

**ANALYSIS OF PASTORAL AND FARMERS LAND CONFLICT
IN TANZANIA:
A CASE STUDY OF ARUMERU DISTRICT**

**ANALYSIS OF PASTORAL AND FARMERS LAND CONFLICT
IN TANZANIA:
A CASE STUDY OF ARUMERU DISTRICT**

**By
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**A Dissertation Submitted to the School of Public Administration and
Management in Partial Fulfillment for the Requirements of the Award of degree
of Master of Science of Human Resource Management of Mzumbe University.**

2015

CERTIFICATION

We, the undersigned, certify that we have read and hereby recommend for acceptance by the Mzumbe University, a dissertation entitled; **Analysis of Pastoral and Farmers Land Conflict in Tanzania: A Case Study of Arumeru Distict**, in partial fulfillment for the t award of Master’s Degree of Science of Human Resource Management of Mzumbe University

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DECLARATION

I, Helen James, declare that this dissertation is my own original work and that it is has not been presented and will not be presented to any other university for similar or any other degree award.

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AKNOWLEDGEMENT

This work is a contribution of many people who took their precious resources including time to make this thesis a reality. I would like sincerely to thank my supervisor, Dr. Stella Malangalila, for the tireless efforts in giving constructive comments and inputs that shaped the nice look of this work.

This work wouldn't have been possible without the support of my family especially my parents, Mr and Mrs Mamuya, who in my lifetime sacrificed a lot in ensuring that I could obtain the best education and ultimately live a quality life. Their resources in terms of financial and other materials enabled me to reach this level in life. Special thanks are extended to my sisters, Neema, Julieth, Stella, Bertha, Cecilia, Pendo, Faraja ,Rebecca, and Esther ,for their generous support, encouragement and prayers.

Equally important, I would like to thank all my school mates at Mzumbe University who in one way or another made useful contributions during the course to the entirety of my work. Their cooperation in various aspects has contributed enormously to skills and knowledge that enabled me to finalise this work. Although it would be difficult to mention each and everybody in this category may I ask all them to take this note as my utmost appreciation.

Lastly, I would like to thank the participants in my survey, who have willingly agreed to share their precious time and answered my questions during the process of data collection. The data provided by the study participants have contributed to the writing of this thesis. Much appreciation is accorded to all.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my beloved parents Mr. and Mrs. Mamuya, my sisters and all who supported me during the time of dissertation writing.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AU	-	African Union
DANIDA	-	Danish International Development Agency
FFU	-	Field force Unit
MP	-	Member of the parliament
NSGRP	–	National strategy for growth and reduction of poverty.
PCCB	-	Prevention and combating of corruption Bureau.
UNDP	-	United national development programmer
VEO	-	Village executive officer
WEO	-	Ward executive officer

ABSTRACT

This study aimed at Roles of political leaders in managing land conflict: a case study of Arumeru district Council. The researcher focused at investigating on the causes of land conflicts, roles of political leaders on land conflicts, and effects of land conflicts between pastoralist and farmers in Arumeru District.

Land conflicts often have extensive negative effects on economic, social, spatial and ecological development. Land conflicts can have disastrous effects on individuals as well as on groups and even entire nations, of which has caused a lot of tragedy to the lives of pastoralist and farmers within the conflicting areas.

The study adopted a case study design whereby a sample size of 84 was used to get information. Purposive sampling technique was used to obtain wards, villages and respondents. Both primary and secondary data were used whereby in primary data interview and questionnaires were used while in secondary data documentary source was used. Data was analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively

The study revealed that root cause of the conflicts lies mostly in the lack of security of tenure on land that most smallholder producers depend on for their livelihoods. Policy deficiencies and contradictions have been uncontrollable.

Finally, the study recommended to the government leaders on a number of issues such as the issue of education is also vital, especially on laws, regulations and procedures governing land ownership. The villagers need to have basic education on procedures required to own a piece of land but also official documents for a land inherited from the parents.

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CHAPTER ONE

PROBLEM SETTING

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Background to the problem

There are estimated to be 180 million pastoralists in developing countries. Most of those families (50 million) live in the Vast Sub- Sahara rangelands of Africa, particularly in East Africa. They represent about 12% of the rural population (Thornton et al., 2002). An essential part of their survival strategy involves taking advantage of the mixed social environment that many pastoralists live in through trading, exchanging, or allying with neighboring groups such as foragers, farmers, urban dwellers and sometimes other pastoral people (Fratkin, 2007). They typically live and graze their animals in marginal areas that are too cold, high, or dry for traditional crop agriculture.

In Tanzania, livestock is one of the major agricultural sub-sectors and generates 4.7% of the national gross domestic products (URT, 2012). In addition, livestock plays an important role for welfare at the household level by providing services (Transport, draught power, dung used for construction) and provides natural capital (meat, milk, hide, rangeland, and pasture), source of financial capital (cash, saving, credit, insurance, gifts, and remittance) and social capital (traditions, wealth, prestige, identity, respect, friendship, marriage dowry, festivity).

There is a growing realization amongst ecologists and economists that mobile pastoralists are the best custodians of dry lands environments. However, mobile pastoralism still faces serious obstacles that threaten its potential. That is mainly because their stewardship is undermined by inappropriate policies and planning and by competition over their traditional land (WISP, 2008; Ahmed, 2009). Nevertheless, dispossessing pastoralists of their traditional system and putting it under an

unproductive farming system, which is largely a direct result of inappropriate development interventions, is creating a cruel dilemma of increasing resource conflicts and environmental degradation.

In recent decades, pastoralists in Tanzania like elsewhere in Sub Saharan Africa has been facing severe ecological stress. The stress stemming from prolonged recurrence of droughts and anthropogenic activities such as expansion of smallholder crop cultivation, creation of protected areas such as game reserves and opening up of large - scale farms. Other causes of stress include historical rivalry, deep-seated cultural values, political incitements, idleness amongst the youth and more recently proliferation of illicit arms (USAID, 2005). These processes have tendencies to deny pastoralists of access to land, previously perceived by local pastoralists as traditional grazing lands (Ahmed 1987; Salih, 1987). Ndagala (1990) stressed that the government policies have encouraged farmers to expand their fields in order to make the country self-sufficient in food, pastoralists have been told to reduce livestock numbers to prevent overgrazing and soil erosion (Ndagala, 1990). As a consequence, livestock and range managers are trained to see growth in livestock as an unwanted development. For instance, a District livestock officer in Kilosa complained that livestock numbers were increasing, while in any other economic sector, 'growth' would usually be cause for celebration (Benjaminsen et al., 2009).

1.2 Statement of the problem

Land conflicts often have extensive negative effects on economic, social, spatial and ecological development. This is especially true in developing countries and countries in transition, where land market institutions are weak, opportunities for economic gain by illegal action are widespread and many poor people lack access to land. Land conflicts can have disastrous effects on individuals as well as on groups and even entire nations. Many conflicts that are perceived to be clashes between different cultures are actually conflicts over land and related natural resource (Eschborn, 2008).

Due to the land conflict being disastrous to the society, many efforts by the government and other stakeholders in trying to eradicate land conflicts, but still existence of a lot of uncontrolled land conflict in Tanzania and elsewhere in the world. Pastoralist especially the nomadic communities have entered into clashes with the counterpart farmers in the process of search for grazing areas for their cattle. As result, nomadic pastoral communities have been perceived as sources of such conflicts in manner that they involved in destruction of good lands suitable for cultivation. A good example of such conflicts have regularly occurred in Kilosa, Kiteto, Hanang, Arumeru and other areas whereby nomadic life and peasantry are practiced .

The impact of the land conflict is known to cause loss of lives, permanent disabilities, and loss of productivity, and reduced man power. Thus there should be an interaction between the political leaders and conflicting sides so that the conflicts are settled. The role of political leadership in land conflict due to pastoralist and farmers remain unknown. This study is trying to find out Roles of political leaders on land conflicts

1.3 Objectives of the study

The main objective of the study is to investigate the roles of political leaders on land conflicts between pastoral and farmers' communities.

1.3.1 Specific objectives

- i). To identify sources of conflicts between the farmers and pastoral communities.
- ii). To identify effects of land conflict
- iii). To identify roles of political leaders in managing land conflicts.

1.3.2 Research questions

The critical questions that this research sought to explore are;

- i). What are the sources of conflicts between the farmers and pastoral communities?
- ii). What are the effects of land conflict?
- iii). What are the roles of political leaders managing land conflicts?

1.4 Significance of the study

This study has economic and policy implication significance. The economic significance of this study lies on the fact that pastoralism is the one among the dominant economic system in Tanzania and the one of the contributors to its economy. Thus, improving residents' livelihoods would undoubtedly positively affect regional development. In terms of policy significance, this study will enable the government to redesign and undertake appropriate policy design and implementation strategies based upon measures that could bring effective pastoral development.

Furthermore, this research study has been conducted in order to increase the awareness and interest of the government and other development partners regarding the special needs of pastoral peoples and draws special attention to the myriad of problems they face.

Finally, the study expected to produce findings that would be necessary in influencing policy changes for solving land disputes in pastoralist and farming communities in Tanzania and beyond.

Disseminations of the finding would be advocacy tool for making political leaders to take necessary actions that address land conflicts in these communities.

1.5 Limitation of the study

The study participants of this study were the farmers and pastoral communities. Gathering data from these two communities was subjected to a lot of exaggerations regarding the sources of land conflicts. Determining the truth in the data provided became a difficult endeavor which required the researcher to undertake different methods to triangulate the information to get to know valid information provided.

Again, data collection were done in the pastoral communities whereby during the daytime men who normally involved in the clashes during land disputes were not presents at their homes, hence it was difficult to find the adequate number of respondents among them. Likewise, among the peasants, this study was conducted during cultivation seasons whereby many people were engaged with farming activities which made the researcher get hard time to finalize data collections. To alleviate such situations the researcher had to hire a local leader in both communities to facilitate sourcing of respondents.

1.6 Scope of the study

The study was about role of political leaders in land conflict between pastoralists and farmers. It was conducted at two wards in Arumeru District Council.

1.7 Organization of the dissertation

This dissertation is divided in five chapters. Chapter one is an introduction and presents background to the problem, statement of the problems, objectives of study, conceptual framework guiding the study and finally presents significance of the study. Chapter Two provides a literature review with focus on the concept of land conflicts in Tanzania, political Issues that may contribute to land conflicts, nomadic life, an overview of pastoral and farmers' conflicts in Sub Saharan Africa, Pastoralism under pressure in Africa, impact of land policies on pastoralism, policy deficiencies, management of conflict and theoretical framework of conflicts. Chapter

three provides research methodology of the study. Location and geographical description of the study, target population and study units, research design, methods of data collection, sample size, sampling procedures, and data analysis are explained. Chapter four presents results and analysis of the findings of the study. Chapter five presents a conclusion and recommendations on the role political leadership in solving land conflicts.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

Literature review refers to a critique of what is on the ground with a view to identify a gap or gaps that justify our inquiry. Literature review derives its logic from the fact that each idea finds interest from more than one human being or even disciplines. This chapter aims at defining the important concepts and terms related to the specific research objectives. It consists of both theoretical and empirical literature reviews. It also provides a conceptual framework that has been extracted from the reviewed literature.

2.1 Theoretical Literature Review

A constant fact about conflict is that it is an ever present phenomenon in social relations. It is inevitable in any social gathering, organization and society. The certainty of conflict to occur in every social arena motivated its interpretation in various forms. However, the existing definitions follow a thought pattern that clearly describes conflict as: a state of incompatibility, behaviour, and an opposition, an interaction of interdependent parties, a bad omen and positive or constructive outcome. As a state of incompatibility, conflict is described as a situation in which the concerns of two or more individuals operating within the unit appear to be incompatible (Darling & Fogliasso, 1999).

Incompatibility breeds conflict because it is a psychological state in which people cannot get along with one another in an organization. Wilmot and Hocker (2011) described conflict as a felt struggle between two or more independent individuals over perceived incompatible differences in beliefs, values, and goals, or differences in desires for esteem, control, and connectedness. Conflict occurs when people are nested by some sort of social cords. It does not occur in isolation, people must be

relating or be depending on one another. Conflict can be defined in terms of good or bad outcome.

When the outcome of a conflict scenario is positive, it is defined as a functional or constructive conflict. Conflicts that end up in negative outcomes are regarded as dysfunctional conflicts. Hoelscher and Robert (2002) viewed conflict as the underlying power that stimulates innovation.

