



Food and Agriculture
Organization of the
United Nations

Pastoralist youth in towns and cities

Supporting the economic and
social integration of pastoralist youth

Chad and Burkina Faso

Final summary

Pastoralist youth in towns and cities

Supporting the economic and
social integration of pastoralist youth

Chad and Burkina Faso

Required citation:

Ancey, V., Rangé, C., Magnani, S. and Patat, C. 2020. *Young pastoralists in towns and cities – Summary report*. Supporting the economic and social integration of young pastoralists – Chad and Burkina Faso. Rome, FAO.

The designations employed and the presentation of material in this information product do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) concerning the legal or development status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries. The mention of specific companies or products of manufacturers, whether or not these have been patented, does not imply that these have been endorsed or recommended by FAO in preference to others of a similar nature that are not mentioned.

The views expressed in this information product are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of FAO.

© FAO, 2020



Some rights reserved. This work is made available under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 3.0 IGO licence (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 IGO; <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/3.0/igo/legalcode>).

Under the terms of this licence, this work may be copied, redistributed and adapted for non-commercial purposes, provided that the work is appropriately cited. In any use of this work, there should be no suggestion that FAO endorses any specific organization, products or services. The use of the FAO logo is not permitted. If the work is adapted, then it must be licensed under the same or equivalent Creative Commons licence. If a translation of this work is created, it must include the following disclaimer along with the required citation: "This translation was not created by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO). FAO is not responsible for the content or accuracy of this translation. The original [Language] edition shall be the authoritative edition."

Disputes arising under the licence that cannot be settled amicably will be resolved by mediation and arbitration as described in Article 8 of the licence except as otherwise provided herein. The applicable mediation rules will be the mediation rules of the World Intellectual Property Organization <http://www.wipo.int/amc/en/mediation/rules> and any arbitration will be conducted in accordance with the Arbitration Rules of the United Nations Commission on International Trade Law (UNCITRAL).

Third-party materials. Users wishing to reuse material from this work that is attributed to a third party, such as tables, figures or images, are responsible for determining whether permission is needed for that reuse and for obtaining permission from the copyright holder. The risk of claims resulting from infringement of any third-party-owned component in the work rests solely with the user.

Sales, rights and licensing. FAO information products are available on the FAO website (www.fao.org/publications) and can be purchased through publications-sales@fao.org. Requests for commercial use should be submitted via: www.fao.org/contact-us/licence-request. Queries regarding rights and licensing should be submitted to: copyright@fao.org.

Contents

<i>Preface</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>Acronyms</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>Key messages</i>	<i>ix</i>
PART 1. INTRODUCTION	1
METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY	1
PART 2. PROFILES OF YOUNG MIGRANTS FROM PASTORALIST BACKGROUNDS	4
EXAMPLES OF THE MIGRANT JOURNEYS OF YOUNG PEOPLE FROM PASTORALIST BACKGROUNDS (BURKINA FASO/CHAD)	4
YOUNG PEOPLE IN SEARCH OF ADULT AND CITIZEN STATUS FOR THEMSELVES AND THEIR COMMUNITIES	15
PART 3. THE INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT OF THE INTEGRATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE FROM PASTORALIST BACKGROUNDS: PERCEPTIONS, INSTRUMENTS AND STRATEGIES FOR PUBLIC ACTION	19
URBAN MIGRATION AMONG PASTORALIST YOUTH, A POORLY UNDERSTOOD PUBLIC ISSUE	19
INSTRUMENTS AND STRATEGIES FOR PUBLIC ACTION: IS THE ISSUE OF URBAN MIGRATION AMONG PASTORALIST YOUTH A MATTER FOR “PUBLIC ACTION”?	21
PART 4. CONCLUSIONS	25
RETHINKING YOUNG PEOPLE’S MOBILITY AND THEIR PATHWAYS TO ADULTHOOD	25
SUPPORTING RATHER THAN RESTRAINING MOBILITY	25
RETHINKING THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN TOWNS AND CITIES AND CAMPS WITHIN PASTORAL ECONOMIES	25
THINKING OF YOUNG PEOPLE NOT ONLY AS WORKERS BUT ALSO AS CITIZENS	26
SUPPORTING PASTORALIST YOUTH WITH REFERENCE TO THE CONTEMPORARY PASTORAL DYNAMICS: POSSIBLE STRATEGIES FOR ACTION	26
CONSTRUCTING PUBLIC ACTION ON PASTORALIST YOUTH	26

Preface

In a context of policies to control migratory flows on an international level and fears about the destabilization of the state at a national level (widespread insurrection, the proliferation of armed militias), developing normative discourses about youth and pastoralism have come to be characterized by references to inactive and aimless young people, migration, participation in armed violence, violent conflicts categorized simplistically as ethnic and socio-professional, the criminal economy, jihadism, resource degradation, climate change, and resilience, often linked together in a causal chain.

A contradiction remains between the development of such normative discourses and a lack of relevant data on pastoralist youth, the ways in which they acquire autonomy, and the conditions which are now determining the reproduction of pastoralist family economies. A tendency persists to view them through the prism of the pastoral systems of previous generations, despite the structural changes rapidly transforming rural areas in a political context that is increasingly deleterious to pastoral practices.

One major transformation in rural areas in the Sahel is greater connection with towns and cities. This creates new situations and pathways that transform the needs and aspirations of the majority of the population, and particularly young people, and thus demand public action in their own right. As a knowledge-based institution, the FAO has conducted an exploratory study in Chad and Burkina Faso into the migratory networks of young people from pastoralist backgrounds, their links to their family economies and their institutional context. The present summarized report aims to inform and support coordinated and independent public action on the issue.



Badi Besbes

Animal Production and Health Division
Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations

Preparation of the document

Summary based on the following reports:

- FAO. 2019. *Jeunes pasteurs en ville. Réseaux et trajectoires migratoires des jeunes; Tchad et Burkina Faso*. (115 pages).
- FAO. 2019. *Jeunes pasteurs en ville. Contexte institutionnel de l'insertion des jeunes issus des populations pastorales: perceptions, dispositifs et stratégies d'action publique au Burkina Faso*. (70 pages).
- FAO. 2019. *Jeunes pasteurs en ville. Contexte institutionnel de l'insertion des jeunes issus des populations pastorales: perceptions, dispositifs et stratégies d'action publique au Tchad*. (73 pages).

AUTHORS

Sergio Magnani (IRAM), Cécile Patat (IRAM), Charline Rangé (Consultant).

CONTRIBUTORS

Amidou Barry (Consultant), Fatoumata Dao (Consultant), Serena Ferrari (FAO), Moumouni Ouedraogo (Ministry of animal resources and fishery of Burkina Faso), Djimet Seli (Consultant).

COORDINATOR

Véronique Ancey (FAO).

Acronyms

AfDB	African Development Bank
AFD	Agence Française de Développement (French Development Agency)
CSO	Civil society organization
EU	European Union
IGR	Income generating activities
IRAM	Institut de Recherches et d'Applications des Méthodes de Développement (Institute of Research and Application of Development Methods)
NGO	Non-governmental organization
PLFO	Professional livestock farmers' organization
PASTOR	Programme d'Appui Structurant de Développement Pastoral (Structural Support Program for Pastoral Development)
PIRPT	Projet d'infrastructures rurales, pastorales et de transhumance (Rural, Pastoral and Transhumance Infrastructure Project)
PRAPS	Programme Régional d'Appui au Pastoralisme au Sahel (Regional Sahel Pastoralism Support Project)
PREPAS	Projet de renforcement de l'élevage pastoral (Project to Strengthen Pastoral Breeding)
PREPP	Programme Régional d'Education/formation des Populations Pastorales en zones transfrontalières (Regional Education/Training Program for Pastoralist Populations in Transnational Areas)
TFPs	Technical and financial partners

Key messages

The changes and constraints in the economy of the family pastoral economy are modifying the pathways to adult status for pastoralist youth in Chad and Burkina Faso. The study synthesized here focused on, on the one hand, the youth – men born in pastoral environments, who had migrated into towns and cities (Njamena, Dourbali, Ouagadougou, Bobo Dioulasso), identified in their migratory network, as witnesses and actors of those changes; on the other hand, stakeholders from public or community institutions concerned by these issues.

