



INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION (ILO)

Poverty Reduction in Communities Vulnerable  
to Child Trafficking through the Promotion of  
Decent Work in the Republic of Cameroon

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**Reference Framework for Development Interventions  
Targeting Mbororo Communities of the Northwest Region**

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## List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

APESS	Association pour la Promotion de l'Élevage au Sahel et en Savane
CDENO	Caisse du Développement de l'Élevage du Nord Ouest
HPI	Heifer Project International
ILO	International Labour Organisation
INADES-FORMATION	African Institute for Economic and Social Development
MBOSCUA	Mbororo Social and Cultural Development Association
MC <sup>2</sup>	Mutuelle Communautaire de Croissance
MINADER	Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development
MINADT	Ministry of Territorial Administration and Decentralisation
MINEPIA	Ministry of Livestock, Fisheries and Animal Industries
MINSANTE	Ministry of Public Health
SODELCO	Socio-cultural Association for Livestock Breeding and Development in Cameroon

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We recognize that the individuals and organisations directly or indirectly involved in this support mission will find statements and/or outcomes with which they disagree or with which they uncomfortable. However, we remain accountable for the errors and deficiencies in the design, field approaches, outcomes, conclusions, and even the layout of this report.

## Résumé

Le Projet de Promotion du Travail décent pour la Réduction de la Pauvreté dans le Communautés Vulnérables à la Traite des Enfants au Cameroun a pour objectif d'atténuer les facteurs qui conduisent à la traite des enfants en créant des opportunités génératrices de revenus et d'emplois. A cause de leur marginalisation, leur vulnérabilité, leur faible accès aux services sociaux de base et des conflits récurrents avec les populations autochtones, les Mbororo sont une cible importante du projet. Dans le cadre des actions devant déclencher la mise en œuvre dudit projet, la présente mission d'appui avait pour but de développer un document de base sur l'intégration socio-économique des Mbororo au delà de valeur traditionnelle du bœuf.

L'approche méthodologique de la mission s'est inspirée de la philosophie et principes des méthodes rapides de collecte et de synthèse des données. C'est dans ce contexte qu'un Guide d'Entretien a été développé pour générer les données et informations chez des personnes ressources, les organisations et les institutions intervenant dans l'environnement politique, socio-économique et culturel des Mbororos. Nous avons également eu recours aux appels téléphoniques lors de la conduite de certains entretiens. Dans chaque séquence de collecte et d'analyse des données, nous nous référons aux besoins en analyses et informations des termes de référence. Compte tenue des délais de la mission et des prescriptions du Terme de Référence, une bonne partie des données et de l'information a été tirée de la littérature existante (et disponible) sur l'ethnie Fulani en Afrique de l'Ouest de Central.

Afin d'assurer le déroulement harmonieux de la mission, des contacts ont été maintenus avec l'équipe du projet basée à Bamenda. Ceci nous a permis de participer à l'atelier de lancement officiel du projet organisé le 10 février 2009 à Ayaba Hôtel à Bamenda.

L'analyse documentaire et la mise à jour des données et informations sur les Mbororo des sites du projet confirment qu'ils sont encore confrontés à plusieurs pressions sociopolitiques perceptibles à travers : (i) l'empiètement systématique des zones habituelles et reconnues de transhumance par les agriculteurs autochtones, (ii) la transformation rapide des zones de pâturage en ranchs par les élites (Mbororo et non-Mbororo), (iii) l'émergence des plantations agro-industrielles, (iv) le mépris de leur dignité d'homme, les intimidations, les extorsions de toutes natures (Bœuf, chèvre, argent, etc), (v) les mariages forcés des jeunes filles Mbororo avec les chefs traditionnels autochtones, etc. En dehors de MBOSCUA et dans une certaine mesure SODELCO, très peu d'organisations et d'institutions s'investissent dans le développement des communautés dans les trois sites du projet. C'est pourquoi les résultats escomptés des actions de développement impliquant les Mbororo et leurs communautés sont difficilement perceptibles. Cette situation est compliquée par le fait que le développement des communautés Mbororo a été généralement défini en termes techniques (amélioration des pâturages, vaccination du bétail, sédentarisation), sans toutefois marquer un temps d'arrêt sur la vue d'ensemble de leurs conditions de vie.

Etant donné que l'élevage du bœuf demeure l'élément fédérateur de l'amélioration des conditions de vie des Mbororo de la région du Nord Ouest, il n'existerait pas des solutions aisées aux conflits répétitifs et à leur sécurité alimentaire dans la région. En cherchant à s'ajuster à cet environnement sociopolitique malsain, la plupart des Mbororo de la région a opté pour des stratégies des bien-être qui leurs permettent juste de survivre avec leur bétail et famille. A titre d'exemple, plusieurs Mbororo de la région ont changé leurs styles de vie soit en se plongeant dans l'agriculture, soit en acceptant des emplois des bergers (*gainako*) ou encore en s'engageant dans les activités génératrices de revenus, etc. Malgré ces mesures d'ajustement, quelques familles Mbororo continuent à mener leur vie habituelle, ce qui donne lieu à la récurrence des conflits agro-pastoraux, notamment lorsque les bœufs envahissent les champs céréaliers (maïs et riz) des autochtones.

Il ne fait aucun doute que les mouvements saisonniers des bovins sous le régime transhumant de l'élevage et la responsabilité des Mbororo sont nécessaires pour assurer la survie du troupeau, la production du lait et de la viande bovine. Mais, bien que ces mouvements saisonniers aient été largement synchronisés dans les systèmes de culture de la région du Nord-Ouest, ils deviennent de plus en plus contraignant à cause de la chute de la productivité du sol et des aires de pâturage, l'augmentation de la population humaine, la diversification des moyens d'existence, la conscientisation sociopolitique sur les droits fonciers, etc. Dans

ce contexte, les Mbororo perçoivent le processus de sédentarisation beaucoup plus en terme de sécurisation des droits fonciers et moins par la volonté d'améliorer les conditions de l'élevage.

Malgré leurs effets néfastes, les conflits au sein des communautés Mbororo et avec les populations autochtones dans la Région du Nord Ouest, doivent aussi être perçus comme déclencheur d'un processus de réflexion et planification régionale. Peut être, sans ces conflits, la compétition sur l'utilisation des ressources naturelles de la région ainsi que les différentes catégories des relations qui caractérisent les acteurs actuels dans la région ne pourront jamais être analysées ni évoluer.

Prenant en compte les prescriptions Islamiques sur le commerce de l'argent, les initiatives de MBOSCUDA portant sur l'octroi et recouvrement des fonds, démontrent la faisabilité d'un mécanisme de micro-finance intégrant les Mbororo tout en ayant pour piliers *la confiance mutuelle, la solidarité sociale et apprentissage mutuel*. Les Mbororo dans les sites du projet utilisent rarement les établissements de micro-finance. En raison de la progression systématique vers l'homogénéisation du type de bétail élevé, de la baisse des troupeaux dans les familles et la complexité inhérente au régime transhumant de l'élevage qui est pratiquée, l'utilisation du bœuf comme outil d'assistance mutuelle et de solidarité sociale est voué à s'effondre. A la lumière des expériences qui se dégagent déjà de l'initiative du MBOSCUDA, le modèle de micro finance « Mutuelle Communautaire de Croissance (MC<sup>2</sup>) » présente une option viable du développement intégré des Mbororo. Dans sa conception et philosophie, ce modèle est un outil de développement ayant des caractéristiques proche au *mush ʾaraba* où les fonds sont regroupés pour soutenir les nécessiteux et les projets de développement communautaire.

Malgré le fait que cette mission d'appui soient focalisé sur trois communes de la région du Nord Ouest, les conclusions et recommandations ont des implications évidentes non pas seulement pour les Mbororo de ces sites du projet mais aussi pour la grande famille Peul ou Fulani dont les Mbororo est un sous-groupe. Nous espérons que le projet TC-RAM adoptera une approche participative et inclusive, non seulement orientée vers les résultats concrets mais également capable de déclencher une chaîne d'initiatives locales pour instaurer un développement à long terme pour et avec Mbororo.

## Executive Summary

The project entitled the *Poverty Reduction in Communities Vulnerable to Child Trafficking through the Promotion of Decent Work in the Republic of Cameroon* seeks to contribute to alleviating the negative effects of child trafficking by creating income generating and employment opportunities. Due to their denigration, vulnerability to accessing basic services and recurrent conflicts with native populations, the Mbororo constitute an important beneficiary and stakeholder of the project. As start-up requirements, the current support mission aims at developing a **Reference Framework** for enhancing the socio-economic integration of the Mbororo beyond the traditional value of cattle.

