sexualised violence (7%), pillaging, racketing and cattle rustling (7%) and destruction of houses, including by fire (6%). Settled communities also reported abuse against those conducting transhumance. All percentages had fallen, some considerably, between the consultations in 2019 and those in 2021.

Settled communities blame transhumant herders and armed groups – more or less equally – for their insecurity. As long as “foreign herders” are seen as responsible for 90% of field destructions, settled communities will see them as one of the main drivers of insecurity. Reporting teams say that in 2019 there was much more generalisation on the basis of one individual’s behaviour, with reports of incidents involving acts of violence by individuals from specific ethnic groups prompting general comments based on the ethnicity of the group. In 2021 those in settled groups were more prepared to consider before extrapolating to an entire ethnicity.

When asked to list the main obstacles to peace, most of those consulted referred to the security situation, with armed bandits and armed groups among the key challenges. Close to half of all respondents in settled and herder communities mentioned one or more armed groups, including 3R or Seleka and Anti-Balaka groups, depending on the location. In 2019, herders were careful not to blame local populations: they were more likely to attribute cattle theft or slaughter to Anti-Balaka and illegal taxation, pillage and

racketeering to Seleka, RJ and 3R²⁵. In 2019, butchers and settled women were the ones to accuse their own youth of attacking cattle camps: ‘Nowadays our youth prefers to raid cattle rather than working the fields’.

Despite the local populations’ high levels of perceived insecurity, they display a continuous and strong trust in state authority (and, to a lesser extent, in MINUSCA) to provide for their security. At the time of the consultations in 2021, over 95% of the settled population and almost 80% of transhumant herders consulted saw FACA as one of the main actors to provide security and keep the peace and called for the restoration of FACA as the guarantor of security. Settled populations recognised that MINUSCA and FACA patrols had re-established peace along the main roads. In all communities, a significant proportion also mentioned the role of local authorities such as mayors and village chiefs in keeping the peace, with some even explaining the importance of FACA and MINUSCA as reinforcing their authority.

Demand was widespread amongst settled communities and transhumant herders for an urgent restoration of state authority. This would need to include the delivery of services – from vaccinations at border crossings for cattle entering CAR through to teachers and provision of medicine.

Since 2021, attitudes towards FACA appear to have changed due to the war between FACA and the Patriotic Coalition for Change (CPC). The change is not linked to FACA fighting an active war against elements of the CPC, but to their perceived collaboration with the international security forces (ISF). They were seen to have changed their behaviour, becoming more brutal not only towards herders but towards the population of CAR in general. They were also seen to benefit from a high level of impunity, taking advantage of this to tax herders and in some cases imprisoning or committing acts of violence against people they suspected of offences, with no fear of repercussions over false claims. More recently there has been an improvement as leaders have realised that such behaviour cannot continue.

Fewer than 3% of those in both settled and transhumant groups in the 2021 consultations identified the armed groups as the best actor to guarantee their security. Although 3R claimed its sole purpose to be protecting pastoralists from attacks, most armed groups appear to have abandoned their initial identities as community defence groups (RJ and other Anti-Balaka typically hailing from farmers, and 3R from herders), instead appearing to focus more on rent-seeking from the cattle herders they were formed to protect.

The erosion of local dispute resolution mechanisms

There is a correlation between the presence of peaceful dispute resolution mechanisms, security and the quality of interactions with ‘the other’. People who feel less safe tend to have fewer economic interactions, which can have repercussions for their livelihood, and tend to be less accepting of social interaction.

When communities were asked what they felt would be necessary to make transhumance peaceful, it was widely agreed that a mechanism for dispute resolution on sharing natural resources – in the context of

²⁵ IPIS/Concordis Promoting peaceful and safe seasonal migration in northern Central African Republic, Results of consultation with transboundary herders semi-settled herders and settled communities in Ouham Pendé and Western Ouham, Antwerp, December 2020. P.46

Ouham-Pendé, essentially sharing land and water sources– and another mechanism for informing local communities of herders’ arrival are overriding priorities.

Previously, herders would solve disputes by turning to local authorities such as the mayor. Since the crisis of 2012 and 2013, amicable agreements have come under threat with state actors no longer able to act as final guarantor to enforce agreed measures. The 2019 consultation found that traditional dispute settlement organised by local authorities has completely crumbled,²⁶ and close to 40% of the settled population said they had not searched for mediation in disputes that had occurred during the previous two years.²⁷ Findings in 2021 confirmed these observations.²⁸

In place of traditional authorities, new actors have started to be involved in dispute settlements, including MINUSCA, FACA, armed groups and higher state authorities. The 2019 consultation found that many transboundary herders who have paid taxes to 3R will also refer to the group for dispute resolution, bypassing traditional conflict resolution mechanisms, although this was found to be at the behest of the armed group rather than a preference expressed by the herders.

While longstanding mechanisms for managing conflicts are losing popularity among settled communities, reportedly in part because of armed groups supplanting traditional authorities and being seen as biased towards the herders, the Chefs de village are still recognised by many in both transhumant and settled groups as reliable intermediaries. There is also widespread openness to new conflict resolution mechanisms. The Advisory Groups established after Concordis’ 2019 consultation have become widely recognised for working to prevent conflicts through making groups aware of each other’s practical needs and taking a collaborative approach when conflicts do occur.

Herders in both the 2019 and the 2021 consultations believe they are more inclined than settled populations to try to settle an issue amicably: findings from the 2019 consultations were that this is not seen as a viable option by settled populations, who say herders cannot be trusted to keep amicable arrangements, especially if they carry weapons.²⁹

The success of any dispute resolution mechanism is generally deemed to depend more on the personalities involved than on the station or role of those personalities.

²⁶ In the surveys, 131 incidents were reported from 98 respondents in the last two years. 14 transhumants and 84 from settled populations interviewees have declared a conflictual incident within the last 2 years. 8 transhumants and 25 settled population respondents have declared an additional one. In total, 22 incidents were reported by transhumants and 109 by the settled population.