THE ACCESS TO ADULT STATUS FOR MIGRANT PASTORALIST YOUTH SOMETIMES NEEDS MOBILITY...

1. In very diverse cases, the youth do not aspire en masse to leave the pastoralist way of life; but their access to adult status no longer involves only livestock farming and the transfer of livestock-related rights.
2. For the youth, the challenge of migration relates to the need for room for manoeuvre, with a view to acquire autonomy outside their household's herd; nonetheless, contributing to securing the family economy remains a condition, for them, for being recognized as adults.
3. In both Chad and Burkina Faso, the security context (violent armed groups, repressive pushback from the state) jeopardizes youth mobility and therefore also the pathways to social, economic and political integration of a whole generation.

...AND THE EXPERIENCE OF TOWNS AND CITIES

4. Between camps and towns and cities, new connections appear relating to the animal trade and formal and Koranic schooling.
5. In towns and cities, community associations help build a sense of belonging; the migrant youth experience new relationships with other ethnic groups.
6. Urban anchoring and pastoral mobility do not necessarily conflict at the level of families and communities. Migrant youth play a new and recognized role within families relying on diversified and multi-localized activities, through cash transfers, exchange of information on resources and rights, or by hosting family members.
7. Young people's trajectories underline the need for pastoral families 1) to combine pastoral mobility and territorial anchoring and 2) to be able to exercise their citizenship
8. Under these conditions, the urban migrations of the youth are factors of social change in pastoralist environments.

URBAN MIGRATION OF THE YOUTH IS POORLY UNDERSTOOD BY PUBLIC AUTHORITIES

9. While politicians fear the marginality and delinquency of young migrants, the professional organizations point out the issue of the workforce renewal; for the families, youth migration is a «normal» fact. Where it was once temporary, it now presents evolving challenges.
10. The difficulty in setting up both public debate and action is due to: the lack of data; weak cross-sector coordination; the focus of the political agenda on employment, migration and security, to the detriment of rural transformations and the role of rural-urban links.
11. The political solutions frequently envisaged for «managing youth migration» are out of step with reality, whether they are aimed at keeping young people in the camps or «sedentarizing» pastoralism.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Accompany mobility rather than trying to contain it.
- Think about the connections of towns and cities to camps within the pastoral economies.
- Think of the youth not only as workers but also as citizens.
- Accompany pastoralist youth with reference to contemporary dynamics: i) recognize pastoralism within economic policies, ii) extend basic public services to rural areas; iii) develop new forms of support in the urban areas.
- Build public action on pastoralist youth favourable to pastoralism, through networking and dialogue between sectors and stakeholders, focusing for example on education, vocational training and social inclusion in urban areas.

Part 1

Introduction

The exploratory study “Pastoralist youth in towns and cities: supporting the economic and social integration of pastoralist youth (Chad, Burkina Faso)”, is an initiative of the Livestock and Genetic Resources branch of the FAO.

The study is based on the hypothesis that normative discourses make it impossible to grasp the new challenges in integrating young people from pastoralist backgrounds that are presented by rapid structural changes. Moreover, these challenges are poorly understood within development circles because data gathering techniques are ill adapted to the characteristics of pastoral societies.

A second hypothesis is that the structurally lower levels of school enrollment and professional training in pastoral groups and their higher level of marginalization call for specific attention and, to redress this inequality, measures to support education, training and employment for pastoralist youth. While pastoral societies have historically been afforded a measure of relief from administrative pressures by their marginalization, today it compounds the constraints which jeopardize their basic rights and the social and economic inclusion of pastoralists, and particularly their youth.

The principal objectives of the study are:

- To redefine the challenges of mobility and the socioeconomic and professional integration of pastoralist youth in terms of land and resource management, access to citizens’ rights and structural change.
- In the case of pastoralist youth exposed to specific constraints and risks, to put the integration and autonomy of young people at the heart of public action that looks further than the idea of employability to encompass a wide range of social dimensions.
- To fuel debate that can inform political dialogue around pastoralism and youth in the Sahel and West Africa.

Box 1 Pastoralism

Pastoralism is a system of production specializing in the valorization of a range of resources which can be more or less variable and unpredictable depending on the extent of local climatic variability. As such it is characterized by: 1) a high level of interaction between humans, animals and the environment, implemented by strategic forms of mobility and the selective feeding of livestock; 2) the maintenance of flexible and non-exclusive forms of regulation for land and water resource management. In West Africa, pastoral systems and their economies extend beyond the Sahel, through transhumance practices, the livestock market, youth mobility, the provision of feed inputs, the issue of agricultural fertility and questions of political regulation.

Box 2

Structural changes in rural and pastoral areas in a few key words

- Demographic change leading to tensions between the structure of the population pyramid and the gerontocratic organization of communities;
- Densification of urban networks;
- Densification of agricultural land;
- Structural presence of development aid;
- Threats to pastoral land and the influence of state actors and new actors in land management;
- Monetization of economies and commercialization of pastoral resources;
- Development of information and communication technologies (telephones) and means of transport (motorbikes);
- Growing inequalities within communities.

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The different institutional points of view are set against the trajectories of young people. Given that different institutions have a range of agendas and work in different domains, their necessarily partial perspectives can appear contradictory. The two aspects of this study make sense of these disconnected discourses through two series of complementary surveys.

Two qualitative field studies in Chad (N'Djamena and Dourbali) and in Burkina Faso (Ouagadougou and Bobo Dioulasso) document the migration of young people from pastoralist communities through interviews with key informants, young people passing through or settled in the capitals, and key actors in informal networks of integration.³

Two analyses of the institutional landscape in Chad and Burkina Faso present the perceptions of actors, support policies, and formal and informal programs and networks which young people from pastoral communities can access.⁴ Chad and Burkina Faso were chosen because

Box 3

Becoming an adult in pastoral societies

The process of gaining autonomy is often defined by access to employment, marriage and living independently. Within pastoral communities, where most of the herd is a shared means of production and the residential unit is multi-generational, becoming an adult depends on being able to contribute actively to the family's welfare and to acts of solidarity within the community, which is in turn rewarded with the right to have one's voice heard within the family and the community. In a "purely pastoral" economy, access to adult status and the reproduction of family economies depends on control over young people's work and the redistribution of rights to the livestock. Structural changes (commercialization, demography, etc.) and the current constraints on production and the cattle trade have transformed the pathways to autonomy open to young people, who now find themselves in family economies that are no longer uniquely pastoral.

³ Cf the report "Jeunes pasteurs en ville. Réseaux et trajectoires migratoires des jeunes; Tchad et Burkina Faso" (115 pages).

⁴ Cf the reports "Jeunes pasteurs en ville. Contexte institutionnel de l'insertion des jeunes issus des populations pastorales: perceptions, dispositifs et stratégies d'action publique au Burkina Faso" (70 pages) and "Jeunes pasteurs en ville. Contexte institutionnel de l'insertion des jeunes issus des populations pastorales: perceptions, dispositifs et stratégies d'action publique au Tchad" (73 pages).

they offer interesting contrasts in terms of not only their pastoral economies and their policies in the sectors of pastoralism and youth, but also governance and citizenship. An approach through youth rural-to-urban mobility aims to shed light on the economic and social links that pastoral societies create between rural and urban areas.

While the study considers migratory dynamics as the main entry point in the analysis of structural change, it does not adopt an operational perspective on managing migratory flows but rather looks at resource management, mobility and services. It examines the place of young people in governance arrangements and, more particularly, relations between pastoralist youth and the institutions and representatives of the state. It aims to identify the diversity of resources, both material and symbolic, and of services, which pastoralist youth need outside their camps to integrate socially, economically and politically.

Part 2

Profiles of young migrants from pastoralist backgrounds

EXAMPLES OF THE MIGRANT JOURNEYS OF YOUNG PEOPLE FROM PASTORALIST BACKGROUNDS (BURKINA FASO/CHAD)

Migration is not synonymous with exclusion or a rejection of pastoralism, but is to be understood as a “journey”, an ongoing process across a variety of configurations of places which plays a major role in young people gaining autonomy. Very often, the first stage in the process (the first departure from the camp) is not the young person’s choice. Young people’s perceptions and aspirations change throughout their migratory journeys as they meet with successes and failures, and opportunities present themselves or disappear again.

