PASTORAL LAND TENURE SERIES N° 7

Working with Pastoralist NGOs and Land Conflicts in Tanzania

A Report on a Workshop in Terrat, Tanzania 11th-15th December, 1994

Mark Bradbury, Simon Fisher & Charles Lane

IIED
INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

Forest, Trees & People
PO Box 7005
S-750 07 Uppsala
Sweden

Responding to Conflict
Woodbrooke
1046 Bristol Road
Birmingham B29 6LJ
UK

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PO Box 7005
S-750 07 Uppsala
SWEDEN

International Institute for Environment and Development
3 Endsleigh Street
London WC1H 0DD
UK

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Birmingham B29 6LJ
UK

This report was prepared for the Pastoralist's Indigenous Non-Government Organisations (PINGOs), PO Box 12785, Arusha, Tanzania.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This report is first and foremost the combined product of everyone who participated in the workshop. As much of the workshop was conducted in Kiswahili, Maa and Tatoga languages, the authors are aware that their interpretation of what was said and happened during the workshop may differ from other participants. We hope that PINGOs will in due course produce their own report of the workshop.

In order that the lessons and experience of the workshop are accessible to a wider audience, we have included some background information on the origins of the workshop and the particular context in which it took place. The issues affecting pastoral groups in Tanzania, specifically conflicts over natural resources, have been extensively researched by the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) and other institutions and individuals. Here we can only provide the briefest summary.

We would like to express our thanks to several people who have contributed to this report. We are grateful to the planning committee of PINGOs for their hospitality and for the trust they placed in us as facilitators. We learnt a great deal from them. Special thanks must also go to those who had the task of translating text into English. We are grateful to Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO) in Tanzania for their logistical support during the workshop. We would like to thank Judith Gardner for transcribing the *illustrations produced at the workshop, Alice Welbourne for her comments on an earlier* draft of the report, Aleth Abadie, Nicole Kenton and Julian Lewis. Finally, we would like to thank IIED and the Forest Trees and Peoples Programme (FTPP) for the financial support which made the workshop possible.

Mark Bradbury, Simon Fisher, Charles Lane
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INTRODUCTION

Conflict is a fact of life which accompanies social and political change. Conflict can be a legitimate response to injustice and oppression. Its intensity and outcome are influenced by the way in which it is handled at many levels. Where mechanisms for effective participation are non-existent or weak, and aspirations or economic opportunities are blocked, the possibilities for channelling conflict into constructive just relations are often lost. In many countries, people's lives are at risk for lack of effective means for handling conflict. The rising tide of wars, war-related famine and displacement of peoples in Africa and elsewhere provide ample evidence of this.

There is a need to find new ways of working with conflict, either at the stage of violent confrontation to reduce its intensity and mitigate its harmful effects, or earlier in the hope of anticipating and preventing its escalation. Many theories and models exist to explain the causes of conflict, and many ideas and techniques have been developed to 'manage' or 'resolve' it. Some of these ideas and techniques may be adapted to suit different cultures and contexts, however, there is no single set of techniques which will solve all conflicts. Ultimately, the solution to conflict belongs with those who are directly involved. Ways of working with conflict must, therefore, be based on a deep knowledge and analysis of the particular situation, and on the local strategies and skills of those involved, as well as drawing on experience from elsewhere.

This report is a record of a "conflict resolution" training workshop, that was held in Terrat village, Simanjiro district, Arusha region in northern Tanzania, between 11th and 15th December 1994. The workshop was organised by the Education, Research and Planning Committee of PINGOs, a forum for Pastoral Indigenous Non-governmental Organisations, that are working to improve and protect the rights of pastoralists in Tanzania. The workshop, entitled "Conflict Resolution within a Truly Democratic Society", was planned by PINGOs as the first module of a longer term programme of "Democracy Training for Pastoralist Development Workers". The workshop took place on 10th December, after a day of celebration that marked the Decade of Indigenous Peoples. It brought together over forty representatives from Tanzania's Maasai and Barabaig pastoral communities, as well as Hadzabe and Ndorobo hunter and gathering communities.

