

*INTEGRATION OF PASTORAL INSTITUTIONS (THE JOWRO) IN  
LOCAL GOVERNANCE: CHANGE OF THE WAYS OF THINKING AND  
DECENTRALIZED MANAGEMENT PRACTICES OF PASTORAL  
DEVELOPMENT IN THE DELTA REGION OF MOPTI IN MALI*

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Today it is admitted that the management process of the local governance and the settlement of social conflicts from consultations on the local development questions are the major stake for the building of the democratic state in Mali.

Since the social political change of 1991, Mali has been dealing with a development strategy closer to the local institutions and decentralized communities. This practical vision support of local institutions is registered with the logic of decentralization with relies on the democratic principles.

This analysis is in keeping with general pattern of the implementation of the management process of pastoral resources in the Mopti region. The process has been on main themes among which the set of problems of Jowro insertion in the local governance, the evolution of their status and the use of contract for their activities with the decentralized territorial communities in the Kounary zone located in the district of Mopti. The major themes are based on:

- The identification, the recognition and the moralization of the jowro practice.
- The promotion of the jowro organization in public use fullness association.
- The settlement of monitoring mechanism for the Jowro insertion in the local governance with the mechanisms of flexible and adapted intermediations to their needs.

1. The set of problems on the pastoral resources management in the interior Delta of the Niger.

The region of Mopti is traditionally marked by the specificity of the Delta system (large bassin stretching a flooded area with connections leading to waterless areas in East and West ). As to pre graphic view point, the Delta is flooded by the annual flood of the River Niger. In the region, the natural resources are of a vital importance for the local populations who get the main part of their income in the primary sector. Now, the Delta faces the problem of durability of the renewable natural resources and the conservation of biodiversity that it has ( reference to Oliver and Catherine Barriere in environmental approaches: land systems in the interior Delta of the Niger fland security in Black Africa – Kharthala 1996 ).

Today the fate of the social economic activities is done by taking into account of the diverse evolutions:

- The successive droughts on the last years have widely begun the capacity of natural resources regeneration (vegetation cover, livestock for pasture, water resources. So, a strong competition between diverse institutions in the occupation of the given area by new land cohabitations.
- The demographic pressure (high rate in the occupation of the useful and usable area ) adds to the environmental challenge ).
- The local references or traditional structures have undergone since decades a desintegration process including several changes on the space appropriation ways and mutations in the alliance reports at the level of some leading families of land management leading to the breaking in the management pratices and age-old customs.

The Leyde food pastoral area of the Kounari gathers on the some area many activities including the pastoral surfaces in the course, the traditional fields of rice and millet, the rice pots and the fallows. For the pastoral people, the area is know in terms of pasture zones called “ bourgoutières “ which are more and more overlapped and stacked in the areas used for unlimited growing.

## 2. The target actors of the management process of the Delta pastoral resources.

The local governance present experience is mainly addressed to the jowro which are defined as traditional institutions in charge of the management of pastures and the pastoral organization in the Delta.

From the Leydi type idea as described by Jean Gallais ( the interior Delta of the Niger: the regional geography study: 1967 ). It is an area or social ecological entity managed by a group of cattle breeders following some sustom and land rules of the Niger Delta. The pastoral zones of the Kounary abound in of the same name of Kounari.

The ethnic division of the leyde population of the Kounari is composed of Foulani (Peulh ) in majority, Rimaybé, Marka, Bozo and Bambara.

The traditional division of the pastoral areas of the Kounary goes largely beyond the administrative one got from the administrative organization texts after the independence in 1960 and those got during the present decentralization started in 1993.

The setting up of the “Ferrobe” the calling of the traditional families nationals having the land possession power of the Kounary is very ancient and happened according to the CIPEA in 1980 during the Ardo time towards the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

The Dina modelled and restructured all the Delta zone by preserving the pastoral order initiated by the Ardo and institutionalized the predominant role of the “ Suudu Baaba” in the management of the place and land

units. This organization was led in the time of Jowros, the traditional manager of the pastoral resources in the Delta and the possessor of a power led by the Suudu Baaba.

The beneficiary target groups of the program are composed of the jowro representatives of the Suudu Baaba or family cells of leydi of the Kounari who are shared in the development zone of 5 ( five ) communes in the district of Mopti.

The different family cells concerned are organized around some small leyde composing pastoral entities or leyde of Kounary.

The Suudu Baaba or restrictive family cell is organized according to the father line of descendants.

The jowro choice is traditionally done according to some criteria defined by the Suudu Baaba and who gives the rights to the jowro to manage the pastoral resources and to attend to pastoral meetings concerning decisions making.

The division of pastoral custom possessions of the jowro in the development areas of the communes at the level of the Kounary leydi in the district of Mopti.