²⁷ IPIS/Concordis Promoting peaceful and safe seasonal migration in northern Central African Republic, Results of consultation with transboundary herders semi-settled herders and settled communities in Ouham Pendé and Western Ouham, Antwerp, December 2020. P.67

²⁸ Concordis, Promoting peaceful transhumance in northern Central African Republic: Findings from the 2021 consultations in Ouham-Pendé and western Ouham, London, 2021. P.66.

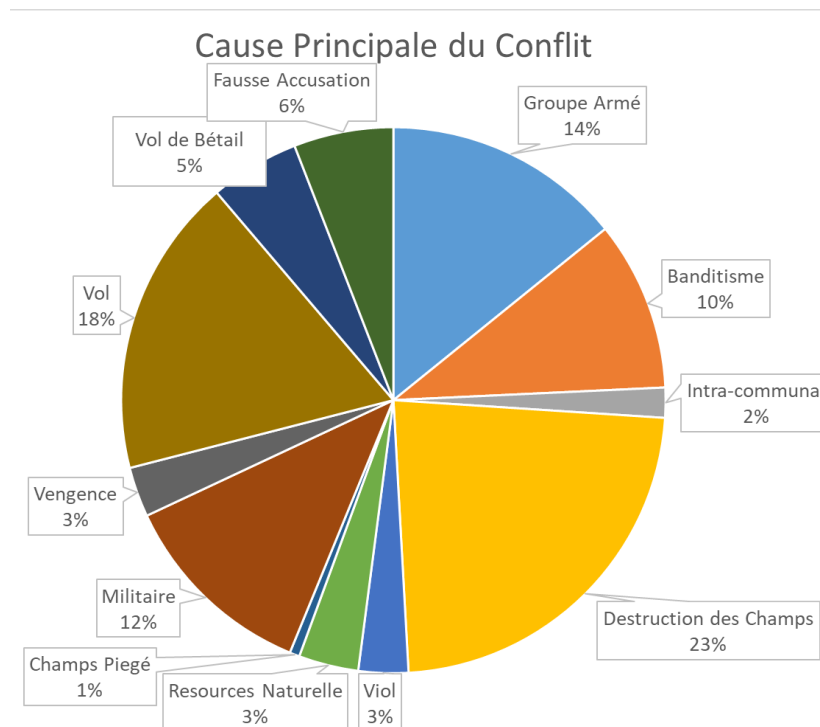
²⁹ IPIS/Concordis Promoting peaceful and safe seasonal migration in northern Central African Republic, Results of consultation with transboundary herders semi-settled herders and settled communities in Ouham Pendé and Western Ouham, Antwerp, December 2020. P.68

Cartography of Security and Conflict in localities visited:

Many conflict dynamics in CAR have come to revolve around the governance of transhumance – ownership of animals, access to pastures, paid forms of ‘protection’ and the taxation of cattle corridors. Because of the value concentrated in cattle, livestock has turned into a coveted prize in the conflict.³⁰

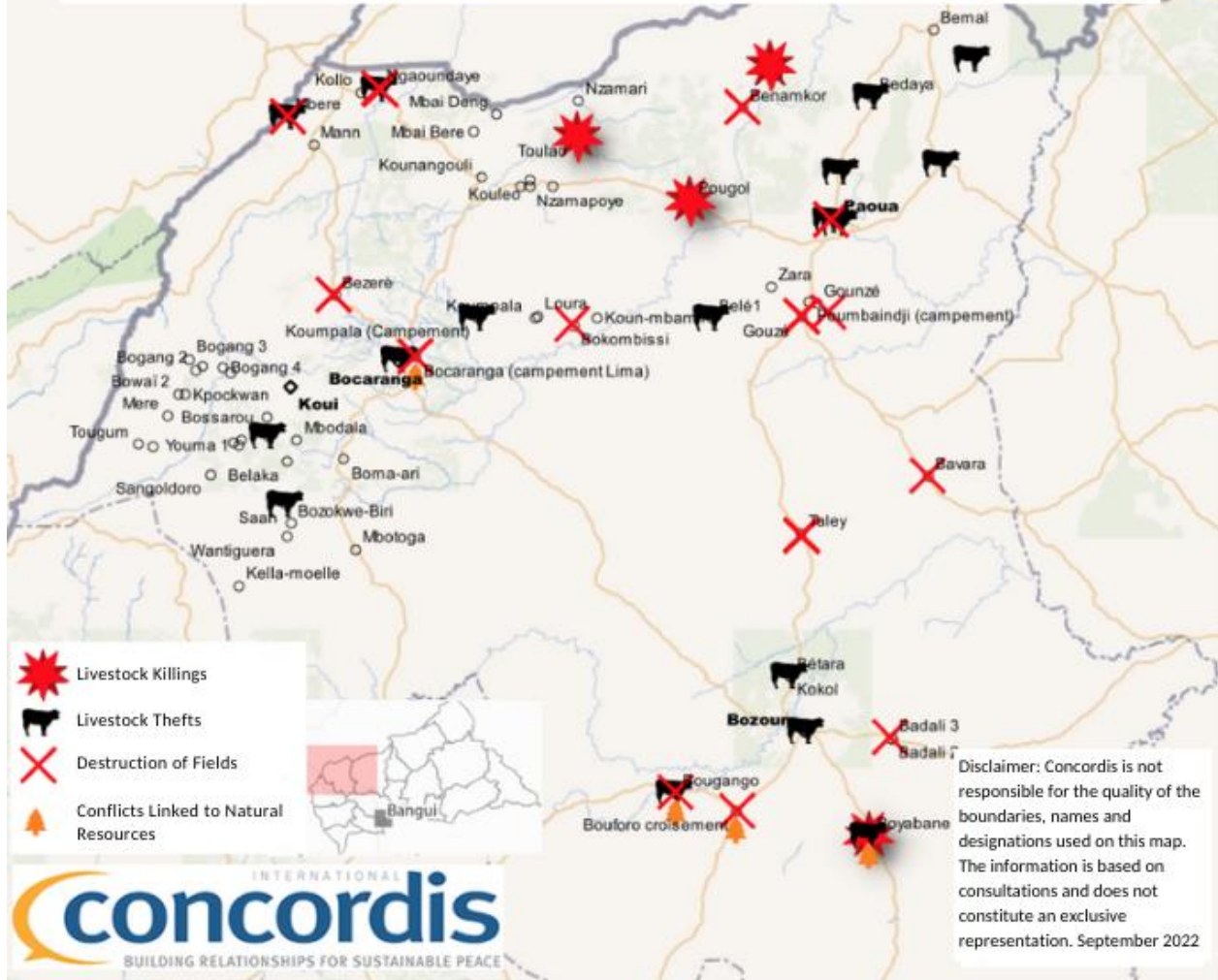
In Ouham-Pendé, grievances and resentments are expressed against groups as defined by their livelihood – herder or farmer – rather than by ethnicity or religion. There is a notable absence of references to ethnicity or religion when talking about problems with other communities.