The workshop was jointly funded by the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), and the Forests, Trees and People Programme (FTPP). IIED gratefully acknowledges the support of the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) and the Swedish Agency for Research Corporation (SAREC), who fund the Pastoral Land Tenure Programme within the Drylands Programme. Logistical support was provided by the Tanzanian office of the Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO). The workshop was jointly facilitated by PINGOs and Responding to Conflict (RTC), and IIED.

Over five days the workshop covered a number of different themes, including:

* Understanding Democracy
* Understanding Development
* Understanding Conflict
* Culture and Conflict
* Natural Resource Conflicts
* Strategy Building

Box 1: International Institute for Environment and Development

The Drylands Programme of IIED is a centre for policy related research, information exchange, and support for people and institutions promoting sustainable rural development in Africa's arid and semi-arid regions. IIED has a long standing involvement with Tanzanian pastoralists and has published widely on land-use and land-use policy in Tanzania. Charles Lane, Senior Research Associate with the Drylands Programme, works on pastoral land tenure issues. Since 1986, he has worked particularly with the Barabaig pastoralists in Hanang district, supporting their struggle against a Canadian aided project that has alienated some 100,000 acres of Barabaig prime pasture land for wheat production. IIED is committed to supporting the development of pastoral NGOs and the protection of their interests. IIED is also assisting the Tanzanian government in developing a new and more appropriate national land tenure policy.

It is expected that the Education, Research and Planning Committee of PINGOs will produce their own report of the workshop. This report covers only those parts of the workshop concerned with understanding and working with conflict. The report is intended to be a useful record for those who participated in the workshop. It also makes some recommendations on future work for PINGOs, IIED and FTPP.

BACKGROUND TO THE WORKSHOP

The resolution of conflicts between land user groups is a critical element in the management and sustainability of natural resources. Research on pastoral societies, such as that conducted by IIED (Box 1), shows that "conflict resolution" between different resource user groups (both between pastoralists, and between pastoralists and non-pastoralists) is critical to the process of creating equitable and efficient land tenure systems (Lane & Moorehead, 1994). Similarly, FTPP (Box 2) have identified dispute resolution and conflict management as critical elements of sustainable forest resources management.

In September 1993, the FTPP-sponsored an inter-regional workshop on "Dispute Management and Community Forestry" in Costa Rica. The workshop, organised in collaboration with RESOLVE, a Washington-based centre for research in environmental dispute resolution, and the University for Peace in Costa Rica. It provided the opportunity

for the exchange of information on strategies used by Latin American communities with people from other countries to address conflicts over forestry resources and develop alternative conflict management approaches.

Box 2: Forest Trees and People Programme

> FTPP is a Special Action programme of the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO). It aims to improve the livelihoods of the rural poor in developing countries by supporting regional, national and local institutions to strengthen community management of natural resources. In East Africa, FTPP supports regional networking between institutions managing natural resources. Among other activities, this has involved promoting the use of interactive video as a medium to use in handling conflicts over natural resources.

Logistical reasons prevented a number of pastoral representatives sponsored by IIED from attending the workshop in Costa Rica. However, in Autumn 1993, IIED received a proposal from two Maasai non-governmental organisations (NGOs), Inyuat e-Maa and Ilaramatak Lolkonerei, for a conflict resolution workshop in Tanzania. The proposal recognised that conflicts existed, both over natural resources and between the different organisations that make up the members of PINGOs (Box 3), whose aim it is to protect those resources.

Members of PINGOs were worried that Maasai functionaries in government were collaborating in "land grabbing". The proposal stated the "Maasai development process is now characterised by conflicts within and without the community". The aim of the workshop was to bring together representatives of Maa and non-Maa speaking NGOs and other development organisations to gain an understanding of "conflict resolution" and its usefulness in handling these conflicts (Inyuat e-Maa/Ilaramatak Lolkonerei, 1993).
In response to these objectives, IIED and FTPP sponsored a visit in March 1994 by RESOLVE to Tanzania to meet representatives of PINGOs and determine the purpose of such a workshop. The outcome was a proposal for a workshop which aimed to:

1) enhance workshop participants' understanding of conflict through an exploration of the role of conflict in pastoralist cultures and traditional conflict resolution mechanisms;

2) examine attitudes towards conflict and conflict resolution, and processes used elsewhere in the world, and become familiar with community level conflict resolution experiences in Latin America;

3) help define strategies for empowering communities dealing with conflict by building upon traditional processes and leadership.