The young people’s journeys reflect the wide diversity of their situations and underline the need to de-homogenize the notion of “pastoralist youth” and take into account not only gender but also unequal access to livestock and pastoral resources (which affects the ease of integration in livestock farming), geographical configuration (towns, cities and markets along pastoral routes make it easier to send children to school and diversify activities), pastoral groups and families’ historical links with urban, religious, intellectual and commercial circles, and the construction of transnational networks (which facilitate school access and income-generating migrations).

The transformations of young people’s pathways to adult status do not follow a linear or uniform trajectory between the countries. They cannot be analyzed independently of the historical and geographical contexts at national, transnational and local scale.

- Pastoral groups in Chad are highly diversified. With a large part of the country being situated in the Sahara or the Sahel, numerous pastoralists have no fixed abode and practice agriculture only intermittently. In Burkina Faso, on the other hand, the overwhelming majority of pastoralists belong to culturally close-knit Fulani clans and practice agro-pastoralism with fixed places of residence. It is nevertheless important not to homogenize the national situations and see them as mutually exclusive: pastoral dynamics in southern Chad, for example, present numerous similarities to many cases in Burkina Faso.
- Both countries face serious political security crises which are weakening pastoral economies dramatically (pasturelands being made inaccessible, reduced access to markets, particularly in Chad following the fall in the Nigerian naira), pushing young people to leave their camps while also making it more dangerous for them to do so.
- Both countries have recently seen major unrest with demands for social, political and economic change. The different outcomes of these movements (a change of president in Burkina Faso in 2014; repression in Chad between 2014 and 2016 and no political change) serve to underline the important differences between the countries in terms of governance and the population’s relationship to their citizenship.

- In both countries, diaspora communities maintain close links with neighboring countries and provide models for young people to follow. In Chad, this diaspora is a largely urban population (settled in Libya, the Central African Republic, Sudan and Nigeria). In Burkina Faso, families have settled with their herds in camps, with parts of them going to the major cities of the coastal countries. These close links with neighboring countries maintain long-standing migratory dynamics. Libya and Sudan have long attracted many temporary young migrants from pastoralist communities in Chad who leave without their parents' permission in search of sufficient money to earn their independence at the camp. Since 2012, gold panning in the Sahara desert has partly replaced this dynamic and, given the region's current political security problems, has become a major socio-political problem for Chad. The state's strong campaign of repression has forced many young people to return to the towns and cities.

To give an overall impression of the diversity of migratory journeys, one might propose a typology (see the table below), which necessarily simplifies the complexity and diversity of situations. To counterbalance the reductive nature of the typology, short life stories in the words of young people themselves follow.

Box 1

Type 1a: Mohamat, the eldest child looking to «consolidate what he already has» to become independent and who expects nothing from the state (central Chad)

Mohamat is a young Missirie Arab from Batha aged twenty. He is the eldest of six children. His family do not have a village, but cultivate small fields on their transhumance routes. Since he was small, Mohamat has worked as a shepherd for his father, occasionally cultivated, and received a Koranic education in the camps. We met him in September 2018 in N'Djamena, in the house of the tribal chief, where he was staying long enough to finance his trip (150,000 FCFA) to Libya or Niger in search of gold, or to work as a shepherd. His aim is to return to the camp with enough to buy animals, cultivate large fields and *«do a lot of other things with the money»*, such as financing the drilling of a well to give people access to water and so that he might *«find something in it»*. Mohamat did not inform anybody before leaving to avoid being refused permission. He knows that his father is too old and his brothers are too young to replace him and this workload, and that his father's brothers *«each have their load, and they struggle to get by as it is»*. He thinks that his father will pay a shepherd to replace him. What is Mohamat looking for in migrating? *«To be able to consolidate what I have, to bring my wife, and to fatten my herd so as to become independent»*. He is anxious to leave for Libya. *«It's difficult for me in N'Djamena. I am used to being with animals»*. His difficulties as a young person? *«The lack of water and food in the dry season. Animals that are not sold a good price»*. What does Mohamat expect from the state? *«Nothing»*. After a long silence he adds, *«I don't think that the state can do anything for me because it has existed for a long time, and it has done nothing»*.

Table 1. Typology of the trajectories of the pastoralist youth from the case studies

Types of migration	Factors of migration	Places and groups affected
Type 1: Migration in urban areas to gain independence in the village/camp		
Type 1a: Temporary migration as a means to gain autonomy in pastoral farming more quickly <i>Gold-panning and laboring in rural or urban areas</i>	Demographic changes, monetization of economies, creation of transnational networks	Chad: Center, Kanem, North and East (Arabs, Toubou)
Type 1b: Temporary migration as a means to gain autonomy more quickly in rural areas through diversification of activities (agriculture, livestock farming, commerce, handcraft) <i>Gold-panning and laboring in rural livestock markets, camps and "livestock farms"</i>	Forced diversification of economies linked to threats to land and pauperization	Burkina Faso (Fulani)
Type 1c: Flight in the hope of returning to the village independent	Intergenerational tensions	Burkina Faso (Fulani)
Type 2: Urban migration for the livestock trade		
Type 2: Urban migration for the livestock trade	Monetization of economies, demographic change, threats to land	Chad: Center, East, West and South (Arabs, Fulani) Burkina Faso (Fulani)
Type 3: Settling in peri-urban areas to diversify the economy and secure pastoral mobility		
Type 3: Settling in peri-urban areas to diversify the economy and secure pastoral mobility	Role of state and international aid institutions in securing land (more accessible in towns and cities and for those who have been to school); urban networks and the development of the livestock trade	Chad: Logone and Chari Valleys (Fulani, Arabs, Toubou)
Type 4: Urban migration for education		
Type 4a: Settling in a town or a city having been sent for by a family member	Role of state and international aid institutions in securing land (more accessible in towns and cities and for those who have been to school); urban networks and the development of the livestock trade	Chad (Center, West) (Arabs, Fulani)
Type 4b: Education as part of the family's strategy to diversify the economy	Role of state and international aid institutions in securing land (more accessible in towns and cities and for those who have been to school); demographic change; threats to land	West (and East) Burkina Faso (Fulani)
Type 5: Urban migration to attend Koranic schools		
Type 5a: A Koranic education seen as a route to the urban integration of young people who can no longer be integrated within the livestock system	Demographic change; threats to land	Chad: Logone and Chari Valleys (Fulani) Sahel burkinabe (Fulani)
Type 5b: The Koranic school as a religious education (cultural dimension)	Demographic change; threats to land	Chad: Center, Kanem, Greater North, Greater East (Arabs, Toubou) Burkina Faso: Sahel (Fulani)
Type 6: Towns and cities as an uncertain future for pauperized young people		
Type 6a: Seasonal migrations in the hope of integrating a town or city	Pauperization of pastoral economies (linked to threats to land)	Burkina Faso: Sahel (Fulani)
Type 6b: Towns and cities as fallback plan following failed temporary migrations with the initial aim of returning to livestock farming	Pauperization of pastoral economies (linked to threats to land)	Chad (Fulani, Arabs, Toubou)



Box 2

Type 2a: Lawane, the young Fulani familiar with the livestock market who sees that « there's no work to do in the bush » (Chad, Chari Valley)

Lawane Ali, 47 years old, is a Kesuji Fulani. He currently works in the livestock trade in N'Djamena. He was born there as his father was already working there in the livestock trade, before returning with his parents and his brothers and sisters on a transhumance migration in 1980 to flee the repression of the regime. Back in the camp at around the age of ten, he followed the animals on transhumance between Chari Baguirmi and Lake Chad. When his third child was born, Lawane decided to return to N'Djamena and to settle there to work in the livestock trade with the help of his father, who sold a number of animals to help him to get going. *«I took the decision. I informed my father, he agreed. In the bush, the number of animals had dwindled, there were many of us, we weren't being put to work. My father gave me a few animals to sell. With the money I got going in the trade. When I started it was easy, the animals weren't expensive, not like now»*. Before settling in N'Djamena, Lawane had already begun buying and reselling on livestock markets near transhumance sites. Being in the trade in N'Djamena he has helped three young Fulani from the village to enter the market. With the crash in the livestock trade, Lawane became bankrupt. He no longer buys animals himself but works as an intermediary with Nigerian and Cameroonian traders, Arabs and a Haussa, whom he met at the market.