For most respondents, their primary grievance relates to crop destruction, cattle rustling, illegal taxation and false accusations. Herders disproportionately emphasise illegal taxation as a key grievance, followed closely by cattle rustling and the killing of cattle. Illegal taxation is attributed largely to armed groups as well as FACA. We thus see two drivers of conflict – the physical effects of the transhumance on crops and actions against cattle, and attacks on individuals by 3R, FACA and bandits.

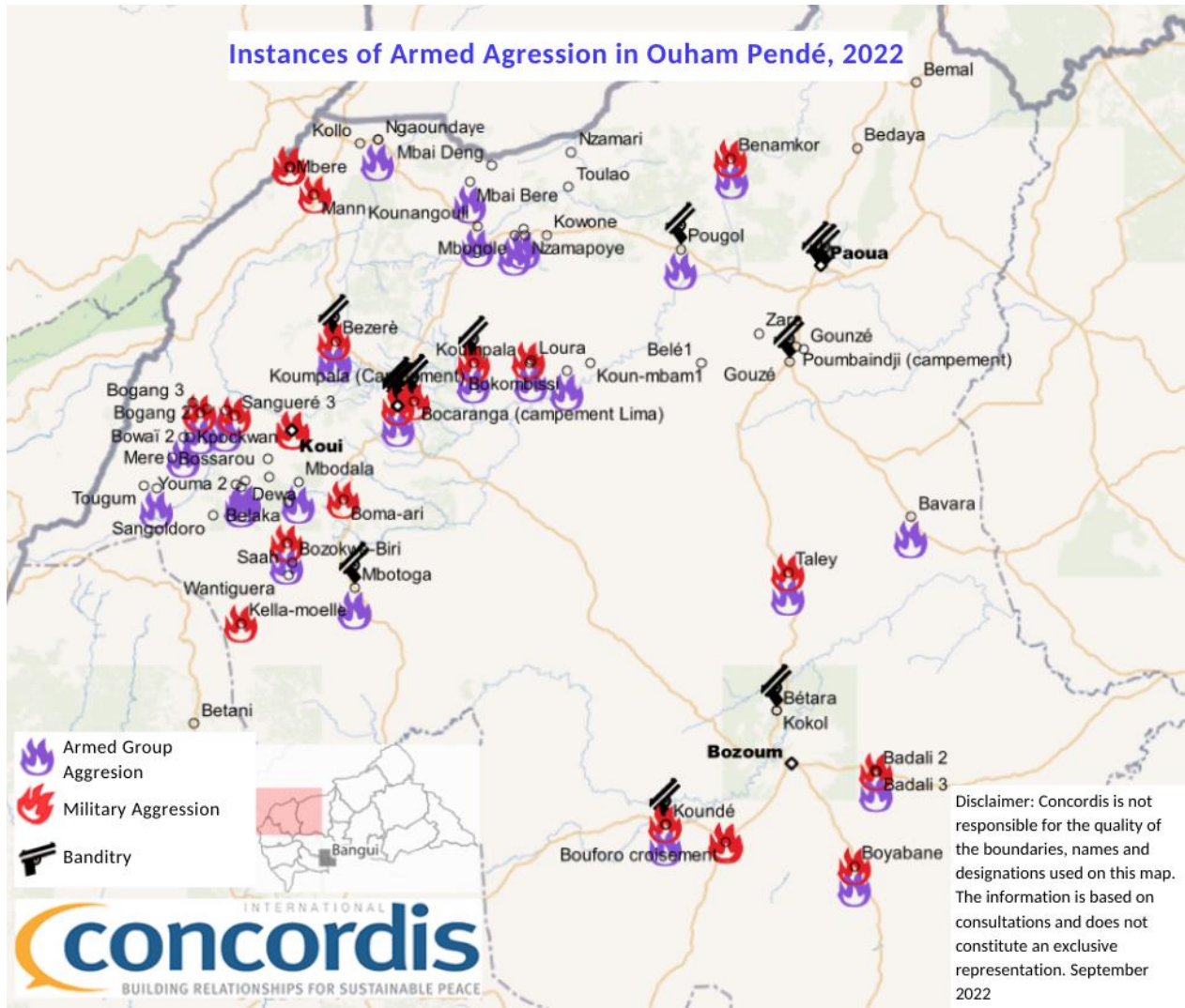


³⁰ Cf. Schouten, P., & Kalessopo, S.-P. (2017). *The Politics of Pillage: the political economy of roadblocks in the Central African Republic*. Copenhagen/Antwerp: DIIS/IPIS; IPIS/DIIS (2018) *Central African Republic: a conflict mapping*; de Vries, L. (2020). Navigating violence and exclusion: The Mbororo's claim to the Central African Republic's margins. *Geoforum*, 109, 162-170.