The field approaches and methodology for developing the Reference Framework was drawn from the underlying philosophy and principles of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA). In the light of this, a **Topical Outline or Field Guide** was used in the collection of data/information from key informants/resource persons and organisations including phone calls in some cases. During each of occasion to generate data/information, each of the thematic issues was highlighted to guide the collection and synthesis of the data/information. As stipulated in the Terms of Reference of the support mission, the bulk of information/data emerged from desk analyses of available documents related to pastoral groups in West and Central Africa and particularly those of current development actors in the Northwest Region of Cameroon.

In carrying out the exercise, professional links were maintained with the project team for supplementary documentation and related logistics. We also participated in the launching event of the project at Bamenda organised by the project team.

An analysis of the documentary evidence and update of the data/information from field sites revealed that the Mbororo of the Northwest Region continue to face socio-political pressures manifested by the encroachment of crop cultivation into dry season traditional and known grazing areas, transformation of pasturelands into ranches by the elite class, the emergence of agro-industrial plantations, continued denigration, intimidation, threats, extortion, etc. Apart from MBOSCUDA, very few development-oriented organisations currently work for and with the Mbororo. This situation has been compounded by the fact that the problems and challenges of the Mbororo have, unfortunately been couched in technical terms. Delivering on these technical issues have had little impacts on the Mbororo and their communities considering that the social and institutional arrangements are often not incorporated into the overall framework for action.

This notwithstanding, as cattle remains the life-wire of the livelihoods options amongst the Mbororo, there are no easy solutions to continual conflicts and their livelihoods insecurity in the region. In adapting to the unwelcoming socio-political environment of the region, the bulk of the Mbororo have adopted livelihoods strategies which permit them and their cattle to barely survive. A majority of the Mbororo of the region have changed and continue to change their lifestyles by diversifying into crop production, engaging in herding contracts as *gainako*, engaging in risky small-scale business enterprises, etc. This notwithstanding, many of the Mbororo still continue to do business as usual resulting in continual conflicts especially when cattle owned by the Mbororo stray into cereal farms (maize and rice) of native populations.

There is no doubt that seasonal movements of cattle under nomadic or transhumant management regimes of the Mbororo are necessary for ensuring herd survival, milk and beef production, and that such mobility results in resource use conflicts. Though the seasonal movement of Mbororo has largely been synchronized into cropping systems of the Northwest Region, these movements are increasingly being placed under severe pressures emanating from declining productivity of agricultural and pasture lands, increasing human populations, diversification of livelihoods options by both the Mbororo and native populations, socio-political consciousness on issues related to land rights, etc. Within this framework, a key attraction to permanent settlement for the Mbororo appears to be the expectation of secure land rights rather than benefits from improved cattle husbandry.

Notwithstanding their negative overtones, conflicts within and between the Mbororo and native populations should be seen as a stimulus to the development of a regional land use plan. Perhaps, without these conflicts, competition over land use and different categories of social relations that characterise the people and the natural resources of the region would never evolve to maturity.

Bearing in mind Islamic prescriptions on trading money, the promising efforts of MBOSCUA on channeling and recovering money through a credit scheme demonstrates the feasibility of developing a robust micro-credit mechanism based on mutual trust, social solidarity and joint learning. Apart from the MBOSCUA micro-grants scheme, the Mbororo of the pilot project sites rarely use other micro-finance establishments. Due to the gradual shift from mixed to single livestock types especially cattle, decreasing sizes of cattle being kept by the Mbororo and the increasing prevalence of Mbororo without cattle, the continued use of animals as a basis for mutual assistance and social solidarity is bound to crumble. In the light of the emerging lessons from the MBOSCUA experiences, the MC<sup>2</sup> model of micro-financing presents a viable alternative for replication. In its basic tenet, the MC<sup>2</sup> is a development-oriented membership based institution similar to *mush ʔraba* or placement borrowing where funds are pooled together for support to the needy and development projects of a given community.

Though the current support mission has developed evidence only from three administrative divisions of the Northwest Region, (Bali in Mezam Division, Wum in Menchum Division and Kumbo in Bui Division), the conclusions and recommendations obviously have implications not only for the Mbororo of the pilot sites but for the Fulani ethnic group of which the Mbororo is simply a sub-group. It is hoped that the TC-RAM project will adopt not only a participatory but a result-chain approach in its implementation as a basis for instilling a long-term development vision for the Mbororo and their communities.

## 1. Background and Context of the Support Mission

### 1.1. Overall Project Orientation and Location

The project entitled the *Poverty Reduction in Communities Vulnerable to Child Trafficking through the Promotion of Decent Work in the Republic of Cameroon* seeks to contribute to alleviating the negative effects of child trafficking by contributing to the creation of income generating and employment opportunities within selected communities of the Northwest Region of Cameroon. The initial pilot project sites are Bali in Mezam Division, Wum in Menchum Division and Kumbo in Bui Division. In view of their predominantly denigration, helplessness to access land, pastoral resources and basic utilities, and their attachment to cattle rearing, the Mbororo (Mbororo-en in plural) constitutes an important target group of project intervention. The Mbororo is a sub-group of the Fulani or *Peul* who generally speak *Fulfulde*. Their roots have been traced to the Futa Dallon highlands in Senegal but are today spread across at least 18 countries in Africa (Pelican, 2006). They are essentially a livestock and particularly cattle rearing people. As a social group, they are settled in several villages, semi-urban and urban centres of the Northwest Region of the Republic of Cameroon. In terms of relative concentration, the largest number is found in Donga-Mantung Division closely followed by Momo, Menchum, Bui, Mezam, Boyo, and Ngoketunjia Division (**Figure 1**).



As pastoralists, the traditional cattle breeds of the Fulani are the Red (also called *Mbororoji*) and White Fulani. Efforts directed at genetic improvement using Artificial Insemination (AI) have given rise to crosses of the Red and White Fulani for the enhancement of both milk and beef production. Consequently, it is not uncommon to encounter crosses of the *Boran*, *Gudhali* and *Holstein* breeds amongst herds managed by the Mbororo-en and native cattle owners across the Northwest Region.

The total population of the Mbororo in Cameroon is estimated 426,400. In the Northwest Region, they are estimated at 85,280 as against the region's total population of 2,041,030 (Pelican, 2008, INADES-FORMATION, 2007). In broad terms, however, the population of the Mbororo in the Northwest Region has hardly exceeded 10 % of the region's total population.

## **1.2. Lineage as a basis for understanding and describing the Mbororo**

The Mbororo community in the Northwest Region of Cameroon can broadly be categorised into two major lineages or clans; the ***Aku*** (*Aku-en in plural*) and ***Jaafun*** (*Jaafun-en in plural*). Several families of these sub-groups are also common; including the *Goshi-en*, *Dakanko-en*, *Bawanko-en*, *Jarumanko-en* *Gamadanko-en*, *Takonko-en*, etc.

In a recent study carried out by INADES-FORMATION (2007), the key features of the Mbororo included *being born of Mbororo parents, speaks Fulfulde, practices Pulaaku, lives in isolation (generally on hills in bushes), practices a (semi)nomadic lifestyle, rears cattle and depends on them for survival, is a Muslim by faith and uses cow milk as primary food*. Further, Mbororo people are also different from native populations in a number of ways: pastoral life-style, their shape, physical appearance, knowledge of ethno veterinary practices, religion, marriage style and dressing.

The ***Wodaabe***, another group of the Fulani is found in the northern regions of Cameroon particularly in the North and Far North regions. Their presence is evidenced by strong centralised socio-political structures; such is the case in the Lamibae of Banyo, Tibati, Garoua, Ngaoundere, Rey Bouba, Gidier, Guidiguiss, Poss, Mora, etc. The parents and grandparents of this group of Fulani, together with the Hausa, were actively involved in the Jihad wars.

The ***Hausa***, a term generally used to denote descendants of early cola nut traders who understand and speak Fulfulde and profess the Moslem faith, live in very close harmony with the Mbororo of the Northwest Region, They are mostly settled in semi-urban and urban centres of the region.

## **1.3. Migration and settlement of the Mbororo in the Northwest Region**

The origin of the Mbororo in the Northwest Region of Cameroon has been traced to Kano State in northern Nigeria in 1875 (Vabi, 1991; Vabi 1991 and Awasum, 1984). This movement was precipitated by a rinderpest pandemic which decimated herds of African cattle in the mid and late 1890s. From then onward, Fulani clans began migrating to various destinations across West and Central Africa. As a results of this pandemic, and based on information on the potentials of rearing cattle in the Bamenda Grassfields, three emissaries of the Goshi clan set out on an exploratory mission to the region in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. In Jakiri, Nso and Kedjom-Keku, the emissaries were overwhelmed by the extensive pastures, moderate dry season of a maximum of 04 months, cold air and numerous natural and salt springs of the region.

Information about mountains, hills, plains, streams, rivers and valleys creating a heterogeneous environment for cattle rearing and ensuing advantages to the local populations also spread to neighbouring villages resulting in a scramble for the Mbororo pastoral immigrants by other local chiefs including their subjects. Though ecological conditions were important considerations determining movement and settlement of the Mbororo in the Northwest Region, subsequent waves of Mbororo immigrants were at liberty to negotiate

settlement sites among the native populations and not necessarily to settle where their kins had settled. In some villages of the region, local chiefs and their subjects welcome the Mbororo into their lands as long as they paid them tribute and acknowledged their hosts' territorial and political patronage.