The pastoral areas constituting the leydi of kounari listed by the jowros actors	The administrative chief residence of the jowro	The jowro known by the Suudu Baaba of the Kounary and the pastoral users	The commune crossed by the pastoral areas of the jowro in Kounari leydi.
Sulali group	Saremala ( Sio )	Ousmane Nouh Sidibé	Sio
Diawrabé group	Seguebougué	Ndonto Sidibé	Kounary, Fatoma

	(Kounari)		
Dabobé group	Guirowel (kounari)	Hamma Sidibé	Sio
Komba group	Hore Guindé (Socoura)	Hammadoun Sidibé	Sio, Mopti
Wuro Maka group	Jebitaka (Socoura)	Koullé Sidibé	Sio, Mopti, Socoura
Jalleyi group Hinguirabé group	Fussi (Borondougou) Sakarel (Socoura)	Hamboullo Sidibé Mabo Sidibé	Kounary, Bassirou, Borondougou, konna, Mopti, Socoura
Mayo group	Massiro (Kounari)	Guelle Barry	Kounary

These different pastoral areas constituting some small leyde of Kounary are introduced together, due to their small size and regional affinities (reference to the study of Jean Claude on the interior Delta of Niger. the study of regional geography in 1967 and the study CIPEA – ODEM III in 1980).

3. The jowro concertation context and their insertion in the local governance and pastoral resources management in the Kounary leydi.

The dynamics of the functioning of the Niger interior Delta is linked to the jowro institution and finds its origin in the pastoral organization which has been established since the 15<sup>th</sup> century by the cattle breeders called “Ardo” and the one of the “Dina” in 1818 in the Delta. The Delta speciality is the traditional division of the territorial area in leydi (social economic entities ) and put under the sovereignty of the jowro institution as the manager of the pastoral resources.

Every jowro institution manages its customary possessions according to a productive pastoral vocation and respective traditions to the soil of on the historic plan, the jowro institution has been able to benefit from a legitimacy due to the pastoral organization (the area of Ardo or troublesome ere and the Dina ) the present context could be modified with the decentralization mainly of local development. With the texts adoption on the decentralization, the innovative practices are being born with the setting up of alternative ways of the land conflicts settlement.

Present different reform have given global orientations for a more realistic approach and more efficient of the set of problems of the conflicts settlement and development in the Delta. Likewise, the occurring institutional plan puts the stress more and more on the value of the civil society through the participation and consensus debate.

It is important in this context that the rural communities of the Mopti region lead to a greater necessary consultation in order to have the means to take decisions about the future.

With the territorial division born from the creation of rural communes in 1993, we attend in the Delta to new ways of management where the customary area organized in leydi is found divided in several equal communes. So, the consultations between emergent institutions and the diverse components of the civil society could make progress from a significant and concrete manner the action profitable to an adapted development to the present social mutations.

There is not a lack of beacon to guide the local networks of development in the achievement of this programme even in there are reel difficulties to achieve the necessary suitability between the questions asked on the ground and the expected results as the concerns are numerous and answer to various objectives.

The questions linked to the local institutions concentration is in the center of concerns of all the development actors at the local and national level and becomes more and more a main political stake.

It's the reason why, the judiciary and institutional setting dealing with the rural communities land in Mali has known these last years some important evolutions with the adoption of a prescription about the national and land code in 2000, texts as a matter of natural resources management in 1994. The laws and decrees of the decentralization from 1993 to 1999 and the pastoral charter in 2001. All these texts will be of a good contribution in the reflection and the implementation of programme and application tools on the ground.

#### 4. The reinforcement strategy of jowro in the local governance in the Kounari leydi.

The consultation on process analysis of jowro shows that the asked acts are some indications of a participation and viable step as regard to the set of problems identified in the project document. The main problems identified is the absence of debate to optimise the participation of local organizations to the communal development dynamics.

The obtaining of some results such as the creation of an intermediation commission, the adoption of defence step by the participants and the clear identification of recurrent conflicts will permit to contribute to solve the main problem identified. After the experience capitalization of everybody is going to favour this consultation dynamics. One of the success conditions of the programme is the participation and adhesion of all the actors concerned by the consultation process.

The main constraints identified are linked to the power of the tradition dealing with numerous contradictions and questioning of former social agreements between the local actors on the ground. We sometimes notice that some local leaders are not receptive to the started changes

with the democratization, the decentralization and the democratic state (state or rights ). This opportunity gives the way to other forums mainly the possibility to develop a defence to influence the political, judiciary and institutional decisions in one hand, and to save this experience. The present experience permits to well surround the limit of the strategies developed and the different constraints of the implementation of the consultation programme. We can mention among others that:

- The jowro had not developed in the past a consultation and a dialog setting despite the opportunities of the present institutional context very favourable to this process. It appeared a certain rupture between the local institutions as regard to the recurrence of land conflicts and a limit to the intermediation customary method (the only one ).
- The Kounari leydi area undergoes diverse sociological and organizational mutations which needs a more objective reading of the “consultation” philosophy with the actors on the ground.
- The organization and the of jowro consultation of the Kounary leydi will permit to understand the social forces in presence, their respective weight and to surround their innovation capacity and jamming as a matter of inter communal way in the management of pastoral resources.

The established step has led to the institutionalisation of another vision of the communal consulted management with the pastoral actors emergency. ( jowro, Suudu Baaba, the communal elected members, the traditional authorities ) and the introduction of the “endogene” ways of regulation to the traditional and modern hinge. It is joined together with the synthesis of the preparatory mission reflection and the exchange process initiated by the leaders puthing the stress on the daily events



done, the debate on ideas between value units and the choice of practical solutions.

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