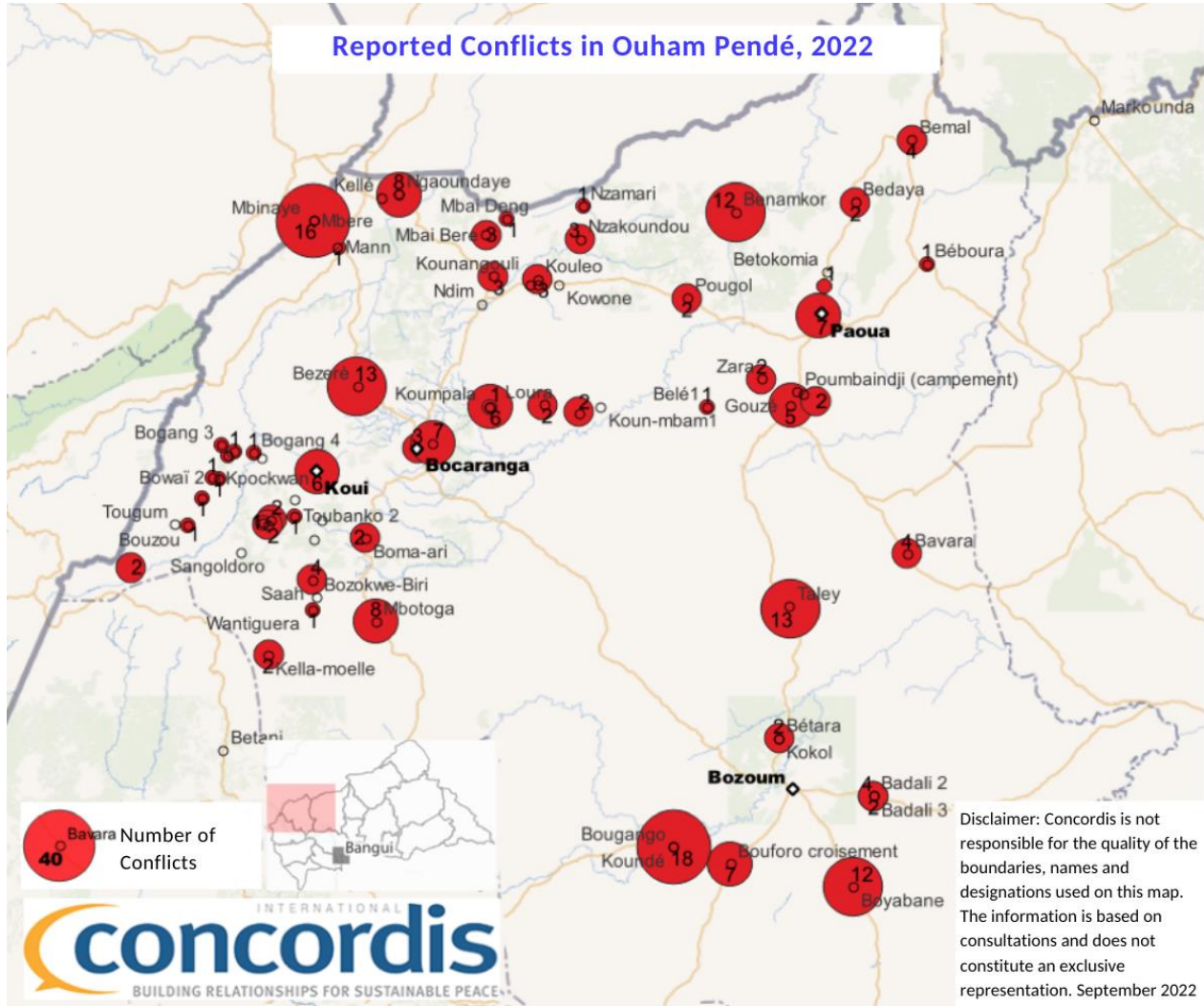
Instances of Conflicts Directly Linked to Transhumance in Ouham Pendé, 2022