In the context of the implementing of Project Number CMR/06/50NET, the current support mission aims at developing a **Reference Framework** for enhancing the socio-economic integration of the Mbororo beyond the traditional value of cattle.

## **2. Methodology and Approaches of the Support Mission**

The field approaches and methodology for developing the current Reference Framework on the Mbororo was drawn from the underlying philosophy and principles of the Rapid Participatory Assessment. In the light of this, a **Topical Outline or Field Guide** guided the collection of data/information from key informants/resource persons and organisations including phone calls in some cases. The key tools used included review of literature, Focused Group Discussions (FGD) including validation sessions on emerging issues, semi-structured interviews, key informant interviews, paired wise ranking, field visits, direct observations, etc.

During each occasion and opportunity to generate data/information, each of the thematic issues was highlighted to guide the collection and synthesis of the data/information. As required by the Terms of Reference of the support mission, the bulk of information/data emerged from desk assessment and syntheses of available documents related to pastoral groups in West and Central Africa and filed reports of development actors in the Northwest Region of Cameroon.

Professional links were also maintained with the project team based in Bamenda in order to ensure a hitch free evolution of the assignment. This permitted us to participate in the launching event of the project at Bamenda organised by the project team.

Though the current support mission has developed evidence from three administrative divisions (Bali in Mezam Division, Wum in Menchum Division and Kumbo in Bui Division), out of the seven in the Northwest Region, the conclusions and recommendations have implications not only for the Mbororo but for the Fulani ethnic of which the Mbororo is simply a sub-group in the Northwest Region of the Republic of Cameroon.

### 3. Outcomes and Partial Conclusions of the Support Mission

#### 3.1. Logic and causes of recurrent conflicting inter/intra-ethnic relations

Conflicts within the Mbororo the one hand, and on the other, between the Mbororo and native populations is an integral part of socio-professional life in the Northwest Region of Cameroon. This situation brings to the open the usefulness of the sociological concept of corporate lineage as it applies to many African societies. The practical meaning of concept must always be kept in mind when seeking to explain the recurrent conflicts not only between the Mbororo and native populations, but even amongst the different ethnic/tribal groups of the Northwest Region of Cameroon.

Like elsewhere on the African continent, kinship bonds to land and natural resources can be explained by the concept of corporate lineage which is the unit that deals with issues of access, control, use, succession and litigation over land related natural resources. Though several operational lineages may co-exist in the same territory, there is usually a dominant lineage which perceives itself as the exclusive occupant of a territory. The household or nuclear lineage becomes just an essential component of the corporate lineage. In effect, the operational unit of land appropriation in the Northwest Region is this corporate lineage which may at times be reduced to a village or even a quarter.

In this context, the opposition between blood rights and territorial rights over land in the Northwest Region has their application as all the native populations that preceded the Mbororo to the region have evidence of both genealogical and territorial foundations. In effect, genealogical solidarity is often used by the native populations as a core element of a series of land and resource access and use rights. In this context, land assumes the function of the continuous growth of its first occupants and rights over it can not be alienated except as an extra-ordinary measure taken by the corporate lineage.

The foregoing partially explains why despite natives embracing cattle rearing while the Mbororo take up crop farming, agro-pastoral conflicts are common phenomena across the region. Similarly, though the rules, rights and responsibilities on farming and dry season grazing areas are usually known and the movement of cattle and people synchronised into farming practices, attempts at negotiating satisfactory ways of combining cattle rearing and crop farming often yield little meaningful outcomes. Also, alliances between the Mbororo and local farming communities are usually forged and broken depending on prevailing relationships. Violent agro-pastoral conflicts between Aghem women in Wum in 1973, 1981 and 2003, for example, resulted in the heavy loss of property, injury and the loss of human lives.

In different though related dimension, latent conflicts emerged within the Mbororo community of the Northwest Region in the 1990s due to ideological differences in the approaches and contents of the empowerment and emancipation initiatives. These conflicts especially between MBOSCUDA and SODELCO have been weakening collective efforts to addressing livelihoods improvement options and farmer-grazier conflicts across the region.

Against this background, at least three categories or poles of conflicts involving the Mbororo are identifiable, **resource use conflicts, attitude related conflicts and institutional or context specific conflicts.**

### **Category 1: Resource use conflicts**

- claims by native population over land considered to be theirs and particularly farming lands;
- claims by Mbororo over land considered to be either rainy or dry season grazing lands;
- straying of cattle into crop farms within and outside transhumance zones;
- inappropriate use of bush fires as management tool of grazing land by the Mbororo.

### **Category 2: Mind-set based conflicts**

- outright refusal to recognise the legitimacy of land claims by the Mbororo;
- cattle theft often attributed to native populations during transhumance periods;
- frequent ruling of agro-pastoral disputes in favour of Mbororo by State Councils, Divisional Officers, Forces of Law and Order, Senior Divisional Officers, MINEPIA field agents and even local chiefs;
- socio-political positioning and leadership tussle by Mbororo elite;
- inter-generational differences
- differences in the perceptions of attachment to land and grazing land (reserve farm land)

### **Category 3: Institutional and context specific conflicts**

- unsupportive colonial texts and guidelines on the management of grazing lands;
- differences in the approaches to address the dilemma of the Mbororo by Mbororo elite

### **Partial Conclusion**

Conflicts within and between the Mbororo and native populations in the Northwest Region have definitely had negative overtones but should be seen as stimulus to the development of a regional land use plan. Perhaps, without these conflicts, the competition over land use and different categories of social relations that characterise the people and the natural resources of the region would never evolve to maturity. The word conflict generally carries negative connotation, being perceived as the opposite of peace and cooperation, and commonly associated with social disorder, violence or threat of violence. Conflicts could also provide opportunities for highlighting real challenges and issues of development interventions. This seems to apply to the case of MBOSCUA and SODELCO both of which are organisations that have the same audience and have set out to contribute to improving the socio-professional and economic wellbeing of the Mbororo community of the Northwest Region. On-going conflicts between SODELCO and MBOSCUA should be seen as an opportunity for stirring creative thinking and motivating people to identify and propose real solutions to development challenges facing the Mbororo. In this context, the challenge becomes that of the ability of managing the conflicts rather than suppressing them or even allowing them to escalate out of control.

### 3.2. Structural organisation of leadership amongst the Mbororo

The **clan** or *Lenyol* system is an important element of the Mbororo socio-political organisation. Clan membership, like elsewhere is traced through men, and it is assumed that each clan had a common ancestor. As demonstrated in **Table 1**, clans are to a large extent, corporate or lineage property owning units even if they do not live together. Clansmen are expected to help each other in times of hardship to settle their disputes amicably. Mbororo clan leaders have no special powers and authority: they are merely respected elders who are honest, have abilities to speak well in public, have considerable moral authority to settle disputes and to impose fines on wrongdoers.

The **household or Sudu** is the basic unit of the Mbororo social structure comprising a man, his wife/wives, direct children, livestock (cattle, sheep, goats and eventually poultry) and relations. Several households may be located at the same encampment resulting in a compound or **Wuro**. While constituting part of a flexible neighbourhood, each Sudu is an autonomous herd owning, production and management unit. While married women, are domestic managers of their households and sub-ordinates to the household head who is usually a man. In this context, the man represents his household to the outside world.

In terms of territorial organisation, households of the Mbororo across the project site are grouped into encampments or **Lamorde** in Fulfulde (**Table 1**). Encampments may contain anything from a few to several houses built with permanent and semi-permanent local materials. Though individuals can move into and out of each encampment, a core of individuals emerges who tend to remain at the encampment over longer periods of time.

Members of Mbororo encampments cooperate in herding livestock, sharing goods/services and settling disputes. This unity of economic, social and religious purpose which Mbororo encampments demonstrate is recognised by outsiders including Mbororo and non-Mbororo clans who refer to the encampment by the name of its leader or Ardo.

The **Ardo** is the protector of the interests of the settlement and its representative to the outside world. He is the person most closely identified with the encampment from whom strangers seek hospitality and from whom new comers first request permission to join. His position, however, is usually and ultimately dependent on the support of other elders of the encampment and if they disagree with his decisions, then they always have the option to join other encampments.

As a rule, Mbororo leaders or Ardos are subjects to local administrative and legal jurisdictions of the area where they settle. Their rights to the allocation of grazing lands are derived from First or second class native chiefs who are considered to be auxiliaries of the administration. They may be considered as *quarter heads* or tribal/ethnic group leaders with special missions. In this context, it may not be wrong to conclude that while native chiefs rule over land and people, Mbororo Ardos (including the Lamido of Sabga) only rule people.