Specifically, it was hoped that the workshop would reveal how communities might revive traditional conflict resolution mechanisms, adapt them to meet contemporary challenges, and empower them to "bring about change of their own choosing" (RESOLVE, April 1994).

Box 3: Pastoral Indigenous Non-government organisations

In recent years several local NGOs have been formed in Tanzania by Maasai and other indigenous groups such as the Barabaig and Hadzabe to support community development, and act as civil pressure groups on issues such as land alienation. PINGOs is a forum for four core pastoral NGOs: Ilaramatak Lolkonerei, Inyuat e-Moipo and KIPOC (Maasai NGOs), and Bulgalda (Barabaig NGO). Ilaramatak also supports programmes in the Mkomazi area, and Mongo wa Mono among the Hadzabe hunters and gatherers. PINGOs has a Joint Committee representing the four registered organisations and sub-committees on Traditional Water Management; Advocacy and Human Rights; Gender; Education, Research and Planning; Information and Documentation; and Pastoral Economic Diversification. PINGOs aim to build solidarity among pastoral organisations, and to strengthen their capacity in community development through training and the dissemination of information. PINGOs take a holistic approach to development arguing that economic development goes hand in hand with democracy, constitutional law and human rights. PINGOs' work on human rights is also supported in Tanzania by Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO). PINGOs consider acquiring non-violent conflict solving and counselling skills essential for pastoralist community workers (Saning'o, November 1994).

Discussions with PINGOs and RESOLVE, led IIED to identify three levels of conflict that needed to be addressed:

1) between pastoralists and government over customary (particularly communal) rights to land;

2) between competing natural resource users, and in future possibly between villages;

3) between different pastoral organisations over divergent strategies, spheres of authority, and personal idiosyncrasies.

It was suggested that Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) methodologies and the interactive use of video might be appropriate tools for identifying and addressing these conflicts (Lane & Tivell, July 1994).

In November 1994, IIED received a further proposal from PINGOs for a workshop on "Democracy Training for pastoralist Community Development Workers", to take place in Terrat in December 1994. The workshop was conceived as part of the PINGOs Action Plan for the Decade of Indigenous Peoples (1994-2004) and a training programme for pastoralist community development workers in "basic democratic theory, constitutional principles and structures and human rights" (Saning'o, November 1994). IIED recruited the services of Responding to Conflict (RTC) to assist in facilitating of the workshop (Box 4).

Box 4: Responding to Conflict

Responding to Conflict (RTC) is a not-for-profit agency that offers cross-cultural advice, training and consultancy in handling conflict. As part of a wider programme of activities, it runs an international course entitled "Working with Conflict" which brings together people working in areas affected by violence and instability worldwide to share experience and develop new skills. The Director, Simon Fisher, has worked extensively in Africa on NGO development programmes and, as a trainer in conflict handling skills, has run courses and workshops in many countries. Mark Bradbury, an associate of RTC, has worked with NGO development programmes in Sudan and Somalia and has written on NGOs working in situations of conflict.

WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS

A total of 52 people attended the workshop over the period of five days (see appendix A). The local NGOs represented in the workshop were:

Name	Operational Area
Ilaramatak Lolkonerei (Olkonerei Integrated Pastoral Survival Programme)	Simanjiro district Mkomazi, and also with the Hadzabe and Ndorobo groups in Mongo wa Mono
Inyuat e-Moipo (Moipo Integrated People's Organisation)	Moipo division/Simanjiro district, Ruvu/Kiteto district
Korongoro Integrated Peoples Oriented to Conservation (KIPOC)	Loliondo division, Ngorongoro district
Inyuat e-Maa	Pan-Maasai
Ilparakuo Lolgira Lekorongoro (Ngorongoro Pastoral Survival Trust)	Ngorongoro Conservation Area
NGOPADEO (Ngorongoro Pastoral Development)	Ngorongoro Conservation Area
Bulgalda	Hanang district

WORKSHOP PROCESS

In the weeks prior to the workshop IIED and RTC developed a detailed workshop programme on conflict handling skills. PINGOs accepted a number of the suggestions and adapted their proposed programme accordingly. Local logistical problems, however, meant that a crucial planning meeting between PINGOs, IIED and RTC did not happen until the

evening before the workshop. Consequently, the structure of the workshop was continuously negotiated during the five days (see appendix B). Facilitation of the workshop was shared, but after the first day much of the responsibility for the process was delegated to RTC. Workshop participants were asked at the outset to identify their expectations of the workshop. These were summarised in five main areas:

1. Participants expected to be briefed on the meaning of conflict, different types of conflicts, and the main causes of conflict.