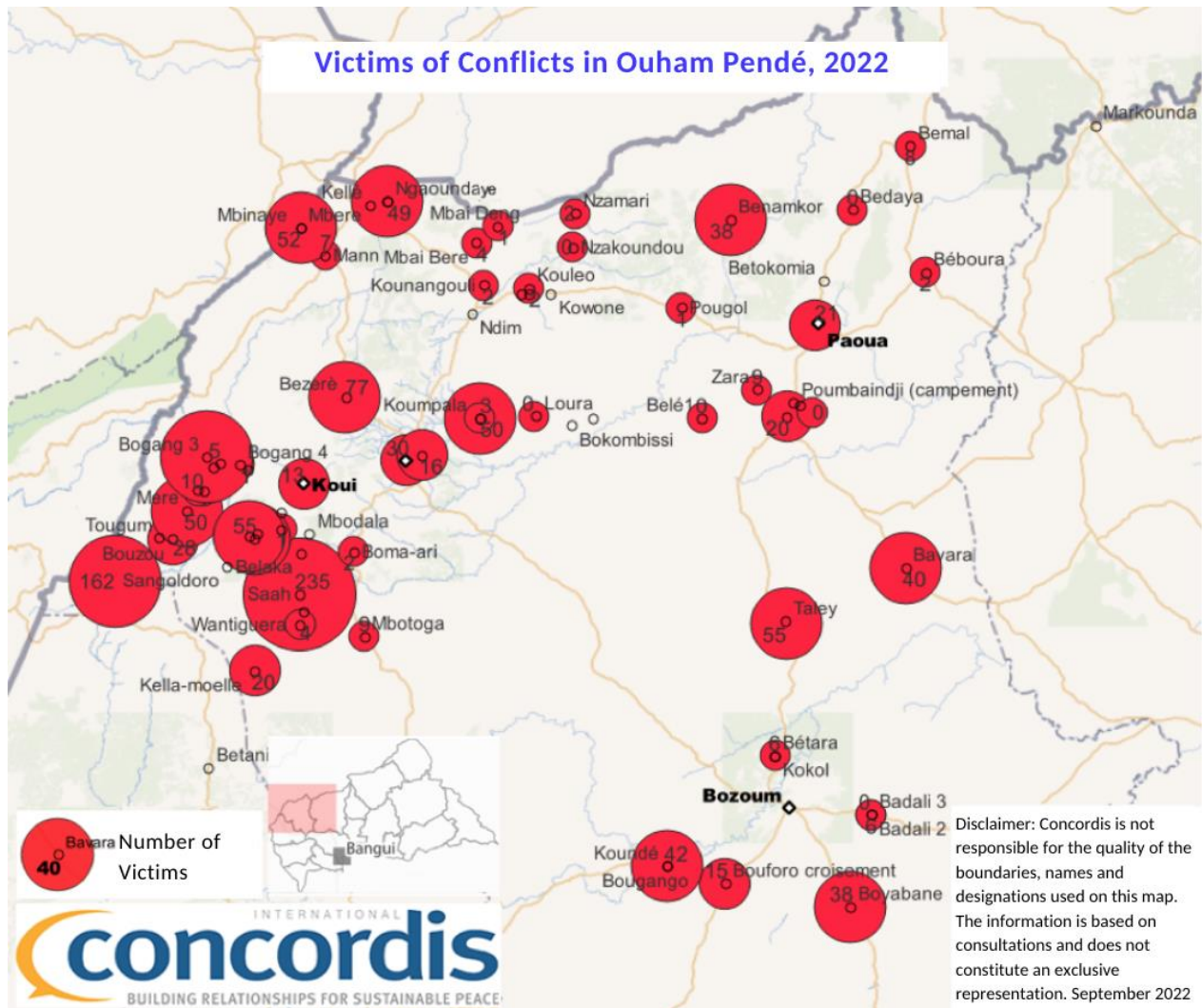


Instances of Armed Aggression in Ouham Pendé, 2022



Reported Conflicts in Ouham Pendé, 2022





Conflict and Transhumance:

The theft of cattle and destruction of fields follow known transhumance routes, including an important axis which goes south from Chad through Bema, Paoua, Gouzé and Bavara. What is clear from this map though is that the theft of cattle and destruction of fields are not significantly correlated, meaning that these aren't necessarily in a cycle of retribution but rather a result of the transhumance itself. With destruction of fields being the primary cause of conflict identified respondents often called for increased dialogue between herders and farmers so that the transhumance could be organised more effectively. As previously stated, both parties understand, and aim for, the mutually beneficial relationship which is possible during the transhumance.

Armed Violence:

A recent development has been the targeted killing of cattle by FACA forces, for example in Mbali, near Pougol where government forces opened fire on herders resulting in their flight and loss of 750 heads of cattle. 3R's stated goal to protect transhumant herders amid the conflict has brought suspicion against

herders, who have been accused of acting as reconnaissance units and auxiliaries to set up ambushes against government forces. Herders traveling through the bush are often armed for their own protection, bringing them under suspicion, and are distrustful of being questioned by FACA troops on patrol leading to tense encounters which have led to firefights. Furthermore, respondents reported Russian forces not making a distinction between herders and 3R.

When comparing the maps showing armed aggression and casualties, there is more violence in areas where there is a presence of both armed groups and FACA. This is logical due to the increased likelihood of military confrontation. This fact also adds to the likelihood of herders being accused of fighting for 3R if they have an active presence in the region, as they do along the western border, central northern border and in the south-east. The Victims of Conflict map shows that the highest concentration is mostly in these areas, in Kouï sub-prefecture and in the southeast. Concerning Kouï prefecture it is possible that the shockingly heavy fighting and targeting of civilians is connected to arms trafficking across the border with Cameroon, which is also struggling with armed groups such as Boko Haram in the far north and the Anglophone crisis leading to an “Arms trade triangle”.³¹ In the case of the south-east 3R holds the mining areas around Taley leading to higher confrontations over the valuable resources.

On the northern border the map shows a wide variation of conflict instances and numbers of victims, with the government-held northwest (near Ngaoundaye) seeing few instances of armed violence but many victims, the 3R held centre with few reported victims and instances of rebel requisitions on villagers and the government held north-east where violence is heavily concentrated around Benamkor. The lack of armed groups and the existence of a military presence in and around Bemal and on the nearby corridors explains the historic and current low level of conflict and armed aggression. There are reports that both FACA and 3R engage in illegal taxation, and the issue of double taxation on the Chadian and Central African sides of the border is a strong incentive for herders to evade authorities – potentially leading to accusations and conflict.

³¹ The Anglophone Crisis: The Rise of Arms Trafficking and Smuggling, its Effects on the Two English Regions of Cameroon Morgan Tebei Nwati

Gender Based Violence – prevalence and prevention

Those factors that have undermined peaceful transhumance in CAR in recent years are for the most part factors that also create the conditions for an increase in incidents of gender based violence (GBV). These include political instability, the presence of armed groups and pressures around climate change. More specifically, as detailed above, these factors have led to the destruction or degradation of existing agro-pastoral infrastructures: offices and agencies of state institutions, designated cattle routes, pastures, water points, cattle markets, parks, farmlands, health and veterinary centres. The absence of all of these is an aggravating factor in the widespread conflict around transhumance in the prefectures of Ouham and Ouham Pende and contributes to the conditions for an increase in incidences of gender based violence.

When asking about GBV, questions were asked to make sure people knew what kind of behaviour and incidents were being asked about, including:

1. Denying of resources: a husband who does not allow the wife to sell at the market or to go to work or to do any activity that can bring her money.
2. Forced marriage of children
3. Torture or other physical abuse
4. Torture or other psychological abuse.
5. Sexual violence
6. Rape

Data collected from across Ouham Pendé reveals correlations between the lack of agro-pastoral infrastructures, the presence of armed groups (including armed transhumants) and both physical and gender-based violence. For example, participants interviewed in Pougol, Bavara and Benamkor remarked that gender-based violence is often committed by the 3R armed group. It would be simplistic and dangerous, however, to say that GBV is always inflicted by the other: in the village of Gouze, participants noted that GBV is in most cases orchestrated by intimate partners, who violate them physically, as well as by armed transhumants from Chad.