Wehrmann (2005) define a land conflict as a social fact in which at least two parties are involved, the roots of which are different interests over the property rights to land - the right to use the land, to manage the land, to generate an income from the land, to exclude others from the land, to transfer it and the right to compensation for it. A land conflict, therefore, can be understood as a misuse, restriction or dispute over property rights to land. Anten (2010) argues that the fact that land conflicts continue is due to inadequate formal and informal rules, and weak formal agencies. These weaknesses persist because they are an integral part of the workings of the political marketplace. Therefore from the above analysis, conflict is a natural phenomenon which results from differences in individuals or groups aspirations, values, or needs. However, when conflict occurs, its manifestations and outcomes vary depending on the perceptions of the conflicting parties and the approaches adopted to manage it.

2.1.1 Pastoralism

There has not been a consensus over the definition of pastoralism. In most cases, governments and policy makers consider pastoralism as an ancient lifestyle where many NGOs and donors see it as a viable way of life suitable to modern conditions (PFE, 2002). Blench (2001) also notes that pastoralism is “the use of extensive grazing in rangelands for livestock production” which is widely practiced in the dryland areas of the world.

In addition, Oxfam (2008) defines pastoralism as “the finely-honed symbolic relationship between the local ecology, domesticated livestock and people in high variable conditions” and represents a form that manages the natural resources and the ecology between pasture, water, livestock and people.

The World Initiative for Sustainable Pastoralism (2006) labels pastoralism as a system of adaptation to environments that are hostile and enormously resilient during droughts. The Pastoralist Concern Association Ethiopia (2008) reminds us that pastoralism is “more than simply a mode of livestock production” but also a consumption strategy that supports around 200 million people in worldwide (WISP, 2006).

However, the exact definition of the term pastoralism depends on the nature of the unique pastoral societies being studied. Historically, pastoralism has different divisions. Some of the scholars divide into two types (Halake Bante, 2009) while others categorize into four categories (Roger Blench, 2001). Khazanov separates into two groups: (1) pastoral nomadism proper (pure pastoralists), which is characterized by the absence of agriculture and (2) semi-nomadic pastoralism (mixed farming). By using the degree of their movement and on the basis of the flexibility and the opportunistic nature of the pastoralists, Roger divided from high nomadic through transhumant to agro-pastoralists.

According to the UNDP, there are different forms of mobility which depend on the degree of direct environmental reliance. Societal movement could either be seasonal or regular that follow well-defined transhumant routes that have been used for centuries. Or mobility could be more near random based on following the erratic movement of rain clouds. As the UNDP describes in their pastoral categorizations, movement is more than for ecological season (pasture and water), rather than other factors such as moving away from animal diseases, conflicts, and bad neighbors. Elliot (1998:9) also believes that mobility is based on ecological factors including

“variation in terrain, rainfall, location of rivers, and variety of vegetation and salt resources”.

2.1.2 Pastoral Mobility

For centuries, pastoralists in Tanzania like elsewhere, have survived harsh living conditions, through empirically developed indigenous techniques of livestock management on the rangeland, constant mobility, and seasonal migrations that combine with biodiversity conservation (Homewood and Rodgers, 1991).

However, they are now confronted with shrinking grazing lands due to pressures from the growing human population, and associated need for food and land for arable crop farming. Wildlife conservation with its need for large tracks of land for national parks and wildlife sanctuaries is also increasingly forcing pastoralists off their land or to adopt sedentary livestock production systems (Shem et al, 2005).

The traditional pastoral mobility resulted in the optimal utilization of the existing natural resources, by taking advantage of temporal and spatial variations in the distribution and quantity of rainfall and forage, as well as the best nutritional status of the forage. It was also an effective way of risk management through evading of drought conditions and actual or potential disease or pest outbreaks, which usually depend on climatic conditions. Additionally, pastoralism helped to avoid the over exploitation of the natural resources by reducing concentration of livestock in one area, thus leading to conservation of the biodiversity.

Despite the extensive documentation of the efficacy of indigenous pastoral systems in Tanzania and elsewhere (Benhke and Scoones, 1993), negative perceptions still pervade pastoral policy and management, especially with regard to livestock mobility and the migration of pastoralists to new territories outside their traditional areas (Galaty, 1993). It has become a norm in policy making circles to castigate pastoralism as being an irrational system that destroys the farmers yield.

Despite all the scientific evidence and the countries dependence on pastoralists and agro-pastoralists for all its meat and milk needs, recent years have seen pastoralist production systems operating under growing pressure and pastoralist communities becoming increasingly impoverished (Kipuri and Sørensen, 2008). Pastoral land continues to be annexed for uses which are perceived as more productive, such as conservation, commercial agriculture, mining, ranching and tourism.

Pastoralist is among the important traditional occupations in most of the tribal communities in Tanzania. It is a very demanding occupation that calls for an ability to withstand physical hardships, trekking long distances, and venturing into new lands without fear. The pastoral mode of production can, however, be categorized into three groups. The first category is that of nomads who are purely pastoralists and hardly grows anything, but buy their food requirements from nearby farmers or markets. This category includes the Maasai, and Barbaigs who move irregularly with their animals from one area to another in search of water and pasture. The second category is those who have settled and farm, but have high attachments to livestock such as Nyiramba, Iraqw, Sukuma, Gogo, Arusha, and Kuria. This group is essentially sedentary as they keep their animals in a defined area. The third category is that of semi-nomadism or transhumance group. These are those tribes that see themselves as primarily a pastoral community, but cannot subsist on their stock alone. This group is mainly found in Kilosa, Handeni and Bagamoyo districts.

According to available official records, traditional livestock sub-sector counts for about 98% of the total national herd estimated at 15.6 million by 1995 (MoAC/SUA/ILRI, 1998). Most of the traditional cattle are kept by about 106,000 households of pure pastoralists and 268,000 households of agro pastoralist that are located in few administrative regions of Tanzania, which include Mwanza (16%), Shinyanga (15%), Singida (12%), Dodoma (10%), and Arusha (9%). These regions count for about 62% of the total traditional livestock kept in the country that are of the shorthorn Zebu type. According to Ole Lengisugi (1997) the traditional livestock

sub-sector contributes about 18% of the GDP and about 30% of the agricultural sector. In addition, it produces about 78% of the total national milk requirements as well as a substantial amount of red meat consumed daily all over the country. Despite these significant contributions in the national economy, the sub-sector is treated as a backward, irrational and environmentally unfriendly undertaking.

Pastoralists suffer from the effects of settlement, encroachment on their traditional pastures, lack of infrastructure, hostile market mechanisms, and difficulties of marketing their products (DANIDA, 1995). There have been many attempts since colonial times of modernize the pastoralists system through sedentarisation policies and projects. Failure of such schemes and policies has led to disillusionment and frustration on the part of decision makers who in turn blame the pastoralists for being conservative and resistant to change (Anderson, 1999).

Not all sedentarisation is forced. There are instances where sedentarisation has also originated with the pastoralists themselves, sometimes to access infrastructure such as schools, hospitals and markets, or sometimes because of drought and the loss of their animals (Fratkin et al., 1999). Sedentarisation for whatever reason, without good planning and transfer of appropriate livestock management techniques, extension services and good livestock marketing systems tends to affect pastoralists and the environment negatively (Shem et al., 2005). It results in large numbers of livestock being confined in one area for the whole year, thus overburdening the grazing area and consequently resulted to conflict with farmers and damaging the environment through land degradation due to overgrazing (Homewood and Rodgers, 1991).

Continuous overgrazing changes the composition of the pasture and is often reflected in a decline in the quality of the animals (Brockington, 2000). The settlement of pastoralists usually degrades the livestock from increased disease pressure. Moreover, due to the disruptive nature of sedentarisation, traditional institutions for conflict resolution have become weakened (Shem et al., 2005). As they lost their land, some

pastoralists become sedentarised, while others migrate to new areas often occupied by crop farmers, resulting in conflict and sometimes violence, particularly over the allocation of land and water resources. However, in some areas the immigrant pastoralists and the indigenous ethnic groups, mainly agriculturalists, have forged complementary co-existence, for example in the Usangu plains in Mbeya region, Tanzania (Kajembe et al., 2003).

Many pastoral households in Tanzania have already fallen victim to these pressures and have left livestock production without being able to find alternative livelihoods (Shem et al., 2005).

2.1.3 Inadequate capacity

Resolving resource use conflicts at village level falls under the responsibility of the Village Environmental Committees. In all the villages covered by this study the Village Environment Committees are composed by both farmers and herders. In situations where these committees fail, then the cases are referred to next bodies in the hierarchy. It was revealed that none of the members of the committees had received any form of training on conflict resolution skills such as mediation and negotiations. In a number of places in the country the local institutions, such as the Village Environmental Committees, village governments and district machinery have shown to lack capacity to resolve the conflicts. This explains why only a small proportion of the conflicts are resolved at this level.

This is actually how the village government leadership comes in. The members of this hierarchical stage too are not equipped with any skills related to conflict resolution. Members of the village government are selected by the villagers and given the higher population of the farmers relative to that of herders even the village government leadership is dominated by crop cultivators. This is a point of contention, especially from the perspective of herders who argue that they are not fairly represented in the village governments and hence their reluctance to cooperate in resolving the conflicts.

Underlying these problems is the fact that the statutory procedures of sustaining peaceful and mutual relations have not been strong enough to replace the traditional conflict resolution mechanisms.

2.1.4 Corruption

Corrupt practices also contribute to the persistence of farmer-herder conflicts. This problem can be looked at from two perspectives at village level involving local leadership, and higher levels of government involving highly placed politicians and government leaders (politics of the belly). At the local level village leadership has the responsibility of maintaining peace and security. This also entails fair allocation of land to different uses. In the wake of the influx of livestock then village leadership has the responsibility of ensuring that there is a balance between the number of livestock herds and the available resources. In all villages covered by this study there were complaints that village leaders had received bribes to allow large herds of cattle well beyond the capacity of the village resources to support. Another area of discontent and where corrupt practices are believed to exist is the assessment of damage to crops caused by livestock. In nearly all villages studied herders complained that village leaders receive bribes from farmers to exaggerate the damages in order to get higher compensation.

On the other hand, farmers also accuse district level leadership of receiving bribes from herders to have their court cases settled in their favour. Maganga (2007) had earlier noted this problem in Mvomero district that corruption had the effect of undermining people's trust in authorities and the willingness of these authorities to prevent conflicts.

The second perspective of corruption involves influential politicians well beyond the village level. This is described using the phrase 'politics of the belly'. This is an expression implied in the proverb 'goats eat where they are tethered' (Bayart, 1993) to describe a system where officials on different levels systematically exploit political

power and authority, and appropriate public resources for their own benefits and purposes, or more specifically; “accumulation of wealth through tenure of political power”. Under this system an individual especially politicians negotiate the institutional ambiguity and complexity to pursue their own interests (Moritz, 2006).

It is further argued that that ‘Belly politics’ is based on a hierarchy in which “smallholders are steadily losing out to the wealthy, powerful, and better connected elite, who are much better positioned in these ‘negotiations’ (Moritz, 2006). This situation is also evident in the districts covered by this study.

Some administrative officials are also accused of making financial gains from conflicts. For example, local politicians looking for votes often promise farmers they would expel the strangers. Benjaminsen and Boubacar (2008) point out that government officials may indeed use their powers to exploit institutional ambiguity to the detriment of the poor in farmer herder land use rivalry, and argue that in order to understand the origins and catalysts of the conflict it is important to know also the interests and motives of individual actors in the process of protection and assurance of rights. In a number of districts covered by this study the district level officers reported that they can’t reveal so openly the results of their investigations on the conflicts for fear of either being transferred to more remote districts or even losing their jobs. Part of the explanation for this fear is that in some villages, part of the livestock herds belong to highly placed politicians and government leaders.

2.1.5 Land Use Plans

The persistence of farmer-herder conflicts is also a result of villages lacking land use plans. Village land use planning is widely accepted as useful tool for rational allocation of land resources to various uses and for promotion of sustainable utilization of resources. This tool has the potential to prevent resource use conflicts among users. However, this is an expensive undertaking and Mango and Kalenzi

(2011) report that the average cost per village stands at Tshs 7 million, and this is far more than most villages could afford.

With these limitations there is little control in resource use, especially in the face of growing rural population and the consequent increase in the demand for resources.

