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# To Fence or Not to Fence—an economic study on the decision-making behavior of herders in Gannan prefecture, Gansu province

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Key words : economic study , decision-making behavior , Household Contracted Responsibility System , fencing , herders

**Introduction** Government has mandated the institution of the Household Contracted Responsibility System (HCRS) in China's extensive pasture areas , in part to prevent or arrest grassland degradation . Fencing is the measure taken to enforce household-based property rights and increase grassland protection . However , our research has indicated that some areas in which property rights are clearly demarcated are still experiencing grassland degradation , yet some un-fencing areas remain in good condition . This situation appears to contradict traditional economic analysis .

**Materials and methods** Our research takes the case of a natural village of 11 households of herders. The herders did not eliminate the ambiguities of the pastures with different property rights through fencing. However, their grasslands are well protected, without grassland degradation or over-stocking, and they have maintained economics of scale though joint operations. Using the perspective of new institutional economics, we adopted analytical methods from anthropology, sociology and institutional economics to understand the full transaction costs involved in different institutional arrangements, particularly recognizing the abilities of resources-users to engage in self-organization, community forms of operation and to apply indigenous knowledge and practices.

**Results** Absence of fencing did not automatically result in a Tragedy of the Commons" situation . On the contrary , the assumed inefficiencies of collective action actually resulted in transaction cost savings under some conditions , and also remained compatible with the goal of protecting the grassland . The reason is because the herders living in the same area have strong homogeneous characteristics due to their common history and culture . Therefore they can better understand the importance of protecting the grassland and have a shared ecological knowledge of rangeland management . This can be demonstrated by two observations : firstly the social agreements between herders reduced the execution cost of certain actions ; secondly , they achieved the goal of sustainable use of the grassland .

**Conclusions** Pastoral fencing in pursuit of clear property rights may not be the best institutional arrangement. It can be deduced from the study that the benefits derived from the pursuit of clear property rights over pasture are overestimated; in fact, the opportunity costs of fencing are seriously neglected. Therefore, ignoring the regional diversity and complexity, neglecting the different characteristics between the cropped land and the pasture, and mandatory implementation of the household contract responsibility system in grassland areas will possibly lead to economic and ecological inefficiency.

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