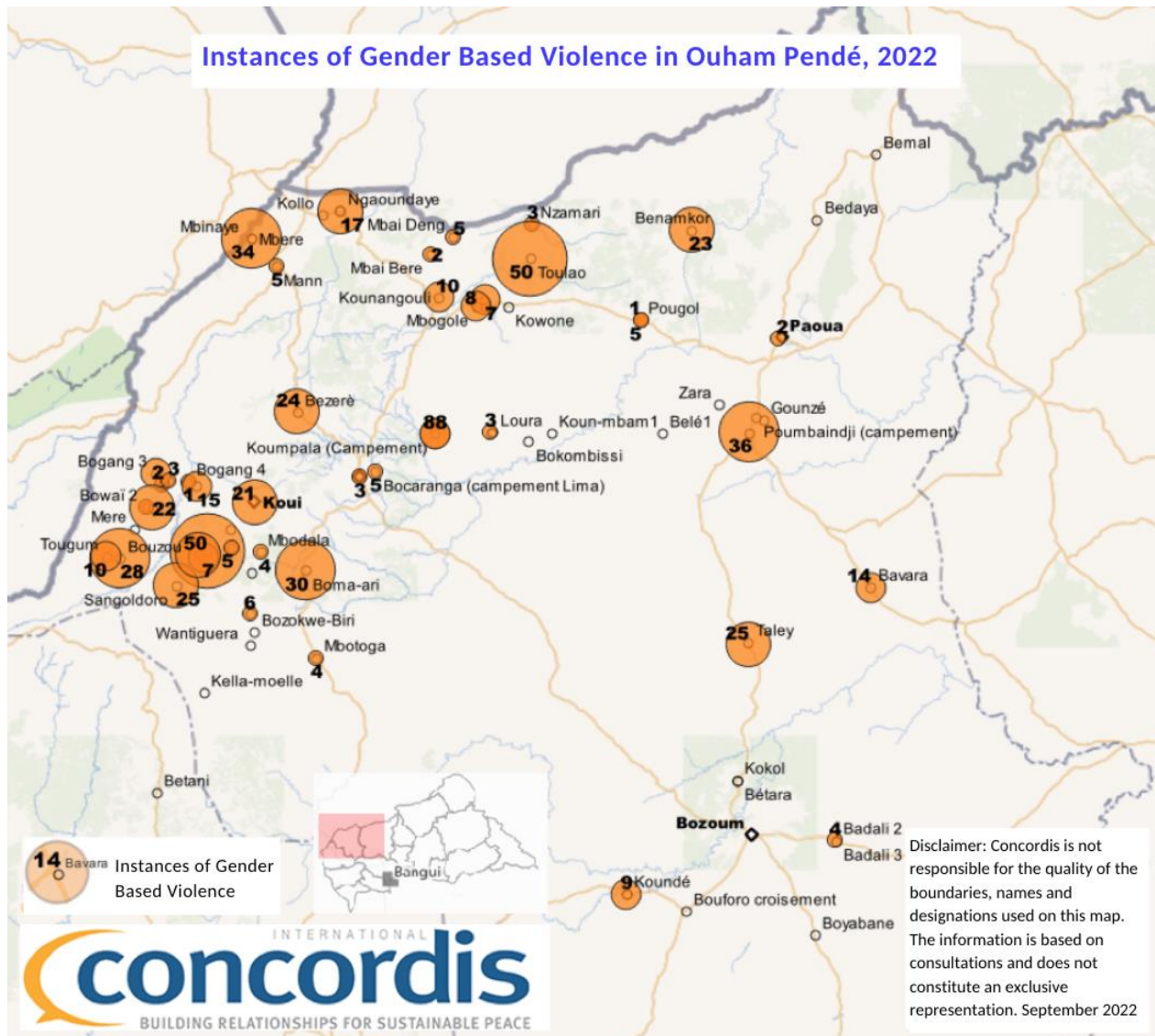
Data shows that women are particularly vulnerable to incidences of gender-based violence outside the home, with victims violated on their way to the market, water point and fields. In a focus group discussion, resident farmers in Taley stated that *'gender-based violence is a recurrent event in our locality because women are often violated by armed groups in the farms.'*

Undoubtedly, cases of gender-based violence are under-reported globally. This is likely to be true to an even greater degree in the Central African Republic due to factors such as the stigmatisation of victims, past experiences, and the fear of being disowned or made homeless among other cultural considerations. Moreover, the unwillingness to report is not helped by the lack of adequate response facilities to support the victims during this process.