Box 3


Type 3: Mahamat, the young Ouled Rachid Arab who at the suggestion of his father has abandoned the transhumance for the precarity of the urban economy (Chad, Kanem)

Mahamat is a young Ouled Rachid Arab aged 28. Ten years ago his father decided to settle part of the family in an area on the outskirts of N'Djamena, entrusting his herd of camels on transhumance to a single one of his sons. Mahamat was initially unhappy with this decision, but gradually grew used to his new life in N'Djamena. *«The first year my father stayed here with his young wife and we went off on transhumance with my brothers and my mother. Then, the next year my father asked us to remain here. At first we were used to the transhumance. We weren't happy with the news. Now we are used to it. I am beyond school age, but for the others. [...] I don't think I will go with the animals again. I sometimes visit the camp, but I'm not going to go off again. For one because we don't have enough animals. Secondly because we're not going to follow the transhumance from one generation to the next. We have to settle, educate our children and diversify our activities».* His father sold a few animals to buy him his first motorbike so that he could take care of himself. He worked driving a motorcycle taxi until his father married him off in 2009. Then in 2013 he decided to leave for Libya. Once back from Libya he tried looking for gold in Chad, but was sent away by the police. In N'Djamena his job driving a motorcycle taxi no longer worked out. *«At first the clandestine work [motorcycle taxi] worked out well, but that's no longer the case today. I went to Libya because I was told that there was work in Libya. I hid in the camel trucks because I didn't have any papers. In Libya you are Chadian, you work in the fields. You don't need to know anybody for that. [...] I came back here because I had a wife and children here. When I was in Libya I didn't send anything back here. I put aside some savings in Libya, I bought a new motorbike when I came back here, then I went looking for gold in the Moyto region, but that didn't last because the police put a stop to it. When I came back here I worked as a customs officer. The head of customs is a relative. But this head of customs was demoted by the president so I had to quit.»*

- «Do you think you will go back to Libya?»

- «Libya is at war now. But if I have the money I can go anywhere.»

Like some of his other relatives, Mahamat bought some land along the Chari in Mandelia in 2016, next to one of his brother's other transhumance camps. If he finds work in N'Djamena he will build a house in the capital and cultivate the land in Mandelia. If not, he will go and live there.



Box 4

Type 2a: Algoni, the young Ouled Rachid Arab whose «father didn't want him to follow the animals» (Chad, Kanem)


Algoni Abderahim Abbas is an Ouled Rachid Arab of around 25 years of age, currently living in N'Djamena. Algoni is the youngest of ten children. His parents practice the transhumance between Mayo-Kebbi and Kanem with a herd of dromedaries, cattle and sheep, with no attachment to any village. Algoni's older brother lives in Linia, a sub-prefecture about thirty kilometers from N'Djamena, where he works as a customs officer. Algoni has only rarely accompanied the animals. He is the only one of his brothers and sisters to have gone to school, between the ages of 9 and 12 years old, in N'Djamena at his uncle's house. After he abandoned school, his father helped him to get going in the sheep trade in Linia where his older brother lives. *«My father didn't want me to be behind the cattle. When I abandoned school, my father wanted me to study whatever the cost. He gave me money to enter trade».* Just before the downfall of Gaddafi, he decided to leave for Libya at the age of seventeen, following the example of his older brother who is now a customs officer. He was stopped by the Chadian army and sent back to N'Djamena. Once again his father helped him to start a sheep trade business. *«Once I was back here, I was my father's favorite child. He gave me a camel to sell. I went into trade with the money from the camel and I got married with the money from trade».* He went bankrupt in the 2015 livestock market crash and now gets by selling telephone credit. A distant relative, who works as a security guard for a house in N'Djamena, houses and feeds him. He attends «evening classes» and is currently at CE1 level (second year of elementary school). *«The aim with the evening classes is to get by reading and writing so that I can manage my business without an assistant, because otherwise, when I trade and I have debts, I have to tell somebody my secrets. The idea of the evening classes came about because, with my friends, when people were chatting, I was always asking them to translate. People said, 'You are bothering us'. A brother, a specialist teacher, told me about the evening classes. [...] When I went to the evening classes I saw everybody. I thought that I was alone, but no. When I took this decision at home, people discouraged me. I am proud to go to evening classes, proud to be with my camarades».* The precarity of Algoni's economic situation helps to explain his numerous failed marriages. Of the 15 dromedaries and 50 sheep that he inherited from his father, only four dromedaries remain. The rest have been sold, largely to finance marriages and divorces. *«With the collapse of animal prices - crisis in the country, problems in Libya, problems in Nigeria with Boko Haram - I've had to sell a lot. My brothers sold the dromedaries because of problems with their in-laws without consulting me. They deal with those problems».*



Box 5

Type 4a: Ali Al Ass Issaka, the former livestock farmer now working as a janitor, for whom «a life without education is no life» (central Chad)

Ali Al Ass Issaka, 58 years old, is a Missiré Arab from central Chad, where his family cultivates the land and practices small-scale transhumance. He has eight daughters from his first marriage, all of whom are married and none of whom were schooled. All of the children from his second marriage, sons and daughters alike, are schooled however. His daughters from his two marriages followed different paths because Ali left the village for N'Djamena in 1995 to take up an offer of formal employment as a janitor in a high school. Before that he practiced transhumance migrations and traded sheep between the village and N'Djamena. Ali still has livestock in the village today, the offspring of the animals that his father gave him for his marriage and his part of the inheritance that his father divided between his sons. Since settling in N'Djamena he has not bought more animals, though has sold some a number of times. He fattens animals in N'Djamena. Ali welcomes migrants from Batha to his house when they come to visit N'Djamena or spend a season there. He is very clear in explaining how his vision of things has changed over time, particularly regarding school. Ali invited two of his uncles' sons and sent them to school up to baccalaureate and university level. *«Initially, I didn't want to come to the city. In '68 I was very young. Somebody offered me a mill or a car, and I refused because I didn't want to stay in the city. Then I thought about it, and I realized that staying in the bush was no way to progress. When my «brother» offered me the job [in '95], I accepted. I didn't want to miss the opportunity like the first time. I didn't want to look down on a job. This job allows me to stay busy while staying in the city so that my children can study, and allows me to do other activities [fattening sheep]. People like us, we can't go back to the bush. Our village has become a town, so even if I do go back, it's not the bush. And going back is uncertain, because what matters to me is my children's education, so that means here. [...] A life without education is no life. If I was educated, in Arabic or in French, I wouldn't be here. It was only once I was here that I realized my lack of education. I had no regrets. Ahead of me is death. The time that I have spent here, there hasn't been much suffering compared to the bush. With their studies, my children won't suffer. I have no regrets».*



Box 6

Type 2a: Amadou, the livestock trade following an education with no future (Burkinabe Sahel)

Amadou is a young Fulani aged 27 from the Burkinabe Sahel. His father has a number of animals (large livestock and small ruminants) which do not go on transhumance; he cultivates the land and pans for gold when need be. His half-brother does seasonal work in Abidjan. *«You can't move without telling the family. He will come back. He went to earn money. When someone from the village earns money, he buys food for his family, he pays for the animals. It's not to build buildings. [...] The animals that he bought for himself he can sell himself if he has a personal problem and just let our father know, and our father can sell if there's a family problem».*