2.1.6 An overview of Pastoral and Farmers Conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa

A wide body of scientific literature on Sub-Saharan Africa has consistently acknowledged the historical co-existence of pastoralists and farmers in symbiotic relationships (Bassett, 1988). Seddon and Sumberg (1997) also acknowledge the long historical record of fluctuating conflict, competition and co-operation between settled farmers and pastoral or transhumant herders in the continent. Such relationships were realized through reciprocity, exchange and support (Moritz, 2010). This however, did not mean that conflicts between farmers and pastoralist were non-existent (Bovin, 1990). Quite to the contrary, these relationships were characterized by both conflict and complementarities and were actually two faces of the same coin. Turner (2003) also reports that the relationships between farmers and herders in the Sub-Saharan Africa have always been multi-dimensional and like most social relationships they have involved both cooperation and conflict.

These conflicts, however, were contained by customary institutions that were functioning following the principle of reciprocity and resolutions which were found within the confinement of the local communities. In addition, intermarriage between groups played part in strengthening these systems and increased the incentives to resolve the conflicts (Sandford and Ashley, 2008). Only in very rare cases were these conflicts brought to state administrative authorities for resolutions.

In recent decades pastoral and farmer conflicts¹ in many parts of Sub-Saharan Africa have escalated into widespread violence, loss of property, massive displacement of people and loss of lives (Hussein, Sumberg and Seddon, 2000). This situation has

been caused by increasing pressure on resources and decreasing efficiency of traditional conflict-management mechanisms (Thebaud and Batterbury, 2001).

Factors such as inadequate grazing reserve and stock routes; changes in land tenure system; insufficient legislation pastoralism; expansion in agricultural policies; economic factors and climate change have also been identified as the long-term causes of the conflicts. Hagberg (1998) argues that conflicts between farmers and herders originate from competition for resources caused by population growth, migration and land degradation. Davidheiser and Luna (2008) also cite factors such as international development projects, demographic changes, and environmental degradation to have contributed to the conflicts. More emphasis is placed on changes in production systems and land tenure regimes as central to the aggravation of farmer-herder goal incompatibility and inter-communal strife. Further analysis of the causes reveals that of the changes are the deliberate results of interventions and legislation that were based on Western models and intended to increase production outputs and market integration.

In addition to the demographic and environmental factors for the conflicts two issues also emerge. One is the weakening of the traditional institutions for managing the conflicts, and the second is the changes in regimes of tenure on land. Ahmadu (2011) argues that in Nigeria as in many other parts of West Africa both farmers and herders believe that the evolution of modern state has altered their community-based traditional conflict management systems that developed on the sanctity of traditional norms and values. Even the mechanisms of resolving the conflicts have been weakened and that the tendency is more toward calming down conflicts rather than solving them. There have been changes to communal land tenure regimes which have in turn, led to tensions and legal conflicts between farmers and herders. In most such situations the state actors are not neutral arbitrators but they are instrumental in the production of institutional uncertainty and create a discrepancy between resources in-flow and weak regulations which in turn generate room for opportunistic behaviors and conflict emergence (Meur et al., 2006).

2.1.7 Pastoralism under Pressure in Tanzania

Pastoralists suffer from the effects of settlement, encroachment on their traditional pastures, lack of infrastructure, hostile market mechanisms, and difficulties of marketing their products (DANIDA, 1995).

There have been many attempts since colonial times of modernize the pastoralists system through sedentarisation policies and projects. Failure of such schemes and policies has led to disillusionment and frustration on the part of decision makers who in turn blame the pastoralists for being conservative and resistant to change (Anderson, 1999).

Not all sedentarisation is forced. There are instances where sedentarisation has also originated with the pastoralists themselves, sometimes to access infrastructure such as schools, hospitals and markets, or sometimes because of drought and the loss of their animals (Fratkin et al., 1999). Sedentarisation for whatever reason, without good planning and transfer of appropriate livestock management techniques, extension services and good livestock marketing systems tends to affect pastoralists and the environment negatively (Shem et al., 2005). It results in large numbers of livestock being confined in one area for the whole year, thus overburdening the grazing area and consequently resulted to conflict with farmers and damaging the environment through land degradation due to overgrazing (Homewood and Rodgers, 1991). Continuous overgrazing changes the composition of the pasture and is often reflected in a decline in the quality of the animals (Brockington, 2000).

The settlement of pastoralists usually degrades the livestock from increased disease pressure. Moreover, due to the disruptive nature of sedentarisation, traditional institutions for conflict resolution have become weakened (Shem et al., 2005). As they lost their land, some pastoralists become sedentarised, while others migrate to new areas often occupied by crop farmers, resulting in conflict and sometimes violence, particularly over the allocation of land and water resources. However, in

some areas the immigrant pastoralists and the indigenous ethnic groups, mainly agriculturalists, have forged complementary co-existence, for example in the Usangu plains in Mbeya region, Tanzania (Kajembe et al., 2003). Many pastoral households in Tanzania have already fallen victim to these pressures and have left livestock production without being able to find alternative livelihoods (Shem et al., 2005).

2.1.8 Pastoral Land Use and Policy in Africa

The productive use of rangelands through “mobile livestock husbandry has long defined the most effective strategy for extracting value out of otherwise marginal lands, and in so doing feeding growing millions” (Galaty, 2013). Yet, in the past decade the most valuable pastoral lands have become subject to large-scale agricultural investment, resulting in the loss or fragmentation of rangelands, induced sedentarisation of pastoralists, and a radical reduction in livestock numbers. Where the richest rangeland areas are withdrawn from the store of resources accessed by pastoralists for dry season grazing, in favour of cultivation, the overall productivity of the land may even decline, pastoralists having little say regarding alternative land uses. With many governments in East Africa claiming a state monopoly on land, more needs to be done to assure the rights and resources of pastoralists as partners in the new development ventures and to make better informed choices as to the best long-term use of their lands.

First, there is the elementary issue of the rights, both customary and statutory, of (agro-) pastoralists in Africa to be economically active and politically recognized citizens of their own countries. In their introduction to *Pastoralism and Development in Africa: dynamic change at the margins*, Catley et al. (2013) point to the new policy framework of the African Union (AU), which stresses the rights of pastoralists, including the right of access to spatially distributed resources, and the urgency of maintaining and enhancing pastoral mobility as a time-tried strategy to attain efficient use of grazing resources while avoiding environmental degradation. The Policy Framework for Pastoralism in Africa (African Union 2010) is one of the most remarkable examples of a policy document that counters the long-standing anti-

pastoralist bias in Africa by recognizing their crucial contributions to regional food systems, social support systems, ecosystems, and trade.

In Ethiopia, for instance, regional states with a high proportion of pastoralists, such as the Afar, part of the reasons for the persistence of farmer and pastoral conflicts lies in the way the conflicts are being handled. The use of excessive force involving the police is not only unsustainable but also deepens the hatred between the conflicting parties. At best this approach is good for imposing short-lived peace but the problems still remain. This is not uncommon in Sub-Saharan Africa; otherwise Moritz (2003) provides evidence on the nature of government responses to farmer – herder in Nigeria where army and the police are used to manage or sometimes to resolve the conflicts. At the district level, the management of farmer-herder conflicts nearly throughout the country is dealt with by the District Defense and Security Committee. The members of the committee are the Militia Advisor, District Executive Director, District Prisons Commander, Police, The Prevention and Combating of Corruption Bureau (PCCB) and District Security Officer. Such a composition shows a heavy military presence with very little or none use of mediating or even negotiating skills. In some cases this may appear like a military operation – thus causing further problems of hatred between the conflicting parties and towards the government in general.

Politics and land use in Tanzania

Land has been a particularly topical theme in the Tanzanian context. The country was the scene of a massive and compulsory resettlement drive in the seventies, commonly referred to as villagisation, which redrew the administrative map of the Tanzanian countryside. Villagisation was a key component of the country's development strategy under its much publicised policies of ujamaa - a popularised version of 'traditional African socialism' designed by Julius Nyerere, Tanzania's first president. In the years of ujamaa, land ownership was highly politicised and private accumulation of land was prohibitively difficult. The 'African crises of the early

eighties hit Tanzania hard and measures of Structural Adjustment were progressively implemented.

In 1983, a new National Agricultural Policy introduced what many interpreted to be a reversal of villagisation and the death-knell of ujamaa as the growth of a large-scale agricultural sector was actively encouraged. In the following years, the demand for land sky-rocketed and the country's smallholders and pastoralists, who form the majority of the country's population (Bryceson 1993), experienced decreased land availability and increased pressure on their own land.

The land administration was unable to deal satisfactorily with the demands of the new policy environment and the difficulties were compounded by ambiguous and in part contradictory land legislation.

In the nineties, the pace of change quickened and the ongoing programme of economic liberalisation was complemented by political reform as the one-party government amended its constitution to lift the party's monopoly on political activity. It was in this context of profound change that the government undertook to prepare a new National Land Policy. The policy formulation took more than five years and involved a large and varied number of participants, most notably a core committee of senior civil servants and a Presidential Commission of Inquiry. The new Land Policy was launched as a "turning point in the development of Tanzania" (URT 1995). The Policy has a wide range of policy objectives, including:

Safeguarding the security of tenure for smallholders and pastoralists and promoting an equitable distribution of land;

- Maximising the efficiency of land use;
- Streamlining land administration; and

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Such a composition shows a heavy military presence with very little or none use of mediating or even negotiating skills. In some cases this may appear like a military operation – thus causing further problems of hatred between the conflicting parties and towards the government in general.

2.1.9 Political Issues that may contribute to land conflict

Since independence, a number of development programmes aimed at improving the livelihoods of pastoralists have been initiated. Guided by modernization ideology, programmes have focused on settling pastoralists as the way to bring those improved services and economic opportunities (Ndagala, 1990). The main large-scale programme to modernize pastoralism in Tanzania was ‘Operation Imparnati’ (from emparnat meaning ‘permanent habitation’) from the late 1970s, which was based on the idea that the Maasai were leading a nomadic life and that they should be settled (Ndagala, 1982). exercise of rearranging relatively mobile homesteads around existing services’ (Homewood, 1995). Operation Imparnati implied the erection of homesteads in a large circle with various village services such as water supplies, dips, schools, veterinary services and dispensaries located in the centre.

The primary economic activity was to be livestock and especially dairy production, but some agriculture was also to be encouraged. According to Parkipuny (1979),

these permanent villages, which were planned without consulting the beneficiaries, ended up concentrating livestock while hindering adequate pasture rotation.

More recently, the draft Livestock Policy (URT, 2005) has been guided by the modernization goals of encouraging ‘the development of a commercially oriented, efficient and internationally competitive livestock industry’, while the communal and mobile system of exploiting range resources of pastoralists is condemned. The National Land Policy (1995), Land Act (1999) and Village Land Act (1999) further strengthen the idea of enclosing and registering village land in addition to opening it up for privatization of holdings.

While this might be considered a positive development in many farming communities, it could lead to further obstacles for pastoralists who depend on flexibility in their natural resource management.

Since Tanzania adopted its Structural Adjustment programme in 1984, government support to pastoral communities has been reduced. This trend was further reinforced by the introduction of economic reforms (liberalization) from the early 1990s (Neumann, 1995). Examples of previous support include dips for control of ticks and tick-borne diseases and dams for watering livestock. Such projects today depend on cost-sharing arrangements or full cost recovery by beneficiaries.

A recent illustration of the official bias against pastoralists is the way herders have been blamed for the current power crisis in Tanzania. Livestock grazing in the catchment area of the Mtera dam is officially claimed to be causing a water shortage, while the biggest water consumers are the large scale and smallholder rice farms situated upstream of the dam. According to *The Guardian* (2006b), a full-scale military operation was launched on 18 May 2006 to evict pastoralists from the Usangu Plains. A heavily armed contingent of regular police, anti-poaching units and game wardens cleared the Ihefu Wetland of hundreds of pastoralists with over 300,000 cattle.

About 1,500 cattle were impounded and the owners were fined a total of Tshs 14,450,000 (about US\$ 14,450). A number of civil society organizations have criticized the government for the forced evictions, describing it as an act against human rights (The Guardian, 2007).

The importance of such wetlands for pastoralists has been highlighted by, for example, Little (1992), Scoones (1991) and Woodhouse et al. (2000). These swamps contain productive pastures that herders depend on to sustain their livestock through the dry season. At the same time, agricultural policies in Tanzania, as in many other African countries, encourage the expansion of cultivated areas for purposes of food self-sufficiency at the expense of key dry season pastures.