**Table 1: Main Mbororo encampment and lineages across the project sites**

<b>Sub-division</b>	<b>Encampment</b>	<b>Name of main lineage</b>	<b>Clan leader</b>
Kumbo central	Belen	Jaafun (Goshi-en, Dakanko-en)	Ardo Manu
	Tadu		Ardo Yougouda
	Banten		Ardo Kabi
Jakiri	Ngurowa	Jaafun (Bawanko-en, Jarumanko-en and Gamadanko-en)	Ardo Amadu
	Barare		Ardo Kaminu
	Kifum		Ardo Igih
	Tan		Ardo Kaminu
	Verkovi		
Nkum	Takija	Jaafun (Toukonko-en)	Ardo Adamou Belo
	Kuvlu		Ardo Bouba
Mven	Dzemkir	Aku-en	Ardo Hamadou
	Shukan		Ardo Dewa
	Janawa	Jaafun (Goshi-en)	Ardo Dewa
	Kovki		Ardo Joli
	Shukov		Ardo Jidadado
Noni	Bamti	Aku-en	Ardo Moumini
	Liasin		Ardo Jimira
	Upper noni		Ardo Hassan Oumarou
Oku/Belo	Ngemsiboh	Jaafun-en	Ardo Belo
Bali	Wossin	Aku-en	Ardo Jibo
	Koppin	Jaafun-en	
	Koplap		
	Ngwanngikang		
	Bessen		
	Banja		

Sub-division	Encampment	Name of main lineage	Clan leader
Wum central	Wum town	Aku-en	Ardo Sourì and Ardo Adamou Oumarou
Fungom	Weh	Aku-en	
	Isuh	Aku-en	
	Iseh	Jaafun-en	Ardo
	Kukuchap	Aku-en	
	Bafmen	Jaafun-en	Ardo Haro
Menchum valley	Bawuro	Aku-en	Ardo Mama Oumarou and Ardo Sule Mamadou Dico both based in Wum town
	Benekuma	Aku-en	
	Bongji	Aku-en	
Furawa		Aku-em	

### 3.3. Socio-economic development the Mbororo

#### 3.3.1. Exchanges based on contract herding

Wherever the Mbororo have settled in the Northwest Region, beneficial socio-professional and economic relations based on the exchange of both **goods and services** have evolved between them and native populations. Amongst the Mbororo, labour shortages have become common phenomena resulting in contract herding, joint herding, and exchanges of cattle between individuals and households. Households experiencing labor shortages enlist the services of younger Mbororo for herding their cattle. Both Mbororo and native elite also hire labor for herding their cattle. While cattle exchanges between Mbororo households and individuals may have different objectives, the rationale for herding cattle for native populations is both a source of cash income and temporary way out of hardship for the Mbororo concerned.

Within this framework, a herder is engaged to care for cattle over a given period, in exchange for payments either in cash or kind. Terms and conditions of service vary between different settings as do the broader consequences of such contracts for herd management and productivity. Access to farm land is an important benefit for Mbororo who herd cattle for native populations. Access to farm land allows the contract herders to set aside some of their earnings for re-investment in buying cattle of their own. However, such benefits often depend on continuing good relations between the benefactor and the herder.

Contract herding has become an imperative amongst as the Mbororo who are bound to find extra cash incomes to supplement what they gain from the few cattle they own themselves. Many hired herders also hope to be able to reconstitute their own herds over time to give up working for other cattle owners. This situation has been encouraged by substantial investments in cattle by native populations since 1980s with a corresponding increase in the number of destitute Mbororo looking for cattle herding opportunities. Directly or indirectly this trend is enhancing the deteriorating conditions and terms of cattle herding contracts across the region.

Herding cattle for others especially for native cattle owners involves considerable risks; they often insist that their cattle remain close to their villages to ease surveillance, thereby restricting options for maneuvers by hired herders. Whenever the owners intend to sell their cattle, the Mbororo herder is obliged to take the cow to the market, which at times can be several days on foot. Entrusted cattle can also die, be stolen or lost, and it is usual for native cattle owner to suspect the Mbororo for being responsible for each of these acts. The fact that the Mbororo take up herding contracts under these terms and conditions is indicative of their vulnerability to poverty related shocks.

The challenges faced by the Mbororo who live in villages and interact on a daily basis with native populations differ substantially from those faced by those who live in semi-urban and urban centres. Those settled in villages, for example, are still subjected to diverse forms of intimidation, threats, discrimination, extortions, and do not generally have access to educational and healthcare facilities. Further, they lack efficient strategies of political, civic and legal representation while those settled in semi-urban and urban centres have substantially invested in real estates and socio-political and economic networks rendering them more accessible to political and economic power.

Similarly, religious difference between native populations and the Mbororo are more evident in villages than in semi-urban and urban centres. Native populations are either Christians and/or adherents of the local religions and generally crop farmers. The native populations of the villages across the project site entertain very strong social and religious bonds with land based on ancestral ties. Indeed, to them, land is above all, a spiritual resource. It is the seat of departed ancestors, and the place where they will eventually be buried. This spiritual dimension is absent in the Mbororo attachment to the land, still perceived in terms of the longevity of stay and nature of economic and social ties with the native populations.

Against these contextual difficulties, most Mbororo consider themselves as part of the native populations. This feeling of belonging and commitment to their birth places is expressed even more strongly among educated Mbororo many of whom have benefited from the support of non-Mbororo acquaintances

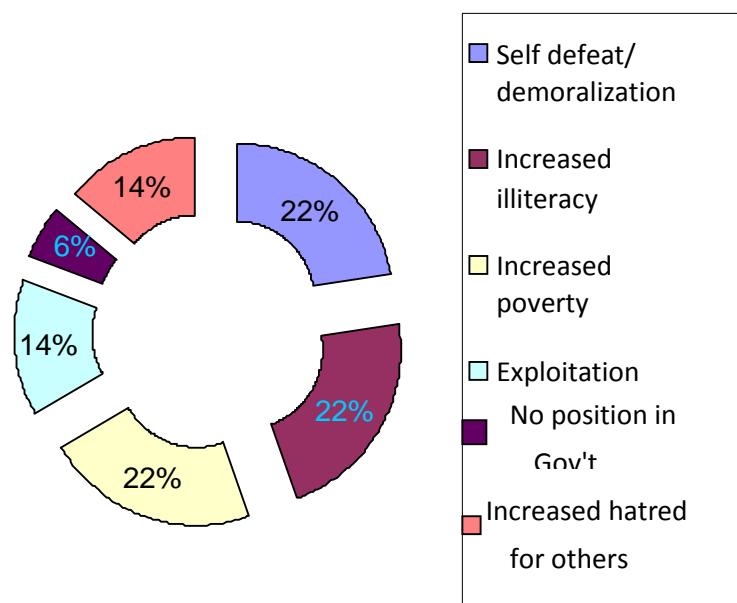
### 3.3.2. State of socio-economic development amongst the Mbororo

Despite being qualified as full citizens of Cameroon according to the provisions of the 1972 constitution and subsequent versions, the Mbororo of the Northwest Region are still considered as belonging to the **northern regions** of Cameroon and also treated as strangers on several accounts. It is still common to witness sneaky and even open oppositions to their claims over land as the native populations insist on their self proclaimed status of *first comers and guardians of lands* in the Northwest Region. Even the Mbororo who are born and grow up in the region are counted as descendants of strangers with limited rights to the region's land, pastures and water resources.

While a few influential Mbororo have acquired land titles, the majority still rely on the goodwill of local administrators and chiefs. As should be expected, these good-will gestures, temporary alliances and informal arrangements are vulnerable to changing economic and political contexts. Within the framework of the 1974 Cameroon Land Tenure Ordinance, all land including the resources above and below it are owned and can only be allocated to individuals and groups by the state. The provisions of this ordinance have resulted in a wide range of manoeuvres by traditional authorities and state officials of the Ministries of State Property and Land Tenure as well as Divisional and Senior Divisional Officers.

As shown in **Figure 2**, the marginalization of the Mbororo by non-Mbororos and even by some Mbororo has resulted in a number of consequences amongst the Mbororo: self defeat/demoralization, increased illiteracy, increased poverty, no position in the government, increased hatred, etc.

**Figure 2: Effects of marginalisation of the Mbororo in the Northwest Region (Culled from INADES-FORMATION;**



In 1992, a group of outspoken and educated Mbororo acting within the framework of an ethnic-based association known as *MBOSCUDA-Mbororo Social, Cultural and Development Association* embarked on a socio-political campaign to draw public attention to their pastoral interests, recurrent intimidation, exploitation, threats and marginalisation. During the democratisation of the early 1990s, this group of Mbororo took advantage of the situation to adequately articulate their interests and grievances directly to the state.