2. Participants looked forward to gaining skills for resolving conflicts by using techniques which are found within their reach, and, if necessary, by borrowing techniques from other sources.

3. Participants expected to be given the opportunity to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of PINGOs in trying to resolve conflicts.

4. Participants should be able to prepare a submission on land issues for presentation in a national workshop on land-use policy organised by the Ministry of Lands in January 1995.

5 Participants should be able to assess the effectiveness of local NGOs in facilitating development projects in comparison with government institutions.

In a preliminary evaluation conducted at the end of the workshop it was clear that some progress had been made on meeting the first three expectations, while the latter two were only fleetingly touched on.

A participatory approach was adopted in the workshop. A variety of methods were used to ensure that the event was grounded in the local context and was responsive to the needs of those taking part. These included the use of both small and large-group work, plenary discussions, interactive exercises, singing and dancing, case studies, short formal presentations, a field visit, and training and practice in participatory tools for analysis and strategy building. The workshop was conducted primarily in Kiswahili, with Maa and Tatoga also used at times. Some of the wealth of detailed discussion that took place during the workshop is inevitably lost in translation.

THE CONTEXT: THE PROBLEM OF LAND ALIENATION

Conflicts in Tanzania's pastoral areas are experienced on three levels:

- between pastoralists and government over land rights
- between competing land users over access to diminishing resources
- between pastoral organisations with different ideas about how to stem the loss of land.

These conflicts do not manifest themselves as large-scale armed conflicts; they are more structural and hidden. They are nonetheless violent in their impact of forcing people from their homes and in the violations of human rights which can follow from evictions.

Pastoralists make up some 0.5% of Tanzania's population. Over a third, approximately 100,000, are Maasai who live in four districts - Monduli, Ngorongoro, Kiteto, and Simanjiro - in Arusha region. Another northern pastoral group, the Barabaig (c. 30,000 people), are found primarily in Hanang district. Living besides, and often in competition with pastoralists, are Hadzabe and Ndorobo hunters and gatherers.

The survival of these pastoral and hunting and gathering peoples is currently threatened by the widespread alienation of communal lands over which they hold customary tenure. As government and private interests develop large areas of land for commercial farming, mining, wildlife conservation and military bases, Tanzania's pastoralists are losing access to their traditional pastures, and finding their movements increasingly restricted.

There are two driving forces which lie behind the alienation of pastoral land. Firstly, government policies have always favoured settled agriculture over pastoralism despite the great contribution pastoralists make to the national economy. Tanzania has the third largest cattle herd in Africa, 20% of which are kept by pastoralists (Muir, 1994). Although livestock production contributes a quarter of all agricultural production, pastoralism is generally perceived as a peripheral economic activity. Economic programmes geared towards pastoralism are primarily aimed at settling pastoralists and increasing livestock productivity through technical improvement to livestock production. Little attention is given to securing the means by which pastoral production can be assured in the long term.

Secondly, there is a widely held belief that common land tenure is inefficient and potentially destructive of the environment. Pastoralists are variously accused of contributing to the degradation of rangelands through overstocking, or of under-utilising the land by aimless wandering. This has resulted in policies to institute more formal land use planning and the privatisation of land.

As elsewhere in Africa, these policies stem from a fundamental lack of understanding of the rationale behind pastoral production, and the fact that pastoralists can effectively manage resources in an ecologically sustainable manner. Evidence suggests that the best use of Africa's savannas is through mobile livestock production and that indigenous pastoral production systems are best suited for this particular habitat (Lane & Moorehead, 1994). By sanctioning the alienation of land for agricultural production or wildlife conservation, the government is itself undermining sustainable production and ensuring that the prophesy that pastoral land use is destructive of natural resources is fulfilled.