2.1.10 Causes of Land Conflicts between pastoralists and farmers

The conflicts between Pastoralists and farmers is the deep-rooted and widespread problem in many societies and countries in Africa, their cause ranges from historical reasons, loopholes in land management systems, poor governance, favoring of crop cultivators and the main problem is land shortage (Chawene, 2012). In addition to that, the conflicts among pastoralists and farmers have been attributed to scarcity of land as large herds of cattle are forced to compete with farms in the same village land. Also studies have revealed that inefficiency of the land use planning committees accelerated the problem where land use plans did not take into consideration the needs of the natives. The tendency of the government to ignore pastoralists and evict them their pasture land in favor of foreign investors has increased pressure on land allocated for farmers (Mung'ong'o & Mwamfupe, 2003) Also, conflicts often erupt between herders and farmers over access to land and water resources. The conflicts are essentially on the scramble for resources such as areas for grazing versus areas for cultivation. This situation happens due to the farmers' expansion into marginal lands resulting into competition between livestock keeping and crop production. Also, poor distribution of people engaged in farming has always created problems and sometimes leading to deadly conflicts.

It has been known that increased human and livestock population is another reason for increasing conflicts between pastoralists and farmers (Semberya, D., 2014).

A number of factors have been identified to contribute to the persistence of pastoralist and farmer conflicts in Tanzania. These factors include; policy deficiencies and contradictions, insecurity of land tenure, inadequacy of capacity of the local institutions, corrupt practices, lack of coordination in planning for resettlement, inadequate capacity in village land use planning, and the heavy handed approaches used to resolve the conflicts. However, it is important to note that no single factor can adequately explain the persistence of the conflicts between farmers and pastoralists over the years, instead a combined effects of these factors is responsible for the worsening situation.

The productive use of rangelands through “mobile livestock husbandry has long defined the most effective strategy for extracting value out of otherwise marginal lands, and in so doing feeding growing millions” (Galaty, 2013). Yet, in the past decade the most valuable pastoral lands have become subject to large-scale agricultural investment, resulting in the loss or fragmentation of rangelands, induced sedentarisation of pastoralists, and a radical reduction in livestock numbers. Where the richest rangeland areas are withdrawn from the store of resources accessed by pastoralists for dry season grazing, in favour of cultivation, the overall productivity of the land may even decline, pastoralists having little say regarding alternative land uses. With many governments in East Africa claiming a state monopoly on land, more needs to be done to assure the rights and resources of pastoralists as partners in the new development ventures and to make better informed choices as to the best long-term use of their lands.

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framework of the African Union (AU), which stresses the rights of pastoralists, including the right of access to spatially distributed resources, and the urgency of maintaining and enhancing pastoral mobility as a time-tried strategy to attain efficient use of grazing resources while avoiding environmental degradation. The Policy Framework for Pastoralism in Africa (African Union 2010) is one of the most remarkable examples of a policy document that counters the long-standing anti-pastoralist bias in Africa by recognizing their crucial contributions to regional food systems, social support systems, ecosystems, and trade.

In Ethiopia, for instance, regional states with a high proportion of pastoralists, such as the Afar, have started to develop their own land policies, which to some extent take the needs of pastoralists into account (Abebe and Solomon, 2013). Some, however, remain skeptical of the outcome of this process.

In the chapter, *The Need to Strengthen Land Laws in Ethiopia and to Protect Pastoral Rights*, Abebe and Solomon (Abebe and Solomon, 2013) note that:

“While the 1994 constitution of Ethiopia includes a provision guaranteeing that pastoralists are not [to be] displaced from rangelands, other provisions in existing federal policy and law reaffirm the powers of the state to expropriate land in pastoral areas for development.”

This means that modern transformations of arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs), the resource base of rural pastoralists, often occur through legal frameworks that continue to deny local communities their historical, customary rights to land, and/or proper compensation for lost land or land use changes. In fact, many state policies do little to formally recognize or integrate pastoral lands as critical parts of rural livelihood systems and economic development models. Instead, most governments still regard the lands of pastoralists as ‘idle’, ‘degraded’, or ‘unproductive’ and therefore in need of ‘development’ by local and foreign investors. As this paper shows, however, such anti-pastoralist biases have become outdated. While indeed there are signs of change toward more pro-pastoralist policies, it would be in the best interest of states to take

seriously the moral and political considerations that drive such change, as well as the sound economic (Schlee, 2013) and ecological reasons (Notenbaert et al. 2012) for doing so.

2.1.11 The Impact of Policies on Pastoralist Livelihoods in Tanzania

In principle, government policies are supposed to address issues that improve the welfare of the people, and for a country that is committed to eradicating pervasive poverty, policies are expected to be pro-poor. However, given that the country has embraced economic liberalization; many policies have been formulated to facilitate economic liberalism in all its dimensions. Although driven by noble objectives, these policies and associated reform processes will in practice affect different communities in different ways.

This in part reflects the difficulty central level policy making has in accommodating the huge diversity of Tanzania's environment and natural resources, and the very varied manner in which its citizens derive their livelihood (Shem and Matee, 2006).

It is therefore important to look at pastoralism in the context of the country's current rapid pace of policy change. At the national level there are macro or cross cutting policies, sector policies as well as sub sector policies (Tenga et al., 2008). Macro or cross cutting policies are those policies whose implementation involves several ministries or cuts across several sectors. They include the Tanzania National Vision 2025, The National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP) and several other economic policies that provide the overall framework for the formulation and implementation of other (sector) policies.

The NSGPR 2005-2010 recognizes pastoralism as a sustainable livelihood and states that one of its goals is "promoting efficient utilization of rangeland, empowering pastoralists to improve livestock production through improved access to veterinary services, reliable water supply as well as recognizing pastoralism as a sustainable livelihood".

The National Land Policy adopted by the Government in 1996 (MLHUD, 1996) puts pastoral concerns at the periphery of policymaking. While acknowledging the ‘growing social conflicts, environmental concerns and land use conflicts due to haphazard alienation of rangelands for large scale agriculture, the Policy blame pastoralist for encroaching into agricultural lands and causing conflicts with other communities and land degradation.

The majority of the development policies in Tanzania are still based on the notion that pastoralism is not the most efficient use of land (Oxfarm international, 2008). As a result, over the years and up to now, pastoralists have continually lost land to other users, as their lands continue to be converted to farm land by small and large scale farmers and to conservation in the form of game parks, game reserves and game controlled areas (Matee and Shem, 2006; Sendalo, 2009).

Matee and Shem (2006) identified and analysed the impacts of existing and emerging policies and laws with a bearing on pastoralism in Tanzania. The authors reported that while some policies do provide opportunities for pastoralists, other show little understanding of pastoral production systems or recognition of pastoralism as a sustainable livelihood. This is probably due to two main factors: 1) lack of knowledge about pastoralism among policymakers, and 2) pastoralists lacking a clearly articulated voice and influence in the policy debate. Even the new Livestock Policy 2005 fails to acknowledge the genetic potential of indigenous livestock breeds and landraces, or the wisdom of extensive grazing regimes in dry land areas.

The National Land Policy of 1994 and the Village Land Act of 1999 make legal provisions for securing land rights for extensive grazing systems. However, these are not widely known or exploited, and certain aspects of the Land Act of 1999 have been described as “the last nail in the coffin of pastoralism”. Efforts to secure land and resource tenure for pastoralists are generally very limited, and crop growers and private investors continue to appropriate large swathes of pastoralist land, often with direct or indirect support from government and development agents. The National

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2.2 Empirical Literature Review

2.2.1 Land policies

The land policy has some deficiencies because it does not guarantee security of tenure to some users, especially smallholder groups. In effect, these deficiencies have led large areas of land being given over to alternative uses and consequently marginalizing the pastoral populations. At the root of the conflicts between farmers and herders is the lack of well stated policies on land that rural producers subsist on. Overall the objective of the land policy is to promote and ensure secured land tenure system that encourages optimal use of land resources and facilitate broad based social and economic development without upsetting or endangering the ecological balance of the environment (Land Policy 1999: 5 section 2.0). The problem of lack of security of tenure facing pastoral groups is best exemplified by eviction of Maasai pastoralists from eight villages of Soitsambu, Oloipiri, Ololosokwan, Loosoito/Maaloni, Oloerien Magaiduru, Piyaya, Arash and Malambo in Loliondo District of northern Tanzania.

These pastoralists have been occupying this land for over a hundred years. This ownership is legally recognized under the laws of Tanzania, in particular, the Land Act, Cap. 113, the Village Land Act, Cap. 114 and the Local Government (District Authorities) Act, Cap. 287. However, in total disregard of the importance of the grazing land to the livelihoods of pastoral groups the Government of Tanzania granted a commercial hunting license (to a foreign investor) on a land belonging to

the eight registered villages. Having lost control of their land which was fundamental to their livelihoods, the evicted pastoralists have been forced to migrate into other parts of the country in search for livelihoods. Yet the same displaced people are being blamed for causing conflicts at the destination points, and this only amount to it is like blaming the victims of land alienation

2.2.2 Policy deficiencies and contradictions

The land policy has some deficiencies because it does not guarantee security of tenure to some users, especially smallholder groups. In effect, these deficiencies have led large areas of land being given over to alternative uses and consequently marginalizing the pastoral populations (Bonfiglioli, 1992). Appropriation of land from pastoralists in Tanzania like elsewhere in Africa is usually backed by the enduring perception that pastoralism is an irrational, ecologically destructive and economically inefficient production system (Homewood 1995; Hesse and MacGregor, 2006). These perceptions have consequently resulted in efforts by government policy makers to re-distribute pastoral lands directly to commercial investors in the belief that this is an economically rational policy (Sulle and Nelson, 2009).

Another area where policy deficiencies are conspicuously revealed is on the Grazing-Land and Animal Feed Resources Act which translates and implements the National Livestock Policy of 2006. The Act provides guidance for the management and control of grazing lands and animal feed resources. Some of the problems identified in the Act include the interpretation of the terms used. For example, the Act defines “communal grazing land” to mean a grazing land owned by a “livestock keeper” and it defines the “livestock keeper” as a person who engages on livestock keeping for “production.”

The term “production” is defined as rearing animals for commercial purpose. The pastoralists hence argue that the Act does not provide for the protection and promotion of pastoralism but exclusively focuses on commercial livestock keeping. It is argued that the persistence of farmer-herder conflicts in the country is a reflection of government’s failure to strike a balance between the promotion of investment (of which private interests of government policy-makers may themselves be involved), and the land access interests of smallholder farmers and pastoralists.

In addition to policy deficiencies, there is also a problem of contradictions of the policies.

This is supported by Lugoe’s (2011) argument who asserts that there is some misalignment between the Livestock Policy (of 2006) and the National Land Policy. The Livestock Policy recognizes seasonal movement as an important characteristic of pastoralism and thus encourages livestock owners in overgrazed areas to move to lower stocked areas. The Livestock Policy has gone further and facilitated modalities for new settlements for pastoralists. In contrast to this spirit, the National Land Policy prohibits nomadism and all its different forms—modern or transhumant. Such contradictions help to sow seeds of hostilities between the pastoralists and implementers of the policies.