### **3.3.3. Priority needs, concerns and development challenges of Mbororo**

When young Mbororo including children are engaged in herding contracts that do not affect their education, physical growth and health, the work is considered positive. A key element of this is herding to support physically impaired parents whenever possible after school and during holiday periods. These activities also contribute to the wellbeing of the child, skill development, the acquisition of practical experiences of rearing cattle while preparing the child for a productive agro-pastoral life style at adult age. In practice, however, decent work for the Mbororo will depend on:

- the recognition of rights over their encampments and grazing lands as a corporate lineage of the Northwest Region;
- support to livelihoods options based on cattle rearing -breed and pasture improvement, value additions to milk through processing and marketing, improved water supply, etc;
- awareness raising focusing on the socio-political identity of the Mbororo as a permanent corporate lineage or tribal./ethnic group of the Northwest Region;
- capacity and institutional development of the civil society organizations that are devoted to work for and with the Mbororo.

As western-style education within Mbororo communities does not yet integrate their history, knowledge, techniques and value systems, going through these schools will not necessarily help to reduce the threats and prejudices against the Mbororo.

### **3.4. Micro-finance mechanisms amongst the Mbororo**

The social organisation of Mbororo communities is based on small, structurally interdependent but equal and autonomous units. In principle they consider it an obligation not to allow a member of their group to become destitute. In order to keep the basic elements of this social system alive and bearing in mind the ever present risks of cattle as a livelihood option, there is a strong social pressure against the accumulation of cattle and other livestock types by individuals or households. Cattle or animal gifts and loans between individuals and households are the mechanisms by which redistribution takes place to insure that individuals and households have enough cattle for their needs. If an individual or household loses cattle, relatives make loans or gifts of cattle or other animal types to help rebuild the herd. Close relatives and wealthier Mbororo have the greatest obligation to provide cattle for herd reconstitution. Two forms of cattle loans are common; the first is a short-term loan of dairy cows to the family facing a shortage. The second is the loan of a cow and calves or *haBBabae* in Fulfulde. The borrower eventually returns only the cow to its borrower or owner.

Perceived in this ways, livestock serves as a savings account, ready source of cash and means of entreating social relations within the Mbororo community. In this mechanism poultry are globally perceived as the *coins* while sheep and goats are easily transformed into cash for settling *small bills* including purchasing food items that households do not produce in sufficient quantities. Cattle are only sold to meet large expenses such as building permanent houses, paying court charges, paying school fees for children, pay for liberating fellow brothers from oppression, etc.

Mixing different livestock types not only facilitated the handling of cash within Mbororo communities but substantially helped to spread risks. This probably explains why cashing in on *cattle* is increasingly being used by the elite class as they invest in cattle and more often than not, fall back on them in times of cash needs.

It was not surprising that no Mbororo person was reported to operate a regular account with any of the micro-finance establishments across the project sites. In Bali, an account operated by one Mbororo man has remained inactive for several years despite that fact that a loan was granted to the account owner.

It is evident that for this livestock exchange mechanism to be effective, there must be enough cattle that can be loaned out without threatening the viability of the households loaning out the animals. Within the framework of the current wave towards settlement and accompanying reductions in herd sizes, it is even becoming difficult for Mbororo household heads to provide the nucleus of a herd, as expected, to their male children to meet their own needs as they grow into adulthoods and must set up autonomous households. It is also becoming less evident that Mbororo households of the Northwest Region will continue to have enough cattle to redistribute to destitute members of the group.

This notwithstanding, exchanges based on the redistribution of wealth using livestock, finds support in the prescription of the relationship between money and Islamic beliefs. Trading money and all other forms of usury are forbidden by Islam. Indeed, interest accruing from *trading money* is forbidden; the only remuneration from capital is the sharing of surpluses or losses emanating from financial transactions. Even interests and rents accruing from natural resources of any sort are considered to be *Riba (or taboo)* by the Koran. In contrast, pledging, future marketing and borrowing without interests are common occurrences within Moslem communities. Many forms of borrowing are recommended: *mud ʿaraba* (or participatory borrowing where expenses and eventually the surpluses/losses are shared), *mush ʿaraba* (placement borrowing where funds are pooled together for development purposes with surpluses/loses shared in proportions corresponding to initial shares and *murābaha* (or pledging). Indeed, borrowing is perceived as act of being staunch Muslim.

This position of Islam is explained by the fact that interests and usury favour the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few and reduces prospects for social equity. In the absence of conventional exchanges of money, cattle are seen as the common object of exchange in which there is a reciprocal system of rights and obligations. Within this mechanism, mutual social insurance is maintained over a wide range of relationships, varying from members of same clan to friends and even non-Mbororo.

### **Partial conclusion and emerging lessons**

Micro-credit is the extension of the mechanism of the safe custody and borrowing of money to low income individuals and groups of a community. It enables those without access to formal lending institutions to borrow money at fair interest rates to create and/or enhance small-scale business enterprises. Socially, these institutions seek to provide financial services to the lowest income populations. Financially, these institutions are driven to achieve self-sufficiency to permit sustained service delivery without continued dependence on subsidies.

Apart from the micro-grant scheme being experimented by MBOSCUDA and SODELCO, the Mbororo of the Northwest Region rarely use the several micro-finance establishments that operate in the region. Due to the gradual shift from mixed to single livestock types especially cattle, decreasing sizes of cattle being kept by the Mbororo and the increasing prevalence of Mbororo without cattle, the continued use of cattle to stockpile and distribute wealth amongst the Mbororo is bound to crumble due to a series of internal and external circumstances.

Notwithstanding Islamic prescriptions on trading money, the promising efforts of MBOSCUDA on channeling and recovering money demonstrates the feasibility of developing a robust micro-credit scheme based on mutual trust, social solidarity and joint learning. In the light of the emerging lessons from the MBOSCUDA experiences, the MC<sup>2</sup> model of micro-financing presents a viable alternative for experimentation within Mbororo communities. In its basic tenet, the MC<sup>2</sup> is a development-oriented membership based institution similar to *mush ʿaraba* or placement borrowing where funds are pooled together for support to the needy and development projects of a community. Annual surpluses/loses (if any) are shared in proportions to the value of individual shares. As a general rule, MC<sup>2</sup> micro-finance establishments are Category 1 micro-finance establishment in Cameroon. They receive extensive technical and financial support from ADAF-Appropriate Development for Africa Foundation and a reputed commercial bank, the Afriland First Bank. Not only are the MC<sup>2</sup> micro-finance establishments created and managed by members of the community where it is located, but at least 50% of their annual surpluses are expected to be used for community development projects where they are located. Further, surpluses of share capital are redeployed and/or re-allocated in proportion to the values of share-holdings. Decisions on how to handle annual surpluses/losses are taken by a board of directors elected from the community with social group representation being a key factor during the election exercise.

### **3.5. Emerging development constraints and challenges for the Mbororo**

In view of the mobility and livelihood options of the Fulani, across West and Central Africa three main categories of the Mbororo can be distinguished in the Northwest region: *nomadic, transhumant and sedentary Mbororo*. Beginning from chaotic and unpredictable forms, the mobility of the Mbororo in the Northwest Region has steadily stabilised and assumed sedentary forms due to several factors: *decreasing herd sizes, unavailability of child labour for herding, herd substitution, increasing homogeneity of livestock, etc.* This pattern presents significant development constraints and challenges for the Mbororo in the Northwest Region.

As they settle, only herdsmen, their families and cattle move to agreed dry season grazing areas (**Table 2**) leaving family members in fixed settlements. Though not all land in the Northwest Region is physically demarcated into grazing and farming zones, the local populations, including the Mbororo themselves and administrative authorities share a general understanding of how to roughly identify farming and dry season grazing areas. Dry season grazing areas have been endorsed by administrative authorities through the systematic imposition of transhumance periods by regional texts of the governor of the region. These administrative texts also impose herd sizes and labour requirements for effective herd management during transhumance.

In this process development interventions targeting the Mbororo need to evolve from being defined in terms of the imperative to settle to addressing their livelihoods options. Permanent settlement has been resulting in the socio-economic diversification of pastoral lifestyles: *crop cultivation, construction of permanent compounds, and the development of grazing land.*

**Table 2: Dry season or transhumance areas of the Northwest Region**

Administrative Units	Transhumance areas	Key features of areas
Kumbo Central	Noni/Mbohnsoh	Swamps, crop farms and rice growing region
Jakiri	Babessi and other villages of Ndop central sub-division	Swamps, crop farms and rice growing region
Nkum	Noni/Mbohnsoh	Swamps, crop farms and rice growing region
Mven	Mbaw, Lip Plains and Mbohnsoh	Swamps, crop farms and rice growing region
Noni	Messaje/Noni	Swamps
Bali	Bosam Top and Bongoro	Natural pastures
Wum central	Tingo	Swamps and rice growing region
Fungom	Nyos	Swamps
Menchum valley	Menchum valley	Swamps
Fura-awa	Yenga valley	Swamps

Notwithstanding the important gains (benefits) from to permanent settlement (**Table 3**), diverse forms of poverty due to decreasing livelihoods options are becoming rampant amongst the Mbororo. In particular, the effective intake of Mbororo traditional food stuffs such as milk and milk products has decreased, regular access to traditional food items is no more evident, the size and quality of grazing lands are on the decrease, increasing homogeneity of livestock as only cattle are reared while local cattle breeds are excluded from the herds, etc.