As a child, Amadou drove the livestock for his father, before training in carpentry for four years in a course run by project. *«The project wanted two young people from each village. In the village the people were unwilling to see the children go and do something unknown. They wanted them to work in the fields and with the cattle. The people in the village asked me and I said that I was interested. What motivated me at the time was the idea of learning something, learning to read and write. I hadn't been to school, just Koranic school for a bit to learn how to pray. In Fulani families people generally learn just enough to be able to pray.»* He tried working as a carpenter in the village, but was unsuccessful. He then followed a Fula-French school program, again run by a project, for five years. He then trained as a teacher in Fula and taught for two years, before stopping because he was not earning anything. *«You get up, you grow, and you do nothing for your father: it's not good».* He then decided to go to Ouagadougou, where he had run away as a child. Amadou initially sold grilled meat, then entered the livestock trade. *«I found lots of people who spoke Fula».* He began by selling sheep brought to market by wandering around the city. *«It's an activity that you can do when you don't know anybody, when you've just left the village».* After four years, he made some acquaintances and was able to ask a trader to lend him money to begin his own livestock trading from the secondary towns and cities near Ouagadougou. Before becoming bankrupt when he lost animals bought on credit to disease, Amadou returned to the village to cultivate the land, because he had the money to pay for labor and inputs. At present Amadou has no savings. *«I haven't bought animals. If there's a problem in the village, they call me, I sent money, to pay for the millet, if there are diseases, etc.. I send 35-50,000 FCFA. I can go back at any moment. Only God knows what the future holds for us».*

Despite his current difficulties, Amadou does not intend to return to the village in the immediate future. *«If I have the money, I will stay in Ouagadougou. I will build [extra] stories [laughs]. I am here, but I have other ideas. The livestock market is like the gold market, it's unpredictable. If I earn money, I will open a clothes shop.»*

– «And the carpentry?»


– «I haven't even thought of trying. [...] To earn money you have to be patient. If you're too hasty you will stay in your village and pan for gold».



Box 7

Type 5a: Abdulaye, the Koranic school, between managing relations on the transhumance and integration in the city (eastern Burkina Faso)

Abdulaye is 28 years old. His family is settled in Kompienga in eastern Burkina Faso. All his brothers work with the family herd, with one of them bringing it on transhumance to Togo. Abdulaye has never worked with the animals, but is involved in migration of the herd. He received a Koranic education from a renowned sheikh with whom he traveled widely working as a French/Fula translator, notably in the Fulani camps in Benin and Togo, giving him a network and culture that prove useful in resolving the problems that his brother might encounter on transhumance. *«When there are problems, often the people on transhumance haven't done anything. But if the local people need something, they kill an ox. Even if it's a different transhumant migrant who went and ruined a field, they make no distinction. They attack the first person they see. There are so many problems, my brothers can't tell me everything. When it's too hard, I leave. Since I'm in the city a bit and they only work with the livestock, if there's a problem I can work as a mediator. I know people. If one of my brothers has to go to prison, I can get him out of it»*. Abdulaye grew up far from the camp, having decided to follow a Koranic scholar who had come to visit the camp. Between the ages of 10 and 14 years old he tried to make a life in Cotonou. Did he think of returning to his parents in the camp at the time? *«I wanted to go back but I realized that what they did and what I did, it wasn't the same thing»*. At twenty, he decided to leave the sheikh for Ouagadougou. *«I wasn't doing anything there. I wondered, 'And after him, what am I going to become? I'm going to try to found my own family'»*. In Ouagadougou, Abdulaye was able to find lodgings and open a shop with the help of a trader who often came to the sheikh for blessings. The shop was initially a success, allowing Abdulaye to pay for his marriage, buy land in the unassigned zone and build. Then he was the victim of theft and went bankrupt. He now helps the same trader in his shop selling office equipment while waiting to build himself up again. Aware that he has never worked in the camp, Abdulaye does not count on the family herd to help him with his activities in the city. *«I don't know if I have animals in the herd, I've never asked. I've never worked there. What I have is what I have earned here. If you're not with the animals it's not for you. If you get it into your head that you have your part of the herd, it's not good, it's better to look out for yourself. My brothers have animals. I haven't tried to work out how our father divided them up. [...] If my father gives away all the animals [pre-inheritance], that doesn't bother me. All I ask for is what I have here. Family problems are not small problems. If there's a problem, it's not something that you can take to the tribunal, so it's better to look out for yourself»*.





Box 8


Type 4b: Oumarou, in the «lottery of schooling» of the east of the country (eastern Burkina Faso)

Oumarou is 26 years old. His family lives in Gourma. Oumarou is the first of his brothers and sisters to have attended school, having benefited from the creation of a school in the village, where he was part of the first school intake. Only two of his intake have been awarded the baccalaureate, with most having abandoned around CE2 level (third year of elementary school). Of his year group, he explains, *«Today the girls are married and the men are fathers with families. They raise livestock and practice agriculture. Lots of them trade cattle during the down season. Some go to Benin and Togo with the transhumance. Lots go to Benin and Togo to sell. Lots have changed villages to find land for the animals»*.

His two older brothers did not go to school. They look after the animals: one cultivates the land and the other looks after the herd. His younger brother, 19, did not go to school either because, *«somebody has to stay behind for the animals»*, to which a young person nearby reacts by saying, *«It's the lottery!»*.

Oumarou began school at the age of 11, after working as a shepherd with the family herd. He followed his high school to a small town where he knew nobody and so had to rent a bedroom. When he came to Ouagadougou to study, he used an agency to find a bedroom because he knew nobody on arrival. Currently in his third year studying philosophy, he would like to continue with a Master's degree. His parents are willing to sell animals to finance his project. Since arriving in Ouagadougou he has gone back to the village only twice. *«You need 20 to 25,000 for the trip one-way, and I don't have much to do there. And nowadays with a mobile phone you can call»*.

During the 2014 insurrection Oumarou was in Diapangou, a small town near Fada N'Gourma. *«The people of the village frowned upon a president being removed, but in Diapangou there are civil servants, pupils»*.



Box 9

Type 6a: Djandé «Staying at home is always better. It's because I've got nothing ...[that I left]» (Burkinabe Sahel)

Djandé is a young Fulani aged 25. For the last three years he has lived between his village in the Dori department, where he cultivates millet and corn with his brothers, and Ouagadougou, where he spends the cool season. His father and one of his older brothers buy small ruminants in the surrounding villages to sell on the local market; his other older brother looks after the ten or so head of cattle that make up the family herd which he leads on transhumance as far as Fada N'Gourma with other animals entrusted to him; he and his brother cultivate millet and corn; one of his half-brothers teaches the Koran and goes to Ivory Coast for work during the dry season; his other half-brother has seasonal work as a street vendor in Ouagadougou. His half-brothers received two or three head of cattle as pre-inheritance, but not him, because *«there aren't many animals»*. *«In the village, the agricultural farmers have taken all the land. There's no more space for pasture, livestock farming no longer pays. I haven't been to school, I have no training, so I decided to go to Ouagadougou. At first it was very difficult. Sometimes I didn't earn enough to be able to eat. Now by the grace of God I have my street stall»*. Djandé has never driven the animals. Before starting to come to Ouagadougou for seasonal work, Djandé studied the Koran. The first time he left, his father gave him the money for the transport. He came to Ouagadougou *«because it's the capital»* without knowing anybody there. He initially slept in the bus station, then in the neighbourhood's Fulani mosque - *«Here, it's the Fulani zone. We all speak Fula. Anybody can sleep in the mosque, it's open»*. – where he met a Fulani who offered him a shared room to rent. A Fulani who worked as a security guard in the pharmacy opposite his stall, offered him work as a security guard. He earns 30,000 FCFA a month, and at night he continues his work as a street vendor. He makes only small savings: *«You always have to send money to the village because the people are hungry. If I earn, I have to send money, and they buy crops. I know the condition I left them in. I send money as soon as I have any. Last year, after the transport, I was left with 2500 when I got back»*. In the village, he and his brothers share *«the same attic with our parents»* and *«there's no money to share around»*. While Djandé recalls that *«I was pleased to leave, that's normal»*, he also says that *«always if I travel, the aim is to come back for the rainy season»* and that *«staying at home is always better. It's because I've got nothing...»* He would nevertheless like to settle in Ouagadougou. *«I've noticed that here things are easier than in the village. If you save up, you can buy a plot in an informal settlement and later it will be upgraded with electricity and water, whereas in the village there isn't all that. If one day I save up and have my own house, that will remove the cost of the rent and I will be able to bring my father here. In the village, agriculture doesn't pay. The Fulani used to have cattle, now there's no more pastureland, there are too many problems. All the cattle have been sold. It will come to an end»*. Djandé does not know any state measures which could help young people like himself. When asked what the state could do for him nevertheless, he replies, *«The only way is to give people money so that they can have their own little project. But I know that the government won't do that. [...] Maybe another way, apart from financial aid, is to give out plots in Ouagadougou and food in the village, so the family can be brought here»*.