2.2.3 Security of Tenure

At the root of the conflicts between farmers and herders is the lack of security on land that rural producers subsist on. Overall the objective of the land policy is to promote and ensure secured land tenure system that encourages optimal use of land resources and facilitate broad based social and economic development without upsetting or endangering the ecological balance of the environment (Land Policy 1999: 5 section 2.0). The problem of lack of security of tenure facing pastoral groups is best exemplified by eviction of Maasai pastoralists from eight villages of Soitsambu, Oloipiri, Ololosokwan, Loosito/Maaloni, Oloerien Magaiduru, Piyaya, Arash and Malambo in Loliondo District of northern Tanzania. These pastoralists have been

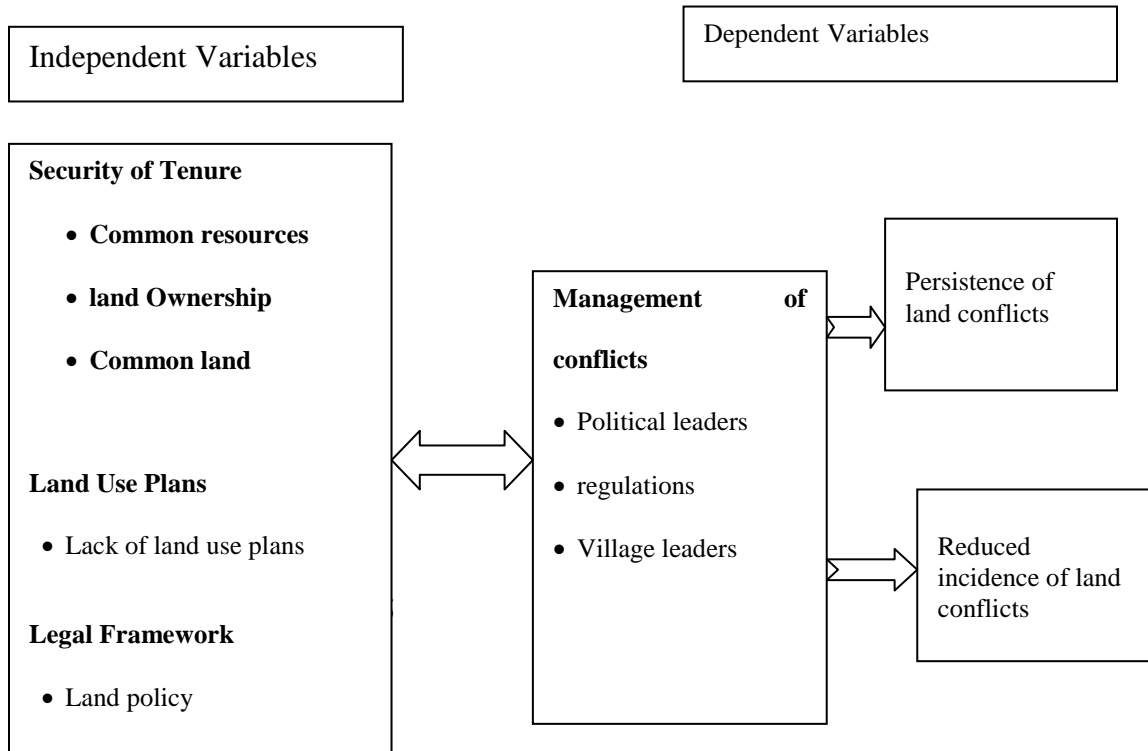
occupying this land for over a hundred years. This ownership is legally recognized under the laws of Tanzania, in particular, the Land Act, Cap. 113, the Village Land Act, Cap. 114 and the Local Government (District Authorities) Act, Cap. 287. However, in total disregard of the importance of the grazing land to the livelihoods of pastoral groups the Government of Tanzania granted a commercial hunting license (to a foreign investor) on a land belonging to the eight registered villages. Having lost control of their land which was fundamental to their livelihoods, the evicted pastoralists have been forced to migrate into other parts of the country in search for livelihoods. Yet the same displaced people are being blamed for causing conflicts at the destination points, and this only amount to it is like blaming the victims of land alienation.

At the root of the problem of insecurity of land tenure is the emerging process of land grabbing which has been encroaching on local rights, marginalizing rural farmers and pastoralists who depend on land, water and other natural resources. This has been further emphasized by Nelson et al. (2012) Land-grabbing, with its links to corruption, preferential appropriation of public assets by state officials, and leading politicians' and ruling party financial interests, has been taken up as a central issue in public debates over governance and transparency. In the face of policy deficiencies the state-backed investments have all contributed to this malaise facing the smallholder producers.

2.3 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework that guided this study was established indicating independent variable and dependent variables and how they are related. Independent variables include security of tenure, land use plans and legal framework. Dependent variables include persistence of land conflict and reduced incidence of land conflicts. These are mediated by management of conflicts. The conceptual framework is illustrated by Figure 2.1 as follows:

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework



2.4 Measurement of Variables

The dependent and independent variables in this was measured as shown below.

2.4.1 Dependent variables

2.4.1.1 Land Conflicts

Land conflicts were one of the independent variables which were measured by establishing the extent to which it had caused violence, human suffering, insecurity, loss of valuables, human rights abuses. Data on land conflicts obtained by asking respondents the effects of land conflicts to life of residences in the community.

Measurement of land conflicts based on the following domains: political leaders, common, landownership, common recourses, policies and regulation. Data on land conflicts were obtained by asking respondents the effects of land conflicts to life of residency in the community and the role of political leaders on land conflict.

2.4.2 Independent variables

2.4.2.1 Land ownership

There are many contradictions on land owners, some of the contradictions identified in the Act include the interpretation of the terms used. For example, the Act defines “communal grazing land” to mean a grazing land owned by a “livestock keeper” and it defines the “livestock keeper” as a person who engages on livestock keeping for “production.” The term “production” is defined as rearing animals for commercial purpose. The pastoralists hence argue that the Act does not provide for the protection and promotion of pastoralism but exclusively focuses on commercial livestock keeping. It is argued that the persistence of farmer-herder conflicts in the country is a reflection of government’s failure to strike a balance between the promotion of investment (of which private interests of government policy-makers may themselves be involved), and the land access interests of smallholder farmers and pastoralists.

2.4.2.2 Policies

The land policy has some deficiencies because it does not guarantee security of tenure to some users, especially smallholder groups. In effect, these deficiencies have led large areas of land being given over to alternative uses and consequently marginalizing the pastoral populations. At the root of the conflicts between farmers and herders is the lack of well stated policies on land that rural producers subsist on. Overall the objective of the land policy is to promote and ensure secured land tenure system that encourages optimal use of land resources and facilitate broad based social and economic development without upsetting or endangering the ecological balance of the environment (Land Policy 1999: 5 section 2.0). The problem of lack of security

of tenure facing pastoral groups is best exemplified by eviction of Maasai pastoralists from eight villages of Soitsambu, Oloipiri, Ololosokwan, Loosoito/Maaloni, Oloerien Magaiduru, Piyaya, Arash and Malambo in Loliondo District of northern Tanzania.

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2.4.2.3 Common resources

At the root of they are activities pastoralist and farmer share some of natural resources like water sources, land, whereby one of them may seek recognition of being the owner of the resource, this may contribute to conflicts due to contradictions of land policies.

Emerging of land conflict which has been encroaching on local rights, marginalizing rural farmers and pastoralists who depend on land, water and other natural resources. This has been further emphasized by Nelson et al. (2012) Land-grabbing, with its links to corruption, preferential appropriation of public assets by state officials, and leading politicians' and ruling party financial interests, has been taken up as a central issue in public debates over governance and transparency.

2.4.2.4 Regulations

Resolving resource use conflicts at village level falls under the responsibility of the Village Environmental Committees. In all the villages covered by this study the Village Environment Committees are composed by both farmers and herders. In situations where these committees fail, then the cases are referred to next bodies in the hierarchy. It was revealed that none of the members of the committees had received any form of training on conflict resolution skills such as mediation and negotiations. In a number of places in the country the local institutions, such as the Village Environmental Committees, village governments and district machinery have shown to lack capacity to resolve the conflicts.

2.4.2.5 Common land

The persistence of conflicts is also a result of villages lacking land use plans, where by the land is used for both sides. Village land use planning is widely accepted as useful tool for rational allocation of land resources to various uses and for promotion of sustainable utilization of resources. This tool has the potential to prevent resource use conflicts among users.

However, this is an expensive undertaking and Mango and Kalenzi (2011) report that the average cost per village stands at Tshs 7 million, and this is far more than most villages could afford. With these limitations there is little control in resource use, especially in the face of growing rural population and the consequent increase in the demand for resources.

2.4.2.6 Political leaders

Some administrative officials are also accused of making financial gains from conflicts. For example, local politicians looking for votes often promise farmers they would expel the strangers. Benjaminsen and Boubacar (2008) point out that government officials may indeed use their powers to exploit institutional ambiguity to

the detriment of the poor in farmer herder land use rivalry, and argue that in order to understand the origins and catalysts of the conflict it is important to know also the interests and motives of individual actors in the process of protection and assurance of rights. In a number of districts covered by this study the district level officers reported that they can't reveal so openly the results of their investigations on the conflicts for fear of either being transferred to more remote districts or even losing their jobs. Part of the explanation for this fear is that in some villages, part of the livestock herds belong to highly placed politicians and government leaders.

This problem can be looked at from two perspectives at village level involving local leadership, politicians and government leaders (politics of the belly). At the local level village leadership has the responsibility of maintaining peace and security. This also entails fair allocation of land to different uses. In the wake of the influx of livestock then village leadership has the responsibility of ensuring that there is a balance between the number of livestock herds and the available resources. In all villages covered by this study there were complains that village leaders had received bribes to allow large herds of cattle well beyond the capacity of the village resources to support. Another area of discontent and where corrupt practices are believed to exist is the assessment of damage to crops caused by livestock.

In nearly all villages studied herders complained that village leaders receive bribes from farmers to exaggerate the damages in order to get higher compensation. On the other hand, farmers also accuse district level leadership of receiving bribes from herders to have their court cases settled in their favour. Maganga (2007) had earlier noted this problem in Mvomero district that corruption had the effect of undermining people's trust in authorities and the willingness of these authorities to prevent conflicts.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the concept of land conflicts and the role of political leaders in solving such conflicts. A theoretical framework of land conflicts has been highlighted and a thorough exploration of literatures related to farming and pastoralism and sources associated with or perpetuating conflicts within the said communities. Both theoretical and empirical literatures have been explored. Several issues relating to lack of security on land, management of conflicts among the farming and pastoral communities and the existence policy frameworks guiding land tenure were reviewed to see the existing gap. Literature so far has shown that several countries have attempted to involve communities in managing land conflicts and political leadership has a crucial role to play the construction and maintenance of peace and tranquillity.

The gap existed included the prevalence of land conflicts and this study was conducted to find out what roles have been neglected by political leader to make lands conflicts persist in the communities especially to pastoral and farming communities.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

Research methodology is a way to systematically solve a research problem (Kothari, 2004). It is a systematic study of methods that can be applied to solve a research problem. Methodology includes a collection of theories, concepts or ideas as they relate to a particular field of study. Methodology refers to more than a simple set of methods rather it refers to the rationale and the philosophical assumptions that underline a particular study relative to the scientific method (Creswell, 2003). This chapter details whole plan of research that is description of the study area, research design strategy, area of the study, survey population, sampling techniques and sample Size, data collection, data analysis and interpretation, Validity, Reliability and generalizability, ethical issues and limitation of the study. Each of these items had been dealt with in this study.

3.1 Description of the Study Area

Arumeru District is one of the 9 districts which form Arusha Region in northern Tanzania. The district lies between longitudes 36.5° to 37.5° east and latitudes 3.5° to 3.7° south of the Equator. Mount Meru which is the second highest mountain in the country with the height of 45931.8 meters above the sea level, is situated in the northern part of the District. Arumeru District has an area of 2966 square Kilometres which is about 3.6 of the area of Arusha region of which total area is 82424 square kilometres. Administratively, the district is divided into 6 divisions, 37 Wards and 133 villages. It is composed of three major ethnic groups which are the more sedentary Wameru and Waarusha and the pastoralist Maasai. This study included five villages from three wards in Arumeru district. There are ten wards in the districts but only half of them have arable land (NBS, 2008). The selection of the area is

purposefully following the fact that, economic activity of the area is farming and pastoralist.

3.2 Justification of the Study Area

The study area was chosen based on three criteria: firstly Arumeru district was considered relevant to the study at hand due to existence of nomadic life whereby the communities engage in animal grazing and searching of water for their animals and for domestic use. Such nomadic life has found these communities in clashes with their counterpart crop cultivators. Secondly, presence of communities which engage in crop cultivations in the areas make the place more relevant to the study which allows getting the views of the farmers regarding the sources of land conflicts and the role of leaders in containing such conflicts.

Furthermore, in Arumeru there are different organizations and institutions that support pastoralist and farmers in conflicts resolution. These are the civil society organizations (CSO) which have vast experiences in dealing with land issues and it was expected that conducting in-depth interviews with some key CSO would benefit this study in the greater extent. Due to these reasons it is assumed that the study will be able to capture roles of political leaders in land conflicts between the farmers and pastoralists in Arumeru districts

3.3 Research design strategy

The study used cross sectional design (Creswell, 2012) which allowed data collection at one point in time. A research approach employed was mixed method which used both quantitative and qualitative research approaches to gather data to inform this study (Bryman, 2004). Quantitative research was used to collect numerical data in order to explain, predict and control phenomena of interest and data analysis was mainly statistical. Qualitative research was used to collect variety of empirical materials, case study, personal experience, observational, interactional, and visual

texts-that described routine and problematic moments and meaning in individual's lives and phenomenon (Bryman 2008).

3.4 Sample Size and Sampling techniques

3.4.1 Sample Size

The sample size of 84 respondents was included in this study. This sample was conveniently reached. Two wards were chosen to be included in the study and these are Singisi and Oldonyosoie. In each ward 17 pastoralists and 20 farmers were randomly selected to participate in the study. In addition, 10 leaders who were Ward or Village Executive Officers and Village chairpersons were selected and included into the study of which 5 are form each village. The table below summarizes the number and categories of respondents.