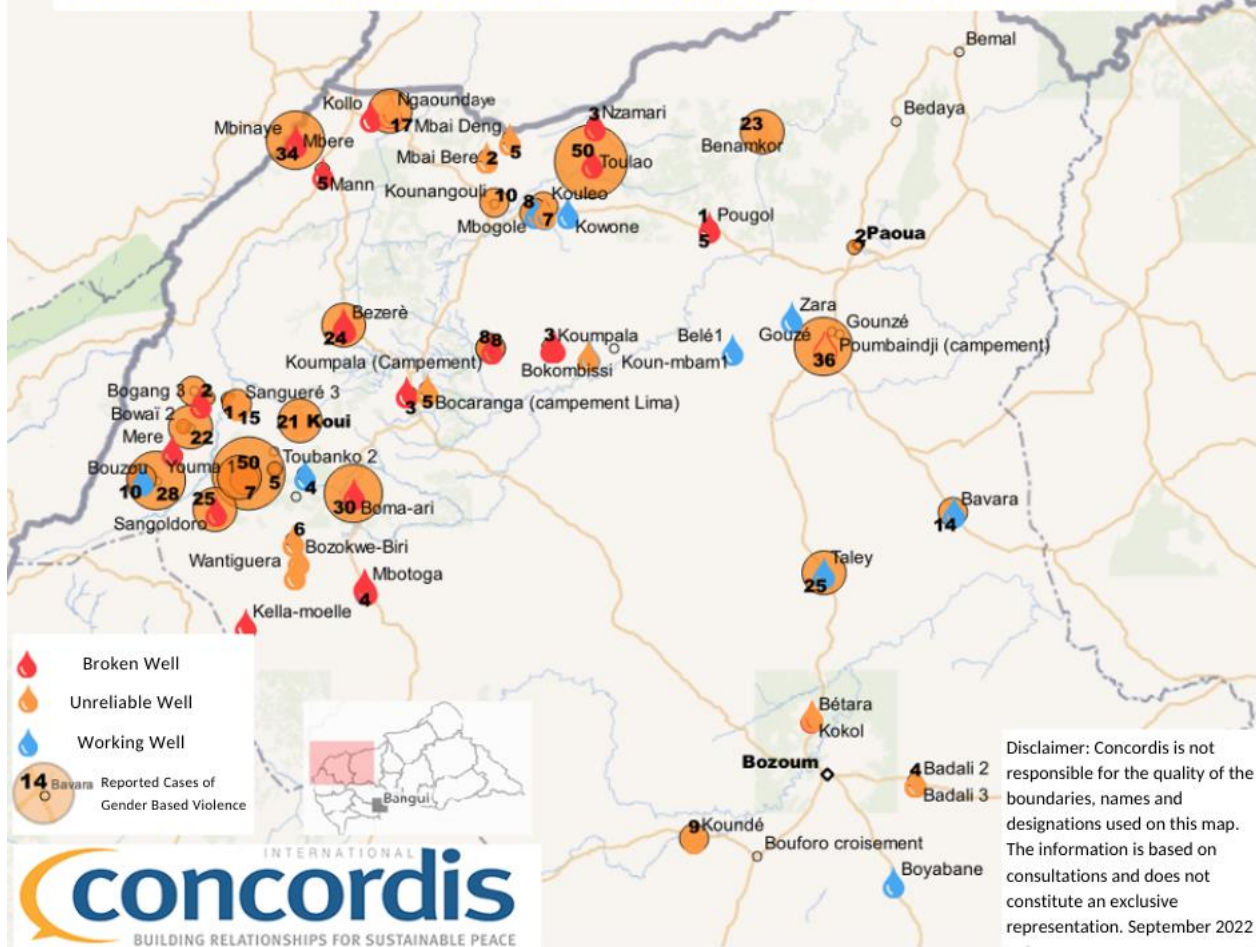
While it is important to separate correlation and causation – and even more important not to allow these findings to bestow impunity on perpetrators of domestic GBV – the maps and tables below suggest strongly that the restoration and renovation of agro-pastoral infrastructure, in particular safe access to water points, would reduce incidences of gender-based violence and hence increase the likelihood of

peaceful transhumance in the prefecture of Ouham Pende. The difference in number of cases of GBV reported in villages with a working well and those where there is no well or an unreliable well is particularly striking: 12 of the 14 villages reporting the highest cases of GBV also report no well or an unreliable well and nine villages that report a working well also report fewer than five cases of GBV. It should be noted that in the biggest outlier, Taley, which reported a functional well and high cases of GBV, the community requested more wells and also reported relying on the river as a source of water. The need for some women to go to the river because the working well is not sufficient for the whole community may put them in situations where they are more vulnerable to GBV or there may be more potential for incidents of violence around the well as users compete for the limited water.

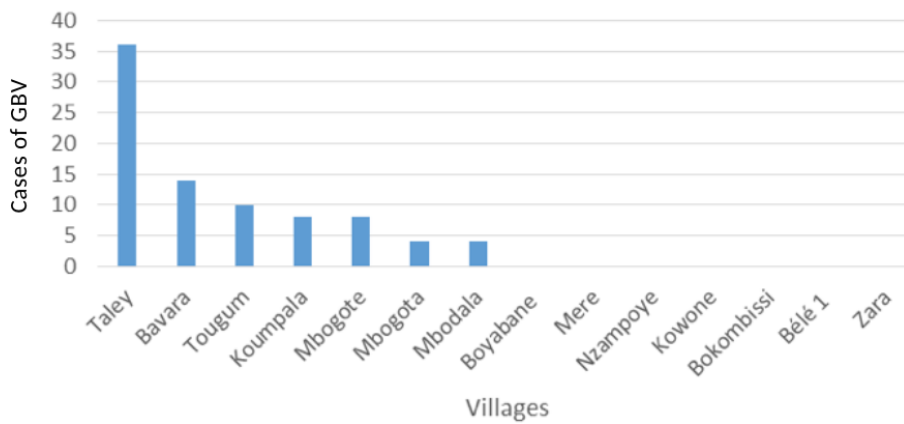
Cartography of Gender-Based Violence in Localities Visited:



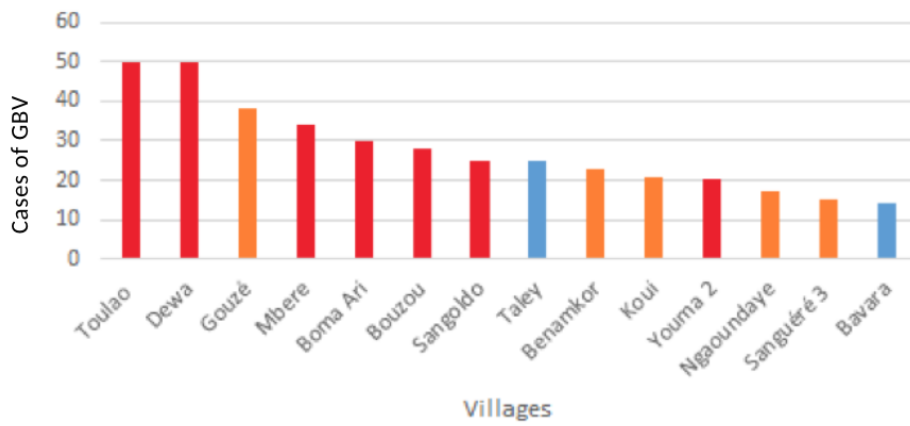
Cases of Gender Based Violence and the State of Water Resources in Ouham Pendé, 2022



Reported Cases of GBV in 14 Villages with Reliable Wells



14 Villages With the Highest Reported Cases of GBV and the Status of Their Water Resources



Key:

Red = no well, relying on river for drinking water

Orange = unreliable well

Blue = functional well

Methodology

Cartography

The tools used for data collection in the context of cartography (mapping) were:

1. Touch phones, with:

- A questionnaire that asked about existing infrastructure relating to transhumance, infrastructure requiring rehabilitation and the occurrence of conflicts.
- A second questionnaire on the location of infrastructure: this recorded GPS codes and a photo.