In Tanzania, these policies were manifest in the drive for 'villagisation', and more recently in government directives for issuing titles to village land and the requirement of formal land use planning. This has resulted in the break up of pastoral commons into discrete and potentially exclusive titles, that sub-divide larger ecological land use units, and thus disrupt ecologically sustainable land use patterns.

Villagisation was the cornerstone of the *Ujaama* movement, one of Tanzania's most important post-independence national development plans. It aimed to create a socialist and self-reliant state by encouraging (and sometimes enforcing) the formation of collective villages, in order that the social welfare provision could be centralised. Despite the general failure of pastoralist relocation into villages, the settlement of pastoral peoples continued to be pursued as an objective.

The effect of villagisation was twofold. Firstly, it imposed an alien system of government, statutory law and decision-making structures on to indigenous socio-political systems. The administrative and political functions of traditional leadership were transferred to Village and District Councils. Government officials, at all levels, had to be members of the single ruling political party, and as village leaders were expected to be literate, many pastoralist elders were effectively disenfranchised from participation in political decision-making, and from the local management of resources.

Secondly, villagisation disrupted customary land tenure arrangements. In 1962, land was nationalised and brought under public ownership, thus nullifying systems of customary land ownership (Lane & Moorehead 1994). Under villagisation, areas defined by the Maasai as ecological units (*inkutot)* were redefined as administrative localities, and dissected by village and district boundaries. Decision-making over the management of natural resources within those localities passed to Village Councils. However, they are unable to manage the natural resources utilised by pastoralists effectively, because the jurisdiction of these Councils is considerably smaller than the traditional grazing units. Subsequently, the government has more recently promoted land privatisation as the means to higher production and ecological conservation.

Since the mid-1980s, Tanzania has undergone a significant political and economic transformation. Socialist objectives have been dropped in favour of more liberal economic policies after the country entered an agreement with International Monetary Fund in 1985. In 1992 multi-party politics were established, and Village Council elections were held in 1993.

The introduction of multi-party politics has brought important changes to local government. Village Councils are no longer made up entirely of party members and in some places traditional leaders have been elected onto Councils. The potential exists for greater transparency in local government and the representation of local concerns. However, district and village leaders do not always represent the interests of the local community. Some of the Maasai élite who have obtained government positions have allegedly become involved in 'land grabbing' in Maasailand on a grand scale.

The liberalisation of the economy has resulted in a burgeoning of local and foreign businesses, focused primarily on commercial farming, tourism, and gem mining. This has created an environment conducive to land alienation, increased possibilities for marketing agricultural production, and encouraged individuals and companies to acquire land for commercial farming. By 1993, in Simanjiro district some 45,000 acres had been acquired for 72 farms, almost all taken from former livestock pastures (Muir, 1994).

In northern Tanzania, the interests of conservationists and tourism have come into conflict with pastoralists and hunting and gathering communities over the utilisation of communal rangelands. Since 1974, the Wildlife Conservation Act has turned large areas of land into wildlife conservation areas, and resulted in Maasai households being forcibly moved from protected areas. The growth in tourism has brought few benefits to the Maasai, but has further restricted their access to pasture and water resources in and around national parks.

The Tanzanian government is currently in the process of formulating a new national land policy which is likely to support privatisation of land. The impact of such a policy is likely to result in the further alienation of pastoral lands and will encourage unsustainable land use. Maasai and Barabaig communal land tenure systems combine common ownership with private and group access to resources. Water sources among the Maasai, for example 'belong' to the clan, but can also be claimed by individuals on behalf of the clan (Potkanski, 1994). Barabaig household heads can claim exclusive individual rights to grazing reserves for young and sick livestock (Lane, 1991). Formal land use planning which limits communal ownership and restricts access rights to non-title owners disrupts herder's seasonal migratory patterns and access to resources, and can thereby create conflict between villages.

Historically, pastoral groups have managed conflicts over resources through tried and tested systems. For this to continue, however, the diversity of customary land tenure arrangements needs to be recognised by the state, and local control over land use needs to be incorporated into contemporary administrative structures (Shivji, 1994). This would permit pastoral populations the ability to negotiate access and use rights to resources in villages.