**Partial conclusion**

Pastoral resource use in the Northwest Region are increasingly being placed under more severe pressures emanating from declining productivity of agricultural and pasturelands, increasing human population, increasing diversification of livelihoods options, socio-political consciousness on issues related to land rights, etc. A key attraction to permanent settlement appears to be the expectation of secure land rights rather than benefits from improved animal husbandry. A more holistic development approach is required for the Mbororo in the Northeast Region who continue to use seasonal movement of cattle as principal herd management strategy. Therefore interventions within the framework of the current project need to contribute to the overall framework for accommodating the seasonal movement of cattle as opposed to the imperative of permanent settlement. This needs to be entertained by a wide range of technical, legal and educational guidelines several of which are rigorously being dealt with by MBOSCUDA, CDENO, SNV and INADES-FORMATION.

**Table 3: Gains and losses to the Mbororo resulting from permanent settlement**

<b>Major Gains</b>	<b>Major Losses</b>
- Improved access to formal education	- Reduced intake of milk and milk products
- Better access to healthcare facilities	- Recurrent nutritional deficiencies
- Improved infant survival	- Increased degradation of pasturelands
- Better trade and marketing opportunities	- Increased child labour for herding
- Declining recurrent conflicts with farmers	- Increased expenses on healthcare
- Socio-political recognition (MBOSCUDA)	- Decreased beef and milk production
- Increased inter-clan networking/cohesion	- Decreased in women’s control over milk
- Emerging entitlements to land	- Deteriorating livestock composition (mostly cattle)
	- Deteriorating Islamic values and beliefs
	- Decreasing grazing land (Ranches, crops, etc)
	- Complete loss of cattle in some households
	- Exposure of youths to non-Islamic values

### **3.6. Promotion of Development Initiatives within and Mbororo Communities**

#### **3.6.1. Development actors with and for the Mbororo**

In general, very few development actors work for, and with Mbororo communities across the project site and the Northwest Region as a whole. In broad terms, and over the years, development initiatives have been sporadic and not directed to the aspirations and real needs of the Mbororo. Three possible reasons explain this situation; *the isolation Mbororo encampments, discrete lifestyles of the Mbororo due to exigency of Pulaaku, rush for interventions that produce immediate rather long term results for donors.* After several years of on-the-ground interventions on action research and development interventions, on ethno-veterinary, breed and pasture improvement, HPI has scaled down her operations for and with the Mbororo. The development interventions of Plan Cameroon are selective and only target issues related to child rights promotion within Mbororo communities. These include raising awareness on child rights, assistance in acquiring birth certificates for children, support to schools with Plan sponsored children, etc.

Decentralised state institutions especially MINEPIA, MINADT (local Councils, Senior Divisional and Divisional Offices), para-statal agencies (essentially GP-DERUDEP and CDENO) have broader development roles for the livestock sub-sector in the region, and by implication on the Mbororo and their communities. Many other organisations have developed and implemented location-specific, one-off sporadic interventions with many other simply carrying out studies on the Mbororo.

These development interventions notwithstanding, real development initiatives for and within Mbororo communities have generally been more reactive and fallen short of concrete results in terms of outcomes and impacts. They have also been based on long standing unfounded perceptions about the Mbororo and therefore failed to use appropriate tools and approaches to work with them in the identification and planning of development interventions that address their real needs and aspirations. Against this background, it is not surprising that little concrete impacts have been achieved in terms of reducing the susceptibility of the Mbororo, as a social group in the Northwest Region, and their communities to poverty related shocks. Since the 1990s, the attitude and approaches of working with and for the Mbororo began to shift with the coming into the development scene of MBOSCUA and SODELCO. The strengths, weaknesses and support requirements of each of these organisations are analysed in **Table 4**.

**Table 4: Institutional analysis of organisation directly working on Mbororo related issues**

<b>Name of Organisation</b>	<b>Assessment of current potentials and mandatory interventions domains</b>	<b>Key strengths and/or weaknesses requiring project attention</b>	<b>Institutional requirement and issues for collaboration</b>
<b>Decentralised State Institutions and Para-statal</b>			
MINEPIA	Overall coordination of the implementation of interventions on livestock and related development issues in the region	- Present across the region through field level extension staff - Field staff more prepared for livestock healthcare and production	- Institutionally imperative and desirable - Actions needs to directed the need for the respect of transhumance calendars and routes
MINADER	Overall coordination of the implementation of interventions on crop production and related development issues in the region	- Present across the region through field level extension staff - Field staff more prepared for crop extension service delivery	Institutionally desirable with a tilt towards the need for securing all round food supplies from owned farm-field
MINSANTE	Overall coordination of the implementation of interventions on crop production and related development issues in the region	- Present across the region through private and public sector health care units - Field staff prepared for global healthcare delivery including HIV and AIDS	Institutionally desirable but should focus on HIV, AIDS, malaria, and prospects of cattle-human transmission of diseases
MINADT (SDOs and DOs)	Overall coordination of the management of private, state and individual pieces of land (including pastures) and farmer-grazier conflicts	- Present across the region through Divisional Officers and local chiefs - Forces of Law and Order are key collaborators	Institutionally imperative with targeting the management of farmer-grazier conflicts and the development of guidelines on managing grazing lands

Name of Organisation	Assessment of current potentials and mandatory interventions domains	Key strengths and/or weaknesses requiring project attention	Institutional requirement and issues for collaboration
<b>Decentralised State Institutions and Para-statal</b>			
CDENO	More visible and concrete arm of MINEPIA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Deployment in response to importance of issues dealt with</li> <li>- Limited staff strength but present across the zone through field level staff of MINEPIA</li> <li>- Generates own funds</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Institutionally desirable with a focus on capacity enhancement on different aspects of pastoral development</li> <li>- Fertile ground for experimenting governance related to revenue collection</li> </ul>
GP-DERUDEP	More visible and concrete arm of both MINEPIA and MINEDAR	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Significant funding from the ADB but unfortunately caught up in an ending process of participatory planning with local councils</li> </ul>	Neither desirable nor imperative
Local councils	Multi-dimensional development organ with composition representative of the socio-cultural composition of local population	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Mbororo currently represented as councillors and deputy mayors</li> <li>- Questionable managerial and technical capacities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Technical capacities enhancement for eventual delivery</li> <li>- Support in adherence to logistical procedural systems</li> </ul>
<b>Civil Society Organisations</b>			
MBOSCUDA	Membership based Mbororo focused development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Competent staff deployed to all divisional headquarters of the region</li> <li>- Possesses the minimum operational logistics for field and office operations</li> <li>- Caught up in ideological conflicts with SODELCO</li> <li>- Firmly established and respected as link organisation between Mbororo and outside world</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Micro-grants scheme targeting individuals and groups oriented to the MC2 development model</li> <li>- Adult literacy/education of the Mbororo</li> <li>- Technical and institutional capacities to enhance delivery on different thematic domains</li> <li>- Development strategic and business plans</li> </ul>
SODELCO	-Membership based Mbororo focused development organisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Strong links with Fulani/Hausa economic and political elite</li> <li>- Not well established across the region</li> <li>- Caught up in ideological conflicts with MBOSCUDA</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Technical and institutional capacities to enhance service delivery and performance</li> <li>-</li> </ul>

<b>Name of Organisation</b>	<b>Assessment of current potentials and mandatory interventions domains</b>	<b>Key strengths and/or weaknesses requiring project attention</b>	<b>Institutional requirement and issues for collaboration</b>
Plan Cameroon	Child centred development organisation with selective though strategic deployment in the region	-In-house diverse technical capacities -Currently collaborating with MBOSCUDA in addressing issues related to basic child rights amongst the Mbororo (birth certificate, education, etc)	Operational domains of collaboration to be developed with full participation of MBOSCUDA
Heifer Project International	Uses conventional and non-conventional livestock types as entry points of holistic community development interventions	Pioneer NGO working for and with the Fulani on ethno-veterinary healthcare, Survivals of the Lake Nyos gas disaster, breed improvement, etc	Operational domains of collaboration to be developed with full participation of MBOSCUDA and CDENO
INADES-FORMATION	Development and consultancy oriented NGO	-Already conducted studies in preparation for specific interventions with the Mbororo in Donga-Mantung Division	-Capacity development of Mbororo and non-Mbororo communities -Long-term institutional support to Mbororo oriented civil society organisations
SNV	Development oriented NGO	-Currently works livelihoods diversification through the promotion of income generating activities -Has practical experiences working with SODELCO	Operational domains of collaboration to be further developed on the diversification of livelihoods options and full participation of MBOSCUDA
APESS	Capacity development and empowerment of cattle owners	Too localised and not well known	Undefined
COMISUD	Grassroots focused NGO currently involved in the socio-economic empowerment the minorities	Grassroots orientation and intimate knowledge of the use participatory approaches and tools	Awareness raising and training on Mbororo in social and political empowerment

### 3.6. 2. Learning initiatives targeting the Mbororo

Learning initiatives are considered to be small-scale, short-cycle initiatives that prepare the ground work for wide-scale replication in the local economic development processes. They may focus on testing innovative ideas in order to demonstrate how specific problems could be addressed using locally available resources. In the context of the Mbororo communities of the Northwest Region, learning initiatives are useful considering the long-term imperative to pursue interventions on social processes, behavioural changes and institutional reforms. Further, individual capacities amongst the Mbororo are low and could be increased through small initiatives that captivate interest for local development efforts. It is against this background that three (03) initiatives are presented in this reference document. These include the a) the Sabga Dairy Pilot Project, b) the Tadu Dairy Cooperative and c) the micro-grants scheme of MBOSCUDA.