Table 3.1: Sample size of Respondents

SN	Category of respondents	Location		Number of Respondents
		Singisi	Oldonyosoie	
1	Pastoralists	17	17	34
2	Farmers	20	20	40
3	Village Leaders (VEO/WEO/Chairpersons)	5	5	10
	Total			84

Source: field work, 2015

3.4.2 Sampling Techniques

Sampling techniques refers to the part of statistic practices concern with the selection of a subset of individuals from within a population to yield knowledge about the whole population, especially for the purpose of making predictions based on the statistical inferences. In order to avoid high cost of conducting this research, and

because of the dynamism of the population under study. Maasai community have a tendency of shifting and their settlements are scattered all over their places which could meaning more time, and other resource for conducting a research), researcher decided to do purposively sample a population which represented the entire population of the area under study. Sampling population ensured homogeneity and improved accuracy and good quality of data to be analyzed (Ader and Hand, 2008).

3.4.2.1 Non probability Sampling

Non probability sampling method was applied to sample both farmers and pastoralists who participated in the study from the selected villages. In this type of sampling, items for the sample are selected deliberately by the researcher; the choice concerning the items remains supreme. In other words, under non-probability sampling the researcher purposively choose the particular units of the universe for constituting a sample on the basis that the small mass that is selected out of a huge one will be typical or representative of the whole. For instance, if there are land conflicts of people living in a state (Arumeru district) are to be studied, a few towns and villages may be purposively selected for intensive study on the principle that they can be representative of the entire state. Thus, the judgement of the organisers of the study plays an important part in this sampling design (Kothari, 2004).

Purposive Sampling

Purposive sampling was applied to select the leaders (Village/Ward executive officers and village chairpersons) who participated in this study. Purposive or judgmental sampling occurred with the decision on which element or item included or excluded in the sample. This decision was made by the researcher depending on the researcher's judgment and intuition technique (Kothari, 2007). The researcher chose only those elements which she believed to be able to deliver the required data. (Adam & Kamuzora, 2008). For the purpose of this study purposive sampling was done for the respondents who in the views of the researcher possessed special information that

was needed in the study. Also, the purposive sampling technique was used as due to the fact that there is some information that might be available and known by few respondents among the many hence there is a need of selecting a sample to include some respondents purposely. The people considered to have special information were community and political leaders.

3.5 Data Collection

3.5.1 Methods of Data collection

Methods of data collection include primary and secondary.

3.5.1.1 Primary data

The primary data are those which are collected afresh and for the first time, and thus happen to be original in character, Primary data it includes questionnaire method, interview method, and observation. (Kothari 2009). During the process of collecting primary data researchers used two instrument common for data collection.

Questionnaires

The data was collected using questionnaires which were designed with questions on a piece of paper which required pastoralists, farmers and wards leaders to respond in writings. These questions included open and closed-ended questions whereby open-ended questions respondents were needed to express their views while closed-ended questions required them to respond objectively. Through the use of questionnaires, researchers, managed to examine the roles of political leaders on land conflicts.

Interview

Through interview the information were obtained orally from the targeted key respondents. Both structured and unstructured interviews are applied during gathering information but also closed and open-ended approaches were used. This method

helped a researcher to examine the role of political leadership on solving land conflict in the district.

3.5.1.2 Secondary data

Secondary data was collected through documentation. Valuable background information was collected from published and unpublished literature.

These were such as Arumeru District Council Reports, books, journals, reports and newspapers alternative uses of grazing, animal feed resources and farming lands. For each of the items measuring policy deficiencies and contradictions, percentages' was calculated.

3.6 Data Presentation Technique

The research used both qualitatively and quantitatively technique. The quantitative techniques enabled the researcher to analyse data, summarize and then display by using percentages, distribution tables, charts, means and other measures of central tendencies by the help of Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS). Content analysis was used to analyze qualitative data.

3.7 Validity, Reliability and Generalizability

To ensure the credibility and generalizability of the findings and conclusions of this study, steps were taken to ensure both reliability and validity of the instrument by using panel of senior researchers in the field of study to judge how well the instrument meets the standard and also to conduct pre testing of instrument. This was specifically to ensure that the questions were sound and in line with research question.

3.8 Ethical Issues

Barbie et al., (2002) point out that conducting research requires good ethical considerations. According to Black (2002), ethics aim at protecting all persons involved in the research while confidentiality means no one should be identifiable from the research project, unless there is good reason to reveal and permission has been secured. In carrying out the study the researcher provided the covering letter contained information about the objectives of the research and assurance regarding confidentiality anonymity, the intention to reveal confidentiality as per Swallow (2007) who stated that: Intellectual Capital can be divided into two parts; what walks out of the office at night and what remains when everyone goes home.

In this case, what walks out of the academy must remain anonymous and this is particularly the case for academies undertaking something which is specifically identifiable. Transcripts of interviews (questionnaires) will be destroyed safely after submission of result of this research study.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter has provided the research methodology applied in the study conducted in in Arumeru District in Arusha Region. Two wards of Singisi and Oldonyosoie were purposively chosen and included into the study. This study employed a cross sectional design with mixed method approach. Data were collected using questionnaires, interviews and observations methods of data collection. Descriptive data analysis was done using SPSS to generate frequency distribution tables and using measures of central tendency to present data. Qualitative data analysis was done using content analysis framework. Finally, ethical consideration was highlighted on how to maintain anonymity, privacy and informed consent.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA FINDINGS, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Overviews

This chapter presents demographic information and analysis and discussions of the findings based on the specific objectives which are; to identify causes of land conflicts between the farmers and pastoralist communities, to identify effects of land conflicts and to identify the role of political leaders on land conflict.

4.1 Characteristics of the respondents

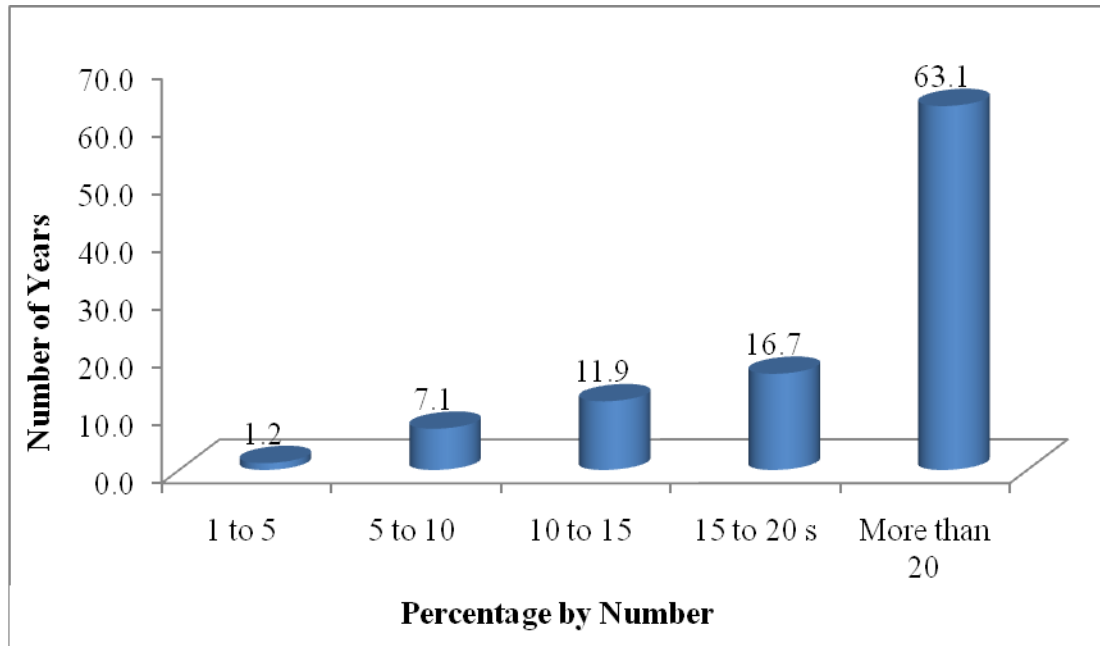
4.1.1 Response Rate

A total of 100 questionnaires were given out to respondents that had been in Arumeru districts for more than three years, out of which 84 were returned giving a response rate of 84%. Mugenda (1999) asserted that 50% response rate is adequate, 60% good and above 70% rated very well. Based on this assertion the response rate for this research study can be said to be very good at 84%.

4.1.2 Duration of Stay in the Region

The respondents were asked to indicate the number of years they have lived in the region. The response rate was presented as shown in Figure 4.1. The study found out that most of the respondents were born in the region since they have been staying in the region for more than 20 years at a response rate of 63.1 % with majority indicating that they have been in the region since childhood. The next group rating at 16.7 % has been in the region for up to twenty years and another 11.9 % having stayed in the region for 10 – 15 years.

Figure 4.1: Duration of Stay in the Region

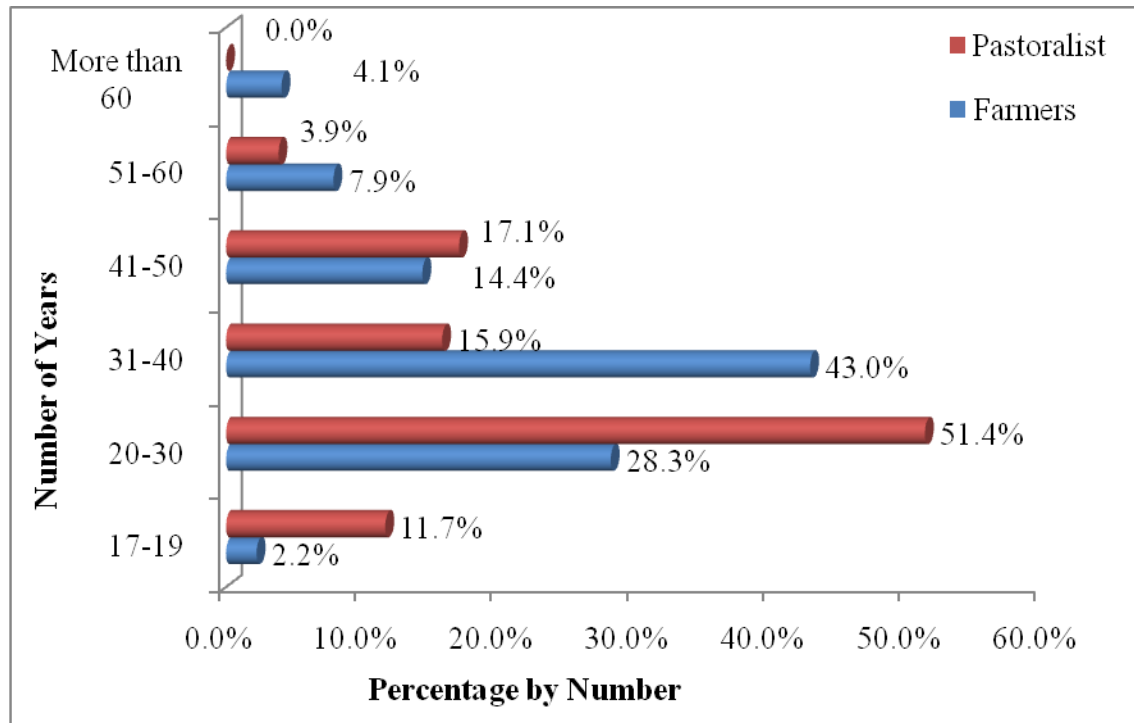


Source: field work, 2015

4.1.3 Age of the Respondents

Figure 4.2 presents the summary of the age of respondents (farmers and pastoralist). The highest percentage of farmers was those within the age range of 31-40 years (43%), while those below 19 years were the lowest (2.2%). Among the pastoralist, the modal age range was 20-30 years, accounting for 51.4%. All this indicates, perhaps, that pastoralist attracts more youths than farming. The researcher also noted that majority pastoralist were male dominated enterprise than women. The results is supported by Gurung (2006), all respondent herdsmen were male. This is contrary to the findings in respect of the farmers, where majority were female. This may be due to the possibility that farming is easier to practice among women, while for socio-cultural factors, most Maasai women might not take cattle herding as occupation.

