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Societies and nature in the Sahel: ecological diversity and social dynamics

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Abstract

This paper, based on the results of a comprehensive interdisciplinary research programme focused on five countries of the Western Sahel, suggests a framework for analysing the complex and constantly changing dynamics of the relations that Sahelian societies maintain with their environment. Firstly, tools for understanding local variability are required. Demographic variables and the diversity of the modes of land use are combined to show that the type and intensity of exploitation of natural resources varies dramatically from one locality to another. There are significant differences between Sahelian social systems and cultures, and these influence their relations with the 'nature' they exploit and transform. Secondly, understanding social, economical and technical changes in the Sahel requires that we recognise that powerful and conflicting processes of transformation are taking place (in contrast to the image of "tradition" widely associated with Sahelian societies). These changes are found to be the result of an interaction between the state, rural producers, urban speculators, international development agencies, and other actors. Practical lessons emerge from the analysis. Access and negotiation over natural resources must be facilitated between many actors who compete for them, and local social and environmental problems must be seen in the context of broader patterns of influence and change. The State will retain its importance in the region. "Participation" in development must not only involve local "populations", but also the "developers" of all types, in contributing to and understanding the human dimensions of environmental change in the Sahel. © 2001 Elsevier Science Ltd. All rights reserved.

Keywords: Agriculture; Demography; Environment; Herding; Nature; Sahel; Social dynamics

1. Introduction

The horrifying famine of 1974 and the accompanying death of several hundred thousand cattle confronted world public opinion, as well as specialists in development and natural scientists, with the first evidence of a huge ecological crisis in the Sahel; a crisis that has lasted until the present day. It precipitated an unprecedented mobilisation of resources, local and international goodwill, and a major scientific debate. From the beginning, this became not so much a confrontation of scientific hypotheses, as a sharp division between competing perspectives. Natural and social scientists each thought that they alone held the ultimate explanation.

As the drought continued in the mid-1970s, and even intensified, it became obvious that the crisis was long-lived, and that it was not confined to one part of the Sahelian zone. Despite this, in-depth geographical and anthropological studies, as well as the knowledge accumulated through development interventions, highlighted the diversity of its impacts. There were wide variations in the driving forces of famine at the local scale; social, demographic and economic situations were extremely variable. This variability shows that it does not make sense to pretend that there is a general, unique or ready-made description and explanation of the Sahelian crisis. My aim in this short paper is to present some elements which can help to make a more concrete and detailed vision of Sahelian diversity, and of the nature of the dynamics that are at play behind it. My arguments are taken from a recent book, where they are substantiated and referenced in detail (Raynaut, 1997).

2. The heterogeneity of the demographic situation

Of the social phenomena invoked to explain the environmental problems occurring in Africa — and the Sahel

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