YOUNG PEOPLE IN SEARCH OF ADULT AND CITIZEN STATUS FOR THEMSELVES AND THEIR COMMUNITIES

Migration as central to the necessary renewal of pathways to adulthood

The pathways to adult status in pastoral societies are undergoing major transformations as a result of structural changes in rural and pastoral environments that are reconfiguring the organization of the family. In Chad, ongoing change has undermined neither the pastoral model nor the relationships of solidarity between generations, except within Mbororo societies. In Burkina Faso, however, pastoral societies are undergoing a complex pastoral crisis, with both external (land) and internal (a breakdown in the modes of intergenerational redistribution) dimensions.

In light of this, adult status is no longer granted solely by the transfer of cattle rights to those actively involved in livestock farming, though it remains strongly linked to the family pastoral economy, and in particular the role the family herd continues to play in providing social security. As such, in their evolving relationships with their elders, young people do not so much call into question the centralized management of the herd as the effect it has on their right to have their voices heard within the family, which the father continues to dominate.

Young people's migration away from the camps has become structural and is central to the search for new pathways to adult status in the face of these structural changes. Mobility can afford young people the freedom to gain autonomy outside of the family herd, while also allowing them to contribute to the economic security of the family, which remains a requirement to being recognized as an adult. When a father refuses to grant his son this freedom, the option of "flight" remains. Gold panning and salaried agricultural and pastoral employment in their own or neighbouring countries are the principal forms of mobility for young people today, but towns and cities also play a critical role in these new pathways to adult status.

In both Chad and Burkina Faso, the security context (violent armed groups, repressive pushback from the state) jeopardizes young people's mobility and therefore also the pathways to social, economic and political integration of a whole generation.

The role of towns and cities in new pathways to adult status

In many pastoral societies, flight no longer takes place from the towns and cities. The new relationship with urban centers is often reduced to the appeal of "modernity" as symbolized by mobile phones and motorbikes. These technologies are however much more than simple markers of modernity, but rather play a social role in families and communities which are undergoing, and indeed sometimes initiating, profound socio-economic change. Integration within urban environments is thus one aspect of pastoral societies' response to the contradictions engendered by structural change within the social organization of the family, which was previously founded on the transfer of cattle rights.

Livestock trade

The livestock trade, undergoing rapid growth in both countries, is at the heart of the new connections between camps and towns and cities, structuring family economies and the trajectories of young men. In most families in Burkina Faso, young people round up livestock for resale on local markets. In the market, children can

also look to start earning enough to afford themselves some independence to act in the future. In successful cases, young people settle in a secondary town or city. The migration dynamics of young Burkinabe pastoralists have long followed livestock trade routes. In the south west of the country in particular, families are spread across different places (villages, camps, secondary and major towns and cities in both Burkina Faso and neighboring countries) and practice diversified and complementary activities. In Chad, young people drive their families' animals to livestock markets and so frequent them from a young age, in particular in small and medium-sized towns and cities, meaning that the livestock trade plays an increasingly important role in their trajectories. In successful cases, former livestock farmers become traders. Once settled in towns and cities they maintain strong links with the camps. They continue to invest in the family herd and bring children and young people from the camps to work for them and/or to school them. Trade (in livestock) is thus the main driver of school enrolment and integration within towns and cities. This is less true in Burkina Faso, where children have access to schools in the villages.

Commercial activity plays a strategic role for pastoral families looking to diversify their economic activities and for younger family members seeking their autonomy. It is currently undergoing a severe crisis in both countries because of the risks inherent in travel and bringing goods to markets, which is jeopardizing the integration of young people and families' ability to ensure their own social and economic reproduction.

Education

Education is the other factor driving new connections with towns and cities. Urban Koranic schools offer a solution to parents unable to integrate all their sons within the livestock system and so play a role in structuring the trajectories of young men by promoting integration within urban community networks. In Burkina Faso, pastoral families have shown a growing interest in sending their children to school in order to diversify their economies and improve their access to state and international aid institutions, thereby securing their access to land and basic services. In Chad, access to schools remains highly dependent on a family member, either a civil servant or, more often, somebody who succeeded in the livestock trade, being present in a town or city.

Pauperization

In the most pauperized families, towns and cities become the only possibility for some young people. In Burkina Faso, rural-to-urban mobility has become essential to ensuring the security of the family economy, though often without granting young people their autonomy. In Chad, young people from pastoral communities move to towns and cities after unsuccessful migrations in the camps and gold-panning regions, often without any real prospects.

Urban mobility helps to forge new forms of belonging

Integration within urban environments profoundly transforms identities, outlooks and political ambitions.

In Burkina Faso, young migrants, and especially students, come into contact in different ways with groups of Fulani intellectuals. By creating a space for narratives of Fulani victimhood, these associations help young people to construct a sense of

belonging and see their ethnicity as a means of explaining their exclusion. But towns and cities also introduce young people to public service, community life and activist involvement. Pastoralist youth who had migrated into towns and cities were among the urbanites who participated in the popular insurrection of 2014. The events became a reference point for young people's identity, a marker of a sense of belonging within the national community, and a founding experience of their citizenship.

In Chad, young migrants from pastoralist backgrounds in towns and cities encounter different ethnic groups from those with which they are in contact, and often in conflict, in rural areas. Young people are often very interested in "evening classes" in French, speaking of them with a certain pride, as though the lessons in some way represented their new urban identity as citizens (links with other ethnic groups, access to school seen as being necessary to assert one's rights).

Young people's trajectories underline the need for pastoral families

1) to combine pastoral mobility and territorial anchoring and

2) to be able to exercise their citizenship

There coexist two types of discourse, often promulgated by the same actors. For some, the challenge is to keep young people in the camps and secure pastoral systems, principally by developing access to basic services within the camps. For others, the challenge is to sedentarize pastoral systems, which would allow access to citizenship, its rights and its associated institutions (schooling, representation in power structures, etc.). In fact, pastoral families today need pastoral mobility as much as they need territorial anchoring, which does not mean the sedentarization of pastoral systems. When situations are viewed at the scale of families and communities, rather than individuals, the opposition between strong ties to the city and pastoral mobility disappears. By settling in towns and cities, young people do not abandon livestock farming, but rather play a new role in pastoral economies. While they no longer work directly in livestock farming, they will in most cases maintain their membership of the extended family and the group, through transfers of liquidity and the exchange of information, or by hosting extended family members from the camp. Urban dwellers act as a bridge between the camps and the towns and cities, where state and international aid institutions are more accessible. In return, the access to these institutions enjoyed by the most integrated young people reinforces access to pastoral resources and basic services, and more generally, the recognition of pastoralists' rights. In response to land challenges in Chad, there is now a tendency towards settling part of the family in the Sahel region, without necessarily decreasing animal mobility. This process, which is shaped by activities linked to the trade in pastoral products, has transformed families' relationship to schooling and state institutions, which have come to be seen as a means to secure pastoral mobility. Major uncertainty nevertheless hangs over the future of these families, such is the precarity of the urban economy.

In Burkina Faso, the Fulani maintain a complex relationship with citizenship and national identity because of the central role of mobility and pastoral migration in their economy and society. In the eyes of agricultural and sedentary populations, the Fulani remain perpetually itinerant nomads. However, maintaining mobility and migration and ensuring strong ties to the villages, towns and cities of Burkina Faso are now equally important to the Fulani, allowing them to intensify a part of livestock production, diversify family economies (through the cattle trade, school-

ing and training) and assert their rights, notably their land rights, within local and national power structures.