**The Sabga Dairy Pilot project:** The Project FAO/TCP/CMR/2903 based at Sabga (at the outskirts of Bamenda). The project currently collects and processes milk into yoghurt and cheese. In all, 63 women are involved in this initiative though only 14 of them have received appropriate on-the-spot training and in the United States of America. Though the initiative provides an opportunity for learning and eventual replication, its original is being missed out orientation due to a number of internal problems. Records are poorly or not even kept, there is inadequate supervision of the daily operations, there is hardly any body at the sales desks, women have become irregular at their monthly meetings, etc. These problems are compounded by frequent cuts in the supply of electricity resulting in significant losses in raw milk. On-going conflicts between SODELCO and MBOSCUDA is also diverting focus on the development intention of the initiative.

**The TADU dairy cooperative:** On its part, the TADU dairy cooperative or Ranch started in late 1990s and covers three Mbororo encampments; **Belen, Tadu and Biri/Barara (Jakiri)**. The federating elements of this initiative are *artificial insemination and pasture improvement* for improved milk production. Over the years, close links have been maintained with the appropriate unit of the Cameroon Institute of Agricultural Research for Development (IRAD). A third and equally important component is water supply both to Mbororo communities at each of the field sites and cattle. A total of about 500 households, a majority of them Mbororo have benefited from interventions of the initiative. Current efforts are directed at the execution of a joint project with SODEPA and the Veterinary School at Jakiri. The technical components of the joint venture include the re-enforcement of artificial insemination, women's participation and milk processing.

**MBOSCUDA micro-grants scheme:** Bearing in mind Islamic prescriptions and using Muslim clerics as field agents, MBOSCUDA is experimenting a micro-grants scheme whose nominal value per beneficiary varies between 500000-1000000 frs. Grants to beneficiaries could be recycled only three times. Initially, the scheme was directed to women though men are currently fully integrated into the scheme. Potential beneficiaries provide 10% of the total cost of an identified initiative representing management cost to MBOSCUDA. Such initiatives are scrutinised by two enthusiastic Mbororo ladies and then by a loan committee prior to disbursement of any grant. Since inception in 2003, a total amount of 20960000 frs has been disbursed; a total of 11896750 has been repaid while 9063250 frs is still pending. Thirty four (34) groups spread across all the divisions of the Northwest Region (3 of them men's groups) and 5 individuals have benefited for the MBOSCUDA schemes. In general,

few operational problems have been encountered. There have only been three delinquent loans due to natural disasters.

The MBOSCUDA initiative on micro-grants brings to the open at least two lessons for development interventions for and with the Mbororo. Firstly, the initiative suggests that *using Islamic clerics as field agents could be instrumental in improving the understanding on the position of the Koran in a micro-credit scheme targeting the Mbororo. Secondly, a micro-grants initiative could be used as an enabling instrument for expanding the income generating opportunities for Mbororo youths and women.*

### **3.7. General support and specific training needs requirements by actors**

Considerable and more committed grassroots interventions for and with the Mbororo are being undertaken by MBOSCUDA which is a national, membership-based organisation with approximately 40,000 adherents in the Northwest Region. The organisation has recruited and regularly paid staff based in all the branch offices in the seven administrative regions of the Northwest Province. Its head office is located at Old Town Bamenda where technical coordinators of field interventions operate.

The creation of MBOSCUDA was an initiative of young, mostly educated Mbororo who were in search of answers to the shared experience of crisis of the Mbororo cultural and political identity. A major motivation of MBOSCUDA has been the belief that only political activism, direct engagement (and even confrontation with opponents) and consciousness of civil and officially permitted rights will disengage the Mbororo in the Northwest Region from their dilemma. MBOSCUDA has developed an inclusive strategy involving Mbororo elders and Muslim scholars and clerics in the conception, planning and execution of field projects.

The current interventions of MBOSCUDA include women's training in income generating activities, the establishment of co-educational schools that enhance primary school education in the English and Arabic languages as well as Muslim religion, and the provision of legal advice in land disputes, cases of human rights abuses and illegal extortion by government.

Working within an environment with a strong civil society organisation is a huge opportunity for MBOSCUDA. The organisation draws a lot of inspiration and support from the civil society organisations of the Northwest Region. Its leading members have acquired diverse skills and competencies through working with development agencies including the U.K. based Village Aid, the German Development Agency (GTZ) and international human rights organisations. On account of the outputs and outcomes of its activities, MBOSCUDA is well-respected among the Mbororo in the Northwest region, many of whom have benefited from its past and on-going projects.

Based on a rapid institutional assessment, and in order to enhance its internal organisation and outreach interventions, MBOSCUDA will require collaboration and support in:

- *capacity development with a focusing on project proposal development, reporting/information management, conflict management, loan/credit management, strategic planning and budgeting and technical aspects of para-legal support, membership development, etc.*
- *enhancement of outreach activities with logistical support especially computers and motorcycles for the para-legal outreach to the Mbororo;*
- *expansion of micro-credit portfolio in order to meet up with increasing requests*

SODELCO is a complementary membership based organisation working for and with the Mbororo. The organisation was created in 1993 with support from four Mbororo traditional and political leaders - El Hahj Baba Ahmadou Danpullo, Ardo Bouba of Akweto, Ardo of Demsa and the late Lamido of Sabga. At inception, SODELCO had several activity domains but since 2007 has been focusing interventions on youths and women. The two main intervention domains are improvement of the conditions of livestock rearing and the rallying of Mbororo leaders (ArDOS) under a common development framework.

Though field offices of SODELCO are reported to be found in and out of Bamenda (including Bangangte in the West Region), only the Provincial Office located at SONAC Street in Bamenda is timidly active. Though the staff strength is estimated at about seven, no staff was found in any of the intervention sites and tailoring workshops purported to be located at least 14 sites including Wum, Kumbo, Jakiri, Bali, Mbiame, Sabga, etc.

A total of about 70 ArDOS are reported to be part of SODELCO, over 170 young girls have been trained with full scholarships provided to 18 of them.

Apart from the conceptual and ideological differences with MBOSCUDA, SODELCO is currently facing a series of challenges arising from mutual distrust, self-interest, internal back-stabbing and inadequate understanding of the mission of the organisation, wrong perception/presentation of the mentor as *provider and not facilitator*.

Conceptually and ideologically, SODELCO is opposed MBOSCUDA in the approaches of dealing with the challenges of the Mbororo. For example SODELCO is reluctant to engage in political activism and open confrontation with opponents in embarking on strategies of gaining civil and political rights of the Mbororo in the Northwest Region. Unlike MBOSCUDA whose development funds are derived from in-country and international partners, SODELCO relies heavily on its principal mentor El Hahj Baba Ahmadou Danpullo for subvention.

*Based on a rapid institutional assessment, SODELCO requires support to grow as a civil society organisational with appropriate governance structures. In the mean time, it could be benefit from all the capacity development sessions designed for MBOSCUDA. Deliberate efforts need to be undertaken to get SODELCO and MBOSCUDA closer to each other.*

**Table 5** summarises the generic and specific domains for training needs of the organisations that work for and with the Mbororo. In the context of the implementation of the TC-RAM project, it will be useful to adopt a result-chain approach for and with the Mbororo. The result chain approach focuses on desired future conditions or results (*outputs, outcomes or impacts*) in defining how project implementation contributes to achieving agreed goals. This suggests that focus should be directed at rendering the organisation effectively engaged in working for and with the Mbororo much more apt at the end of project implementation. These organisations include though limited to MBOSCUDA, SODELCO, CDENO, SNV and INADES-FORMATION.