Figure 4.2: Age of respondents



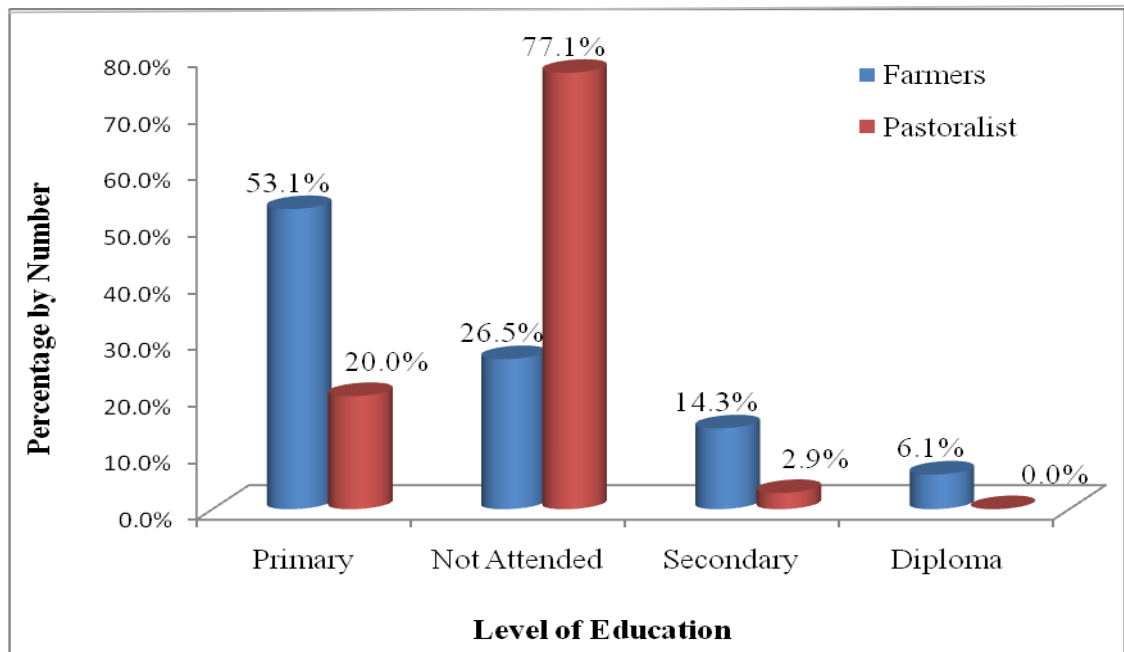
Source: field work, 2015

4.1.4 Level of Education

The results in Figure 4.3 show that majority 77.1% of pastoralists did not attend any formal school while for farmers respondents were only 26.5%. Most of farmers were primary leavers and the few pastoralists (20%) were primary leavers. The study reveals that farmers were slightly ahead of the pastoralists in terms of formal education. Indeed, most of the pastoralist had no formal education and none had a diploma education qualification. These results were the indication that, most of the Arumeru residents are still marginalized in attaining education and therefore most of them depend largely on animal keeping and crop cultivation. Although the findings show that, majority of the respondents attained primary education, this level is very low and cannot enable them to be employed in the formal or informal sectors hence hinder their development.

This finding is similar to that by Damas and Rayhan (2004) which show that illiteracy is a very serious problem which hinders efforts towards improving livelihoods and it is the main cause of underdevelopment and conflicts among society.

Figure 4.3: Education Level of respondents



Source: field work, 2015

4.2 Causes of land conflict Conflicts

Table 4.1: Causes of conflict between Pastoralist and Farmers

Category	Farmers		Pastoralists		Total	
	Count	% within group	Count	% within group	Count	%
Poor land Planning	15	37.5	12	35.3	27	36.5
Increased human and livestock population	14	35.0	9	26.5	23	31.1
Scramble for resources	11	27.5	13	38.2	24	32.4
Total	40	100	34	100	74	100

Source: field work, 2015

Table 4.1 shows that 37.5% of farmers said that poor land planning is the root cause of conflict between pastoralist and farmers while 35.3% of pastoralist agreed on the same reason. 35.0% of farmers agreed that increase in human and livestock population is one of the reasons that cause the conflict between pastoralist and farmers while 26.5% of pastoralist agreed on the same matter. Also 27.5% of farmers agreed that scramble for resources between farmers and pastoralist causes conflict between the two groups while 38.2% of pastoralist supported this reason. Therefore, the named factors are one the many intra and interpersonal causes of land conflicts between farmers and pastoralists.

Majority of the respondents 58.3% indicated the most predominant cause of land conflict between farmers and pastoralist was crop damage caused by herder's livestock, followed by grazing land encroachment (28.6) and blockage of water point by the farmers (13.1%). Other respondents said that through the influence of political leaders some communal land such as forests, wetlands and rangelands was changed to farmland by ignoring the traditional use rights of other groups to these resources has heightened conflicts between farmers and pastoralists in the area. This is in line with Williams finding in 1998 who observed similar finding between farmers and pastoralist in Semi-Arid Africa. For example findings from transect walk conducted to the west of Shamushalle (2002) with the aid of a key informant who is a pastoralist revealed that politicians and traditional rulers, with the support of the state government, have converted over 100 hectares of grazing land to farmland. A perennial water pond, an international stock route, and some Fulani rainy season camps (mashekari) were all blocked/converted to farmland in the exercise.

4.2.1 Land use plan

Majority of the respondents 89% indicated that there are no good land use plans; only 11% of the respondents acknowledged that there efforts that the district has done to make to provide good land use plans. Most of the respondents who are acknowledging of the presence of land use plans were coming from Singisi wards.

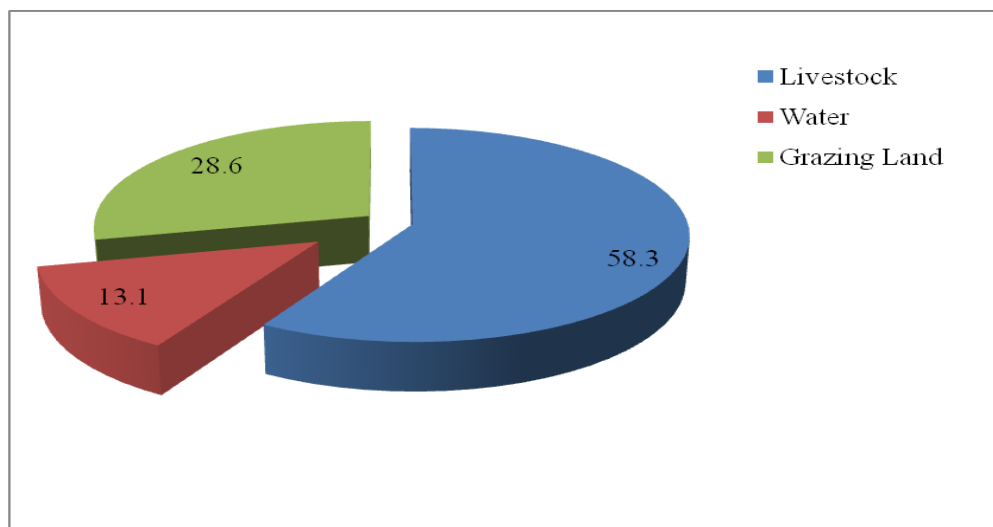
In-depth interview from the leaders cements what was found in the survey that land use plans are not there and can be one of the sources of land conflicts. One leader said *“source of conflicts is the fact that we don’t have land use plans, some people can just graze their cattle even in the sources of water, and make a lot of distractions”*.

4.2.2 Common resources shared by both farmers and pastoralists

Both sedentary farmers and pastoralists presented a conflicting perspective of their rights and entitlements to resources. For instance, while both pastoralists and sedentary farmers believe that water is a gift from God, the farmers believe that since they paid for the construction of the wells to serve domestic and irrigation needs, the pastoralists should not use the wells to water their cattle.

The sedentary farmers also believe that the pastoralists deliberately bring cows to feed on their crops instead of grass. However, the pastoralists accuse the farmers of deliberately cultivating crops on the cattle paths in order to seek compensation from the pastoralists and increase their income, particularly during droughts. The perceptual difference of both groups appears to amplify the conflict situation.

Figure 4.4: Common resources owned by farmers and Pastoralists



Source: field work, 2015

4.2.3 Land Ownership

The findings from the interview revealed that, land ownership among Arumeru community had two scenarios. First, there was open or land which belonged to all members of the community, this land was collectively owned and no individual claimed to possess the right of using communal land than other. The common usage of communally owned land among others entailed animal herding, firewood searching, collection of fruits and collection of medicine.

Furthermore, during the interview session, the researcher wanted to know whether common land was appropriate than individually owned land among agro-pastoral society. About 16 (40.0%) of the farmers were of the opinion that, communal land was necessary among Arumeru community to reduce tension for animal keeping while 24 (60.0%) of the respondent disagree with the opinion. On the other hand, about 28 (82.5%) of the pastoralist interviewed pointed out that, the importance of communally land overwhelm the individually owned land. The reason given was that, communally owned land was important for seasonal grazing. To support this findings Gunnar (1997) argued that, conflict is driven by the unfulfilled needs of the people be in terms of autonomy, sense of justice, identity, basic needs, right of an individual and others. Most of these needs are collective character and are more often than not provoked by official neglect, persecution, denial of human rights, insensitivity or egoism as well as by the arrogance of power on the part of some African leaders which contributes to the escalation of conflict.

Table 4.2: Land Ownership

			communal Land		Total
			Necessary	Not necessary	
Group	Farmers	Count	16	24	40
		% within Group	40.0%	60%	100.0%
	Pastoralist	Count	28	6	34
		% within Group	82.4%	17.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	44	30	74
		% within Group	59.5%	40.5%	100.0%

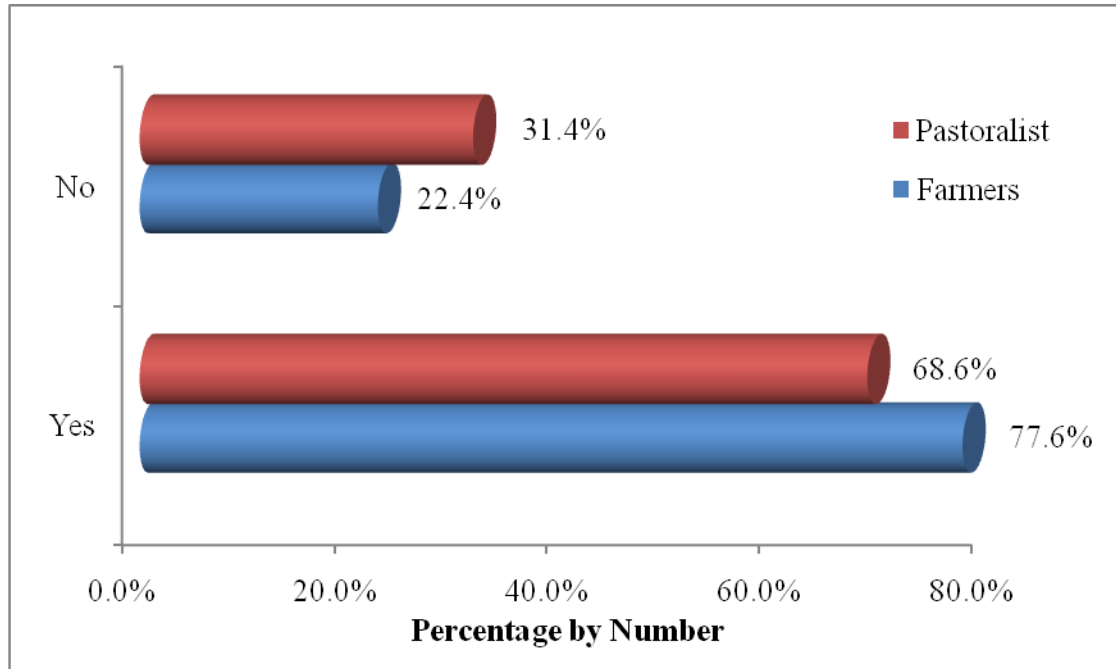
Source: field work, 2015

Another form of land ownership is individual land belonging to individual families or clans. On the issues of administration and uses it is upon a particular family or clan members to decide. In some families it was divided over portion such that, a particular portion was for cultivation of crops and other portion for animal keeping. During the field interview respondents reported that, the tendency of using portion is recently decreases among the community simply because the cultivation land is not enough for them.

4.3 The effects of Land Conflicts

There are several effects that are resulted from land conflict in Arumeru Community. From the interview with respondents the findings indicated that, majority 77.6% and 68.6% of farmers and pastoralist respectively claimed that land was the major source of conflicts which resulted to destruction of peace and distortion of relationship among community members, depression to people, death, injuries and depopulation. One of the clan elders said that, once land conflict occurs, the parties involved had no friendly relations until the matter is resolved. Minority of the respondents 22.4% and 31.4% of farmers and pastoralist response that land is no major effects of land conflicts.