2. Focus groups which collected qualitative responses concerning infrastructure relating to transhumance, conflicts and gender-based violence.

3. Individual exchanges with people who know the area, transhumance or both, including ardos, village chiefs and traditional leaders.

Map Creation

The mapping involved collecting three kinds of data: data that identified existing infrastructure, data that identified infrastructure that needed renovation, and data on facilities to be prioritised for repair or rebuilding based on their role in creating a peaceful coexistence between the pastoralist and agricultural communities.

GPS locations were collated using infrastructure information and overlaid on a map to produce the final result.

Detail of the mapping work:

Data collection took place February to March 2022.

Sub-prefecture	Number of villages visited	Number of people consulted	Number of women consulted	Number of herders consulted
Bozoum	10	300	132	142
Paoua	10	233	43	152
Bocaranga*	5	190	55	105
Ngaoudaye**		41	4	33
Koui***		70	10	17

*The Concordis team could not access certain areas in **Bocaranga** due to the presence of explosive mines and confrontations between the ISF and armed groups, so data collection was completed by the more widely accepted local members of the Advisory Group.

The consultation in **Ngaoudaye was short in that it was very difficult to find breeders. They remained in the area around Kowonne and Ndim, not accessible due to the presence of armed groups.

***NGO partner GDAP collected data from areas near the border for the consultation in **Koui**.

Overcoming challenges

The gathering of information on infrastructure created multiple challenges for the teams in the field: security concerns leading to inaccessibility of some areas, what infrastructure would be searched for and how to quantify the state of infrastructure in the locality.

For the first challenge the teams used two different techniques to collect information. The first was the most straightforward: asking permission to be shown to the important infrastructure in the locality to geo-locate and photograph the site with an explanation of whether it was functional or not. Throughout Ouham Pendé the teams located and photographed 143 such infrastructures, including wells, markets and bridges. The photos in question are available as an appendix to this report.

The second way in which information was collected was through focus groups and questionnaires in which the teams in the field asked what infrastructures functioned in the locality and which did not. Using this local knowledge gave insight to areas which were not safely accessible as well as contextualising why the infrastructure was not working.

The questions asked in the consultations defined the scope of the project: to create a manageable dataset for the maps the teams identified 13 types of infrastructure which were most relevant to the transhumance. These types of infrastructure are presented separately in this report, grouped as follows:

Water availability: Boreholes (drilled wells), wells (dug wells), rivers used for drinking water

Herd Health: Livestock vaccination parks, veterinary services, the presence of ACDA, ANDE or FNEC agents.

Herding Infrastructure: Cattle pens (enclosures) and pastoral wells (for livestock).

Trade: Cattle markets and regular markets

Road infrastructure: Bridges

Other infrastructure also captured includes cassava drying areas, slaughterhouses and communal warehouses.

Beyond existing infrastructure, the consultations also allowed local people to comment on what type of infrastructure would reduce the possibility of tension around transhumance in the locality, what conflicts had occurred and why in the last year and whether there had been instances of gender-based violence.

Quantifying the state of the infrastructure was vital for the map. To represent this a three-tiered definition was used: infrastructure was classified as functional, unreliable or broken. The middle tier became necessary as answers to the questionnaires demonstrated disagreement over whether particular infrastructure was viewed as functional or not. Whilst some bridges were passable many respondents considered them unsafe, markets and butchers operated yet lacked roofs or suffered from shortages due to poor road systems. A common example given by respondents was that of well boreholes which were insufficient in number for the population and often broke down due to over-use. As a result, the middle tier of *unreliable infrastructure* was included.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACDA	<i>Agence Centrafricaine pour le Développement Agricole</i> (Central African Agency for Agricultural Development)
AG	Advisory Group
ANDE	<i>Agence Nationale du Développement de l'Élevage</i> (National Agency for Livestock Farming Development)
CAR	Central African Republic
CPC	<i>Coalition des Patriotes pour le Changement</i> (Patriotic Coalition for Change)
FACA	<i>Forces Armées Centrafricaines</i> (Central African Armed Forces)
FAO	United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation
FDPC	<i>Front Démocratique du Peuple Centafricain</i> (Democratic Front for the People of the Central African Republic).
FNEC	<i>Fédération Nationale des Éleveurs Centrafricains</i> (National Federation of Central African Livestock Farmers)
GBV	Gender based violence
GC	<i>Groupe de Conseil</i> (Advisory Group)
GDAP	<i>Groupement de Développement Agro-Pastorale</i> (Agro-Pastoral Development Group)
GPS	Global Positioning System
ISF	International Security Forces
MINUSCA	<i>Mission multidimensionnelle Intégrée des Nations Unies pour la Stabilisation en Centrafrique</i> (United Nations Multi-dimensional Integrated Stabilisation Mission in the Central African Republic)
MPC	<i>Mouvement Patriotique pour la Centrafrique</i> (Patriotic Movement for Central African Republic)
NFI	Non-food items (plastic sheeting, buckets, soap etc)
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
RJ	<i>Révolution et Justice</i> (Revolution and Justice)
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
3R	<i>Retour, Réclamation et Réhabilitation</i> (Return, Reclamation, Rehabilitation).