**Table 5: Generic training needs requirements**

<b>Domains for defining training needs</b>	<b>Potential collaborators</b>	<b>Potential beneficiaries</b>
Awareness and rights based education campaigns	MBOSCUDA, MINEPIA Plan Cameroon and INADES-FORMATION, MINSANTE and COMISUD	Leaders of Mbororo and native group, opinion leaders, local chiefs, Ardos and state agents (State Councils, DOs, SDOs, MINEPIA staff, etc)
Functional and adult literacy and support to Mbororo to access justice	MBOSCUDA, MINEPIA and INADES-FORMATION and COMISUD	Leaders of Mbororo and native group, opinion leaders, local chiefs, Ardos and state agents (State Councils, DOs, SDOs, MINEPIA staff, etc)
Institutional and performance capacities of the organisations working for and with the Mbororo	TC-RAM Team, national consultants and other ILO appropriate units	MBOSCUDA, SODELCO, IDF and INADES-FORMATION, Mbororo Group Leaders, COMISUD, etc
Diversification of livelihoods options using <b>a robust a competitive micro-credit scheme</b>	MBOSCUDA, CDENO, INADES-FORMATION and community-based micro-finance establishments	Innovative individuals, existing and functioning youths and women's groups of Mbororo and native extraction and MBOSCUDA,
Promotion of learning or demonstration initiatives (pasture improvement, dairy production etc.)	CDENO, TADU Dairy Cooperative and MINEPIA	Mbororo and native cattle owners
Improvement/development of cattle infrastructure	CDENO, TADU Dairy Cooperative and MINEPIA	Mbororo and native cattle owners
Improvement/development of access to basic utilities (schools, health centres, water supply)	MBOSCUDA, MINSANTE, CDENO, TADU Dairy Cooperative and MINEPIA	Mbororo and native communities across project sites

#### 4. Overall Conclusion and Recommendations

The Mbororo of the Northwest Region continue to face social and political pressures manifested by the expansion of crop encroachment into dry season traditional and known grazing areas, transformation of pasturelands into ranches by the elite class, continued denigration, intimidation, threats, extortion, etc. This situation has been compounded by the fact that the problems and challenges of the Mbororo have much more focussed on technical issues of pastoral development. Over the years, delivering on these technical issues have had little impacts on the Mbororo and their communities given that appropriate social and institutional arrangements were not incorporated into the overall framework for collective action. Successive tenure regulations since independence, for example, have undermined the legitimacy of local customary tenure systems. As these regulations failed to encourage mutual cooperation between the Mbororo, other development actors in the region and particularly the native populations, the management of pasturelands have continued to remain within an open access regime.

More so, social development of the Mbororo and their communities has unduly been oriented to the imperative for them to permanently settle. As development for the Mbororo have not often emerged from real field-based experiences but on unfounded technical assumptions of their needs and aspirations, the management of diverse conflicts and particularly those between crop farmers and cattle owners has often been more reactive and on a case by case basis rather being designed from clearly defined principles. For example, targeting development initiatives for and with the Mbororo on permanent settlement is treating the symptoms rather than the causes.

As cattle remains the life-wire of livelihoods options amongst the Mbororo, there are no easy solutions to continual conflicts and their livelihoods insecurity in the region. It is evident that long-term solutions may be realised by improving existing guidelines for using permanent settlement sites and traditional and known dry season grazing lands that are ecologically sound and sociologically acceptable. In particular, access to known transhumance zones will remain crucial to securing decent work and therefore improving livelihoods options of the Mbororo in the Northwest Region.

In adapting to this unwelcoming socio-political environment, the bulk of the Mbororo in the Northwest Region have adopted livelihoods strategies which permit them and their cattle to barely survive. A majority of the Mbororo of the region have changed and/or are still improving their lifestyles by embarking on crop production, engaging in herding contracts, engaging in small-scale business enterprises, etc. This notwithstanding some of them still continue to do business as usual resulting in continual conflicts especially when cattle owned by the Mbororo stray into crop farms. It is hoped that the TC-RAM project will adopt not only a participatory result-chain approach in its implementation of the recommendations outline in **Table 6** as a basis for the instilling long-term development vision for and with the Mbororo of the Northwest Region.

**Table 6: Specific Recommendations for the TC-RAM Project**

Issues/domains	Short-term actions required	Long-term actions required
Socio-political identity of the Mbororo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Design of specific messages for securing socio-political identity</li> <li>-Securing buy-in of traditional rulers and opinion leaders</li> <li>-Development of catalogue of the extent of the issues requiring attention</li> <li>-Production of fact sheets on different aspects of the live of the Mbororo</li> <li>-Organisation of Press Conferences bringing together Mbororo, non-Mbororo and the organisations working for the Mbororo</li> <li>-Organisation of a <b>Decent Work Day</b> for the Mbororo</li> <li>-Addressing of letters of concerns to the Senior Divisional officers of the pilot project sites</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Consolidation of regulatory frameworks that guarantee socio-political identity</li> <li>-Partnering with civil society organisations to effectively secure socio-political identity</li> <li>-Development of pathways for securing socio-political identity</li> <li>-Define appropriate pathways for the socio-political integration of the Mbororo</li> </ul>
Promotion of strategies that enhance livelihoods diversification options	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Technical and logistical support to demonstration/pilot projects at strategic sites</li> <li>-Implementation of a Robust Revolving Fund Scheme based on the experiences of MBOSCUDA and the MC2 model</li> <li>-Evaluation of the costs/benefits of artificial insemination at Tadu and FAO pilot dairy project at Sabga</li> <li>-Carry out study on the impacts of sedentarisation on livestock and livelihoods of the Mbororo</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Demonstration of the use of crop residues for soil fertility management</li> <li>-Design of micro-finance scheme that incorporates Islamic values</li> <li>-Breed improvement through artificial insemination and/or natural selection</li> <li>-Design of market information system for livestock marketing</li> <li>-Establishment of livestock insurance schemes for the Mbororo</li> </ul>
Ensuring equitable access, use and management of dry and wet season grazing lands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Identification and dissemination of successful pilot schemes on pasture improvement using <i>Bracharia sp., stylonanthese G.</i> and <i>Quatamala</i></li> <li>-Documentation of current regulatory frameworks and pathway for conflict management</li> <li>-Participatory development of guidelines on the use of dry season traditional grazing areas</li> <li>-Development of technical and budgeting estimates guidelines for enhancing water supply to dry season grazing areas</li> <li>-Development of guidelines for reporting agro-pastoral conflicts</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Development of regional land use framework</li> <li>-Review of regulatory framework on tenure (access, use and management systems)</li> <li>-Management of invading weeds (<i>Bracken fen</i>) from pasturelands</li> <li>-Improvement of water supply mechanisms to dry season grazing areas</li> <li>-Restoration of degraded pastureland</li> </ul>
Capacity and institutional development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Consolidation of comprehensive package of capacity and institutional development</li> <li>-Updating of training support materials being used by civil society partners</li> <li>-Assessment of the effectiveness of on-going efforts on capacity and institutional development</li> <li>-Organisation of training of trainers sessions and constitution of a panel of trainers</li> <li>-Creation of Divisional Groups for the mitigation of crop-livestock conflicts</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Development of training support guidelines for different categories of the Mbororo</li> <li>-Development of mechanism for the systematic assessment of the impacts of capacity and institutional development on livelihoods and socio-political identity of the Mbororo</li> </ul>

### Annex 1: List of Key Informants

<b>Name of resource person</b>	<b>Organisation</b>	<b>Phone contact</b>
Ousman Haman	MBOSCUDA, Ngoketunjia	77447335
Ali Garga	MBOSCUDA, Kumbo	75266905
Buba Madaki	Mbororo Cattle Owner, Bali	77760708
Nkambi Josephine	Bali Central credit Union Society	77261132
Atud Mbaku Benjamin	CDENO/PSREP, MINEPIA, Bamenda	77965003
Nyamndit Gilbert	Bali Council	77364638
Titalanga Bridget	Bali Council	77125372
Wilfred Kedinga	MC 2, Bali	77843877
Agari Walters	MINEPIA, Bamenda	77693730
Ali Aisatuo	MBOSCUDA, Bamenda	77539590
Rabiatou Ahmadou	MBOSCUDA, Bamenda	75115168
Sali Django	MBOSCUDA, Bamenda	77657186
Asanji Magdalene	MBOSCUDA, Bamenda	75726265
Duni Jeiboh	MBOSCUDA, Bamenda	77828136
Iyah Muhammed	FAO Dairy Pilot Project, Sabga	77322891
Donatus Whitcee Vewessee	SODELCO, Bamenda	75828008
Shang Lawrence	Jakiri Council and TADU Dairy Cooperative	77918415
Egih Dairu Balewa	APESS and 3 <sup>rd</sup> Deputy Mayor , Jakiri Council	77345325
Yaouba Ibrahim	SODELCO, Bamenda	75425163
Mokom Daniel	CDENO, Bamenda	77756058
Kinastin Tangie	CDENO, Bamenda	77793556
Sama Emmanuel Khan	INADES-FORMATION, Bamenda	77500865
Woazineh Florence	INADES-FORMATION, Bamenda	77869267
Shey Williams	MINADER/Independent Consultant	74518844

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