Figure 4.5: The Effects of Land Conflicts

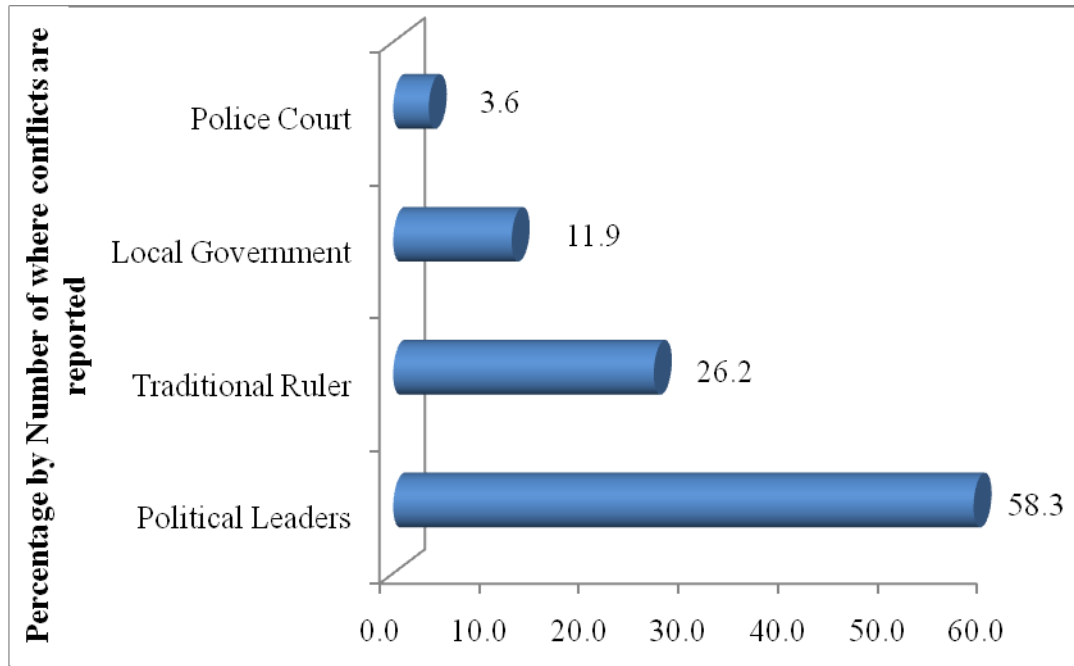


Source: field work, 2015

4.4 The Role of Political Leaders in Conflict Management

Both famers and pastoralists (58.3%) said that the conflicts that arise are reported to political leaders as the major arbitrator of conflict involving crop farmers and pastoralist in the study area. 26.2% of the respondent said that conflicts are reported to traditional rulers, especially the Maasai who report to Maasai elders, 11.9% said that conflicts are reported to local government committees while 3.6% of the respondent said that conflicts are reported to police or taken to court of law. The data collected shows that political leaders are given higher priority in bringing land conflicts resolutions. The percentage of responses to where land conflicts are reported is shown in Figure 4.6.

Figure 4.6: Reported Land Conflicts in Arumeru District



Source: field work, 2015

However, the fact is none of the involved parties can solve the problems without collaborating with another party.

The background information of the respondents revealed that majority of the pastoralists are young energetic Maasai while majority of farmers are women which suggests that the pastoralists dare to graze on farms because they will be able to fight the farmers. This was noted mainly in Oldonyosoiye area where according to farmers, their farms are grazed by livestock that are looked after by young Maasai. Likewise, the education level of both the farmers and pastoralists is low that they cannot understand bylaws or the rights of the other part.

Despite the fact that 58.3% of the respondent revealed that most land conflicts that occur in Arumeru district especially Oldonyosoiye and Sing'isi villages are reported to the political leaders, they also explained how these political leaders dealt with these conflicts unsatisfactorily.

Politicians identified to be involved in solving these land conflicts are the District Commissioner, who led the district security committee, ward councilors, and members of parliaments.

From the survey conducted in this study, three factors have been identified to hinder the process of reaching peaceful and coexistence situation. These factors are lack of policy, government laxity and corruption of political leaders in the study area. Most farmers (over 80%) do not know about existence of land policy and 20% have heard about it but never know what the contents are. This is area where politicians mentioned above either do not talk about it or do not give details of the policy about land use. For instance, in Oldonyosoiye, there are no known demarcations of the land reserved for farming or livestock feeding. The parties in conflict claim that they are always promised that land officials will be ordered to come and measure the land. Farmers claim that the land is their own since they have inherited it from their past generations although they don't have title deeds. Some pastoralists responded that they graze on farms when the farmers have already removed their crops.

According to respondents of this study on the role of political leaders, once a land conflict has emerged, and especially when clashes occurs, about 50% of the respondent from both sides said that if heavy clashes occur and the District Commissioner's office is informed, the immediate action is to bring the field force unit (FFU) to disperse people and stop the clashes and thereafter no further action is taken until another conflict emerge.

This exercise usually end up with some villagers from both parts being detained, remanded for some days before either released without conditions or taken to court. The court is said to take long time before the ruling is reached. This option however, increases tension between the two sides and either side may plan for revenge if the remanded villagers are from their side.

For example, respondents who are farmers from Oldonyosoiye ward said that these conflicts have there for more than 20 years back. They claim that people holding political posts like District Commissioner and village leaders usually opt for dialogue between the two sides so as to find ways of ending the dispute. This approach has in most times been a temporal solution to the dispute because they agree to end their differences but after some period of time the same conflict would reoccur. These leaders become part of the problem because they never suggest permanent solutions such as land demarcation to show areas for livestock pastures and farmers. When it happens that they suggest this solution, then the problem becomes financial shortage.

The other group of politicians mentioned to have influence on these land disputes are the ward councilors and members of parliament for the district. About 67% of the respondents said that these politicians are careful not to take side openly so as to have political support from both parties of the conflict. The ward councilors usually side with the villagers they represent and if the source of the conflict actually started by their people they give false promise to make follow-ups at higher levels. For members of parliament in the district, according to the respondents, they take decisions that benefits they political affiliation. The MP for Arumeru East is an opposition leader; he cannot resolve these conflicts on his own but has to involve district council leaders, most of whom are from the ruling party. As a result of this situation, even at the district level it is difficult to reach consensus as every side want to win the people involved in the conflict. This situation eventually solves the conflicts temporarily before they reoccur.

On the issue of corruption, only 5% of pastoralists claimed that there is a possibility of farmers bribing the politicians to side with them while 60% of the farmers claimed that pastoralists are giving bribes to the politicians so that they side with the pastoralists in their decisions. However, none of them was able to give evidence of their claims.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter concludes that land ownership and tenure in the study areas is divided into two categories whereas there is common land and individual owned land. Likewise, there are shared resources such as water and other resources such as forests. Excessive use such as over grazing in the common land was likely to cause conflicts among the communities living in the area. Crop damage during grazing, blockage of water points and nomadic grazing was mentioned as major cause of land clashes among the farmers and pastoralists. Effects of such conflicts are known to cause loss of lives, damage of properties and disappearance of peace and harmony.

The role played by political leaders in resolving land conflict was found to be crucial. Lack of objectivity in giving solutions to land grievances presented before them for fear of compromising their political ambitions.

Leaders sided with their people and to some extent it was found that corruption presided over the truth. Lack of land use plans was likely to perpetuate conflicts within these two adjacent communities.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Overview

This chapter presents the summary of the study. The chapter starts by concluding the study in a summarized form and it ends by giving the recommendations as drawn by the researcher.

5.1 Conclusion

The findings show that the root cause of the conflicts lies mostly in the lack of security of tenure on land that most smallholder producers depend on for their livelihoods. Policy deficiencies and contradictions have been exploited by corrupt elite to the detriment of the poor farmers and livestock keepers. In particular, the effects of state-backed land grabbing for large scale agricultural investments and corrupt practices at village and district levels have all contributed to the squeezing out the herders from their traditional grazing lands. The effects of such misplacement have had their ripples felt in farmer communities in the form of resource use conflicts. It is also concluded that in the absence of land use plans for most villages in the country coupled with lack of coordination in resettling the displaced migrant herders, conflicts with farmers is an inevitable outcome. Therefore, unless security of tenure on land used by smallholders (both farmers and herders) is restored, the conflicts between them will continue. This is necessary in order to prevent the conflicts from assuming a political dimension, a situation which will become uncontrollable.

On the part of political leaders, it has been observed that some of them take advantage of these herders and farmers conflicts to gain political prominence for the aim of remaining in their positions during elections. Other political leaders have no legal

powers to resolve such conflicts and knowingly they still give promises to the people that they are going to resolve the conflicts.

5.2 Recommendations

It is therefore recommended to farmers and herders to follow correct legal channel to resolve their problems and may only involve politicians for assistance on correct procedure and entirely rely on them.

- i. The issue of education is also vital, especially on laws, regulations and procedures governing land ownership. The villagers need to have basic education on procedures required to own a piece of land but also official documents for a land inherited from the parents.
- ii. It is also recommended to the government to ensure that they put demarcation of land use in every village to stop such conflicts to ever occur.
- iii. Political leaders should be in front line to manage land conflict in time and should avoid corruption and self interests

5.3 General Conclusion Of The Study

As the study has depicted a lot of policy implication and some direct solution on how pastoralist and farmers can peacefully live together without conflicts between them. This can only be obtained if the Government officials through land officers to divide and distribute the land between these groups so that every part is aware on land use plan like agriculture or use for pastoralism activities. Political leaders should use their positions on making sure that land policies and land laws passed favors all the conflicting groups. Also politics should not be used in settlement of conflict between the pastoralist and farmers as their decisions may be biased depending on the political regime of the mediator. Thus political leaders should look for land experts so as the conflicts are solved without biasness.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: QUESTIONNAIRE

I am Helen James, a student at Mzumbe University. I kindly request you to participate in this academic research on the role of political leaders in land conflicts, practical experiences from pastoralist and farmers in Arumeru district, case of farmers and pastoralists in district. I hereby request you to answer the questions below. These questions are purely for academic purpose. Your contribution will help a researcher to write a report of the project, which is a partial fulfillment for the award of Master of Science in Human resource management.

SECTION A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION.

PART A IS BADLY ARRANGED

What is your gender?

Female () Male ()

i) In which age group do you belong?

17-19 years ()

20-30 years ()

31-40 years ()

41-50 years ()

51-60 years ()

More than 60 years old ()

Highest level of education

Primary () Secondary () Diploma () degree ()

SECTION B: ROLE OF POLITICAL LEADERS ON LAND USE.

1. What are contributions of political leaders on land conflict?

i. Does political leaders play any role in solving or influence land conflict?

Yes ()

No ()

If yes explain

ii. Are they in front line to resolve land conflict at the time?

Yes ()

No ()

If yes what ways do they use manage land conflict? Explain

.....

If no what should be done to make them aware in solving land conflict in you community?

.....

2. Were there clashes among political leaders?

Yes ()

No ()

If yes, how?

.....

3. Is there corruption during land conflict management?

Yes ()

No ()

If yes explain why?

.....

SECTION C: LAND OWNERSHIP

1. Who are the owners of land in your community?
.....
2. How appropriate is the common land compared to the individual owned land?
.....
3. What are the causes of conflict?
.....
4. Which resources are shared by both farmers and pastoralist in common?
.....
5. What are the effects of land conflict in your community?
.....

SECTION D: LAND CONFLICT

1. Have you ever experience any land conflict in your community?
Yes ()
No ()
If yes explain.....
If no, you may have heard any land conflict in your community. What are the effects of the conflict?
 - i.
 - ii.
 - iii.
3. What are the sources of land conflict in your community?
 - a)
 - b)
 - c)

SECTION E: COMMON RESOURCES

1. What are the common resources shared by both pastoralist and farmers that lead to land conflict?

a.....

b.....

2. Are they enough?

Yes ()

No ()

SECTION F: COMMON LAND USE

1. Do you know any policy which specifies the use of land to both farmer and pastoralist?

Yes ()

No ()

SECTION G: Pastoralist social activities

1. What are the other social activities done by pastoralist?

i.....

ii.....

iii.....

iv

SECTION H:

1. What are the other social activities done by farmers in your community?

i.....

ii.....

iii

SECTION I: RESOURCES OWNERSHIP

1 .Do you have any village committee which deals with solving conflict which caused by ownership of resources?

Apart from political leaders, are there other people dealing with solving conflict in your community.

Which group of the community is much affected by the farmers – pastoralist conflict