Rather than conceiving of rural youth and urban youth as two separate populations, it is necessary to conceive of interconnected groups of youth. Young people who remain in the camps and those who leave without returning, but who continue to play a role in livestock systems, live in very different sets of conditions, each requiring specific public measures. However they cannot be considered in isolation from one another.

Part 3

The institutional context of the integration of young people from pastoralist backgrounds: perceptions, instruments and strategies for public action

URBAN MIGRATION AMONG PASTORALIST YOUTH, A POORLY UNDERSTOOD PUBLIC ISSUE

Factors in migration and the trajectories of young people still poorly understood by public actors

In both countries, public actors in professional training and integration fail to distinguish young people from pastoralist backgrounds from other rural migrants and have only a limited understanding of the migration of rural youth and the factors driving it. The difficulty in developing debate and public action around the migration of young people of pastoral origin is explained and illustrated by:

- The lack of empirical and/or statistical data on pastoralist youth and the role of migrations in their pathways to integration, which results in disagreement over the scale of the phenomenon.
- The low level of intersectoral coordination at a national level, which leaves rural young people (most notably from pastoralist backgrounds) in the blind spot between public action centered on securing pastoral productions on the one hand and supporting qualified urban and/or vulnerable youth on the other.
- The focus of states and their major technical and financial partners (TFPs) on youth employment, international migration and security, which overlooks transformations in rural areas and new rural-urban connections.

In Chad, political commitments to support young people, notably through specific public policies, are yet to be translated into large-scale action from public actors or their TFPs. The question of pastoralist youth, their integration and their future in Chadian society has not yet emerged as a central issue in public policy and development aid.

In Burkina Faso, on the other hand, the security situation and the rise in rhetoric closely linking pastoralist youth with rebel movements have provoked renewed interest in the challenges facing young people among public authorities and development aid institutions, much as the popular uprising in 2014 encouraged government action on the issue.

These differences in the ways in which pastoralist youth are viewed are also explained in part by the different conditions in which pastoral societies find themselves in the two countries:

- In Chad, the pastoral system and its inter-generational relationships of solidarity have not been called into question (with the exception of the Mbororo) and pastoral societies are not in crisis.
- In Burkina Faso, on the other hand, pastoral societies face a complex pastoral crisis, with both external (land) and internal (a breakdown in the modes of intergenerational redistribution) dimensions.

Young people only become visible when they become a point of controversy in the public sphere or trigger public disorder (that is, when the situation “reaches crisis point”).

Factors of migration in both countries are better understood by professional livestock farmers’ organizations (PLFOs) and civil society organizations (CSOs), which focus primarily on the following: (i) In Chad, the major economic vulnerability of pastoralist youth and inequality of access to livestock, as well as the appeal of modernity through proximity to towns and cities: young people’s “appetite” for mobile phones and motorbikes, cited by a large number of those that we interviewed, illustrates this fantasy of modernity, while also overlooking other more structural, though less visible, forms of change in pastoral economies. (ii) In Burkina Faso, the crisis of governance in rural territories,³ reflected in a widespread crisis in the circulation of cattle within the family, which limits the autonomy and decision-making power of young people and accentuates intergenerational tensions. The widespread violence in the country aggravates the crisis and reinforces these dynamics.

Negative perceptions of youth mobility which overlook structural change within pastoral economies...

The urban migration of young people from rural (and notably pastoral) areas is often interpreted as reflecting individual strategies to gain autonomy, without reference to the ways in which structural change within pastoral societies has transformed both the economic organization of families and young people’s pathways to autonomy. Migrants are seen as uprooted individuals with no hope of return, and their displacement seen as provoking mainly negative consequences for both towns and cities (social risks in urban environments that are already seen as overcrowded in Burkina Faso) and rural environments (loss of labor and aging professional representative bodies which jeopardize the social and economic reproduction of pastoral systems of production).

Representatives of civil society organizations in Burkina Faso propose a renewed relationship with the state and its representatives in rural communities as a possible solution to discrimination against and mistreatment of pastoralists. This would entail, on the one hand, greater awareness on the part of public authorities of the underlying causes of the legitimization crisis affecting national institutions, along with measures to address them. On the other hand, the question of citizenship is seen as a way out of the impasse to bring about real change. As such, acquiring

³ There are two principal components to the crisis: i) an unbalanced management of land dynamics at a local level, leading to pastoralists being progressively excluded from the land and putting an end to complementary practices between agricultural and pastoral systems, which has had a very negative impact on soil fertility and seen agricultural output drop; ii) a structural weakness in basic public services for rural populations, together with frequent discrimination against and harassment of pastoralists (invented or exaggerated fines, inequitable rulings, marginalization within decision-making bodies).

identity papers, sending children to school, participating in elections and direction involvement in local councils are seen as central to finding a solution to what is to be perceived as a national, rather than an ethnic, issue: ensuring equality between different categories of citizens (urban-rural, agricultural-livestock farmers), and the equal and inclusive governance of different economic and professional activities. These organizations thus allow for a wider debate that goes beyond questions of employment and professional training to consider the future of rural and pastoral youth through the prism of citizens' and workers' rights, participation in public life, equality before the law, and access to means of production.

... And make it more difficult to design well-adapted policies

The most commonly proposed political solutions largely fail to reflect reality: (i) stop young people leaving by "keeping them busy", namely by identifying ways to help young people to "stay" in their communities by supporting the diversification of their activities and the development of basic services (education, health) in the camps; (ii) sedentarize nomadic populations to facilitate access to services: this approach to sedentarization, which remains widespread despite its repeated failures over time, fails to take account of not only the fundamental constraints of pastoral systems, but also the shortcomings of programs to support professional training and integration (which can be inaccessible, of limited quality and poorly structured, and suffer from a lack of coordination between a range of ministerial departments).

INSTRUMENTS AND STRATEGIES FOR PUBLIC ACTION: IS THE ISSUE OF URBAN MIGRATION AMONG PASTORALIST YOUTH A MATTER FOR "PUBLIC ACTION"?

In a context of structural deficits in public services...

Access to education, from basic schooling to higher education, is a key factor in pathways to integration. In both countries, significant action has been undertaken in training, promoting employment and improving the employability of young people, though results have been unconvincing. The Chadian education system is characterized by profound dysfunctionment, from primary school to university. In Burkina Faso the education system is better structured and more accessible. Young people come into contact with public services, albeit too intermittently, from their villages, up to middle school, high school and university, which take them to towns and cities.

Training programs in both countries do not reflect economic realities and fail to meet the aspirations and needs of young people, in particular in rural environments. Indeed education/training remains centralized in large cities where access is highly constrained (tuition fees, the required previous level of education, courses available, regional networks, etc.). These factors constitute important obstacles to the inclu-

Box 10

A definition of «Public action»

«The way in which a society constructs and defines collective problems, develops responses, content and processes to address them. The focus is on society more generally, rather than only on the institutional sphere of the state.» (Thoenig, 2005).

sion of young people from rural communities in education programs, including when they are already in towns and cities.

Furthermore, in both countries there is a lack of coherence in public policies across all sectors dealing with the education and integration of young people, and often a lack of coordination between sectoral policies overseen by several ministries and with financial backers.

Measures to support social and economic integration are non-existent, aside from a few initiatives developed in urban areas for vulnerable young people (for example, street children, orphans, out-of-school children, abused women, etc.). In Chad, international NGOs have run a number of trial programs.⁴ In Burkina Faso, services to support social integration exist (for example six emergency shelters run by the Ministry for Women, National Solidarity and the Family) but are severely underfunded and are specifically aimed at very vulnerable populations.

Upgrading informal settlements (access to water, land tenure) is seen as a significant public service by young people who first take up residence in the periphery when arriving in urban centers. Young people in Burkina Faso are very clear in calling for such action.

... community-based groups and associations and private institutions play a key role in urban integration

In both countries, family- and community-based groups and associations and private institutions play a key role in youth integration. In Chad, community-based institutions such as caliphates and mentoring relationships play a particularly important role in urban youth integration. Young people looking to integrate towns and cities draw on the family and community relationships of solidarity which structure pastoral societies (the hosting of children from the camp who are sent to school or trained for trade in urban centers, the role of customary kinship hierarchies in hosting young people in towns and cities to make up for the state's failure to fulfil its function and deliver public services).

“I came to the capital 42 years ago. I came as a livestock trader. I am the representative of the young Missirie when they come to the capital, those who come for an adventure, those who send money back to the camp. I am also a child of nomads, I know them all. When they need money, I give them a bit for transport and for food. [...] The young people who come here - some of them I know, some of them I don't. They come with their name, that's enough, they know me, that's enough. If someone arrives, I welcome him. If he wants to travel, I wish him a good journey if he doesn't have bad ideas. I help them with identity cards, with passports, by telling them where to go. They pay with their own money. Some are passing through and I help them out of my own pocket.” (Missirie tribal leader, around 75 years old, N'Djamena, October 2018).

⁴ For example the NGO ESSOR has developed Information and Social and Professional Guidance Offices and Information and Guidance Centers for vulnerable young people in the city of Bongor (Mayo-Kebbi).

In Burkina Faso, solidarity within the family and community appears comparatively less well developed. Young people come into contact with public education, albeit in a partial and thus unsatisfactory manner (grants for higher education, territorial networks of functional institutions in secondary and higher education). Private housing and professional training programs are also largely undeveloped. In Chad, private education is mainly limited to “evening classes”, which are highly valued by young people who foresee their future in the city and see a good level of French as a way to acquire basic skills (reading, writing, arithmetic) and diversify their networks beyond their home community.

Furthermore, neighborhood associations and civil society organizations (student and natives’ groups, associations to promote Fulani culture and youth, for religious education, for mutual support in livestock markets, etc.) play a key role despite their limited means and the highly localized nature of their activities. They offer young people very useful basic services: emergency housing, food, access to a network of fellow natives, career guidance, mentoring and hosting of students.

“The association provides a meeting place for the Fulani community. We have activities to raise awareness: too many conflicts between agricultural and livestock farmers, but the problem is not their activity, it’s their ethnicity. So it is important to raise awareness in order not to lose the livestock. We need sedentarization. For sedentarization, we need land rights and schooling for children so that it will change.” (Fulani native from Yagha, student in Ouagadougou, 27 years old, December 2018).

“We created the association because we saw how we were suffering. We have qualifications but have no elders to help us, so we look to help each other. Life today, if you’re not part of an association, it’s not possible. Even to know people, it’s a way for us young Fulani to get to know each other. It helps us to know how to get by, how to send our children to school, how to educate them.” (Young Fulani from Chari Baguirmi, trader in veterinary products in N’Djamena, 28 years old, October 2018)

In both countries, Koranic schools are seen as providing opportunities both to acquire the skills and social know-how required for future social integration and to forge informal networks among the communities of merchants, artisans and small-scale entrepreneurs.

Relevant but localized experiments in supporting pastoralist youth run by development aid projects

There exist experimental programs in both countries to promote professional training and youth employment in pastoral communities, such as the Regional Program to Support Pastoralism in the Sahel (RSPS) - component 4 (World Bank) with the implementation of training programs and funding for income-generating activities (IGRs), or the Project to Reinforce Pastoral Systems (PREPAS - Swiss cooperation in Chad) with the development of IGRs for women and training for young people (e.g. as livestock assistants).

While these projects focus mainly on youth employability, funding for professional training and youth entrepreneurship remains limited. Similarly, although youth employment is one of the objectives defined by the Structural Support Program for Pastoral development (PASTOR) in Chad, there is little in the way of well-defined specific actions to support young people. The currently suspended Regional Education/Training Program for Pastoral Populations in Transnational Areas (PREPP) has a number of innovative features to improve pastoral access to a basic school education and professional training, adapting its methods to the realities of pastoral life and mobility, for example by offering services across multiple sites. Other projects of varying scope (from community-based micro-projects to programs to promote food security and sectoral development) offer young people opportunities for professional training in domains identified as important, including notably the transformation of agricultural and pastoral products.

In Chad, projects have worked to improve access to basic services in nomadic communities (health and education), such as creating basic services centers as part of the AfDB Rural, Pastoral and Transhumance Infrastructure Project (PIRPT) or pilot actions in nomadic education implemented as part of the PASTOR-EU/AFD/Chadian state project.

In general these projects, which often have little involvement in funding and running youth support programs, are too discontinuous in nature, lack coordination, and depend on outside funding, all of which serves to limit their impact on young people.

Part 4

Conclusions

RETHINKING YOUNG PEOPLE'S MOBILITY AND THEIR PATHWAYS TO ADULTHOOD

Pathways to adult status in pastoral societies are evolving as a result of structural changes in rural and pastoral areas and transformations in family organization. Adult status is no longer granted only through participation in livestock farming, though it remains closely linked to the family economy, which, for its part, remains founded on livestock farming. Young people's mobility outside the camps has become structural and is central to the search for new pathways to adult status.

Young people do not aspire en masse to leave the pastoral way of life for a more urban existence: young people's aspirations in towns and cities are the result, rather than the cause, of migration away from the camps. Migratory journeys are determined by an array of constraints and resources which vary for different young people; possibilities open up and disappear again throughout the migratory process. Public action should thus focus less on the decision to "leave the camp", but rather on the "journey" as an ongoing process across a variety of configurations of places, and so move away from approaches which contrast "migration by choice" with "forced/distress migration".

SUPPORTING RATHER THAN RESTRAINING MOBILITY

Mobility is a complex process with inherent risks which are exacerbated by the lack of governance arrangements to provide support, or worse still repressive measures. It nevertheless provides opportunities. Mobility can be seen in a new light by recognizing that young migrants are the result of structural changes in production systems, and that they can positively transform livestock systems by maintaining close links with their family and home community. Public policies must not focus on the reasons young people leave or look to prevent them from doing so, but should support mobility and the migrants throughout their journeys.

RETHINKING THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN TOWNS AND CITIES AND CAMPS WITHIN PASTORAL ECONOMIES

Urban migration is not the reserve of younger members of pauperized pastoral families, even if this phenomenon is real and calls for specific support measures. Considering young people who do not return to work in the camp after several years in a town or city as "lost to livestock farming" is to ignore the role that they play in the pastoral economy. By acting as a bridge between the camps and the towns and cities, where state institutions are more accessible, they help in return to strengthen access to pastoral resources and basic services.

THINKING OF YOUNG PEOPLE NOT ONLY AS WORKERS BUT ALSO AS CITIZENS

As youth migration shows, pastoral families, and the younger generations in particular, are looking to develop a new relationship with the state, and need their right to combine pastoral mobility with strong ties at urban and national scale to be recognized. This would entail the recognition of a range of civil rights for young people, most notably the right to mobility. The violence of armed groups and repressive response of states and their partners threaten their mobility, jeopardize the social, economic and political integration of a whole generation and fuel widespread fear and a feeling that citizenship is being denied. It would also entail rethinking the idea that “young people leaving the camps are provoking a crisis in livestock farming”. This view depends on thinking of young people only as workers, whereas it is as citizens playing a role in public life that they are “useful” to their families and their sociocultural groups.

SUPPORTING PASTORALIST YOUTH WITH REFERENCE TO THE CONTEMPORARY PASTORAL DYNAMICS: POSSIBLE STRATEGIES FOR ACTION

Supporting these connections, which are central to the structural changes in pastoral economies, means: 1) recognizing the role of pastoralism in territories and in agricultural policies; 2) extending basic public services and in particular access to education in rural areas; 3) developing new forms of support. There are a number of possible dimensions to explore: developing informal public education in towns and cities; giving children in Koranic schools access to education and professional training; rethinking the development of the livestock trade in relation to the challenges of youth integration; supporting pastoralist youth’s access to citizenship.

CONSTRUCTING PUBLIC ACTION ON PASTORALIST YOUTH

The different positions adopted by actors reflect the way in which they interpret different aspects of a complex reality in line with their practices and the institutions to which they belong. These different perceptions and visions can be brought together from across a range of sectors and actors and coordinated to provide a useful basis for rethinking the mobility of pastoralist youth as a matter for public action in its own right.