The encroachment by agriculturalists, the titling of pastoral lands, and the creation of wildlife reserves have combined to push more and more pastoralists onto marginal areas. This has caused herds to decline and has forced many Maasai into farming. Traditionally, cultivation was practised as a supplement to livestock herding and a means of risk spreading. The increase in subsistence agriculture is an indicator of increasing poverty. In 1994 poverty among the Maasai in Simanjiro district was reported to be "chronic" (Muir, 1994). The decline in cattle herds also weakens the traditional institutions of mutual assistance between age-groups and within clans, which is fundamental to food security. It ensures that food is shared within the homestead and with strangers and enables the restocking (*engelata*) of poor Maasai families. Land alienation, therefore, is increasing poverty among pastoralists and threatening their whole way of life; land rights and livelihoods are intricately linked.

Pastoralists are organising themselves into NGOs to defend their lands. There are already more than ten such organisations, and new ones are in the process of being registered. Women's groups have also been vocal in their opposition to land alienation because of the particular problems it poses for them. To date these NGOs have confronted government over the problem of land alienation by going to court for legal settlement. Litigation has often been accompanied by publicity campaigns designed to keep the courts focused on the legal issues, and to pressure the government into positive action to respect customary rights to land. Not surprisingly, authorities view this as a threat and have taken extraordinary measures to resist this. For example, in 1992 legislation was introduced to extinguish all customary rights to land (Act 22 of 1992). With the advent of political pluralism the issue has entered the realm of party politics, and this has raised the stakes in 1995, an important election year.

While confrontation has brought some benefits, it has also had negative impacts. By antagonising officialdom, pastoral organisation have been restricted in their activities, public information has been suppressed, and some protagonists have been interned. If this is to be avoided in the future, different and more diverse strategies will be required that are based on a mixture of measured confrontation with a more conciliatory approach, involving lobbying and consensus building between the parties in conflict.

All these problems dominated the five day workshop and were explored through three themes:

1. Conflict resolution
2. Natural resource conflicts
3. The development of pastoralist NGOs

CONFLICT RESOLUTION

This was the first workshop of its kind to take place with pastoral groups in Tanzania. The need for effective skills in handling conflict has been evident to PINGOs for some time, as growing pressure on their lands from international corporations, private farmers, professional hunters and conservationists threaten their whole way of life. Overt resistance to forced expulsion from their traditional lands has often been met with human rights abuses.

In presenting case studies from Ngorongoro, Monduli, Loliondo and Simanjiro districts, workshop participants described the legal advocacy and campaigning strategies that pastoral NGOs have used to protect their rights. All of these have achieved some positive outcomes. However, the alienation of land continues and there was felt to be a need for more diverse and effective strategies to address these conflicts.

The theme of conflict resolution was initially addressed by looking at what the field of conflict resolution can and cannot offer. This was introduced through an interactive exercise called "Get Knotted" (Box 5). While there are many theories and models of conflict resolution, many of the better known ones emanate from the North and are not easily transferable across cultures and to other contexts.

The workshop began to develop an understanding of "conflict" by listing Maasai and Tatoga words for it.

Maa		***Tatoga***[1]	
Alarabal	quarrel	*Jalida*	conflict
Embon'go	disunity	*Ng'alealada*	competition
Enjorre	war	*Ng'ucheeda*	war
Embaash	opponents	*Sheang'nyeeda*	argument
Esakutore	witch doctor	*Bearjeada*	fight
Oltilo	superstition	*Biisow/Daliisooda*	troublemaker/instigator

[1] Tatoga is the as yet largely unwritten language of Barabaig pastoralists.

Box 5: Get Knotted

Participants formed three circles, closed their eyes and joined hands in the centre. When they opened their eyes they found themselves knotted. They were then asked to disentangle themselves without releasing their hands. One circle managed to untie itself, while the other two could not, even with advice from the others. Feeding-back to the full group participants said the game suggested that:

"some conflicts are easy to resolve, some need outside help, while others cannot be resolved".

"one should not walk into conflict situations blind"

"cooperation is important"

"unity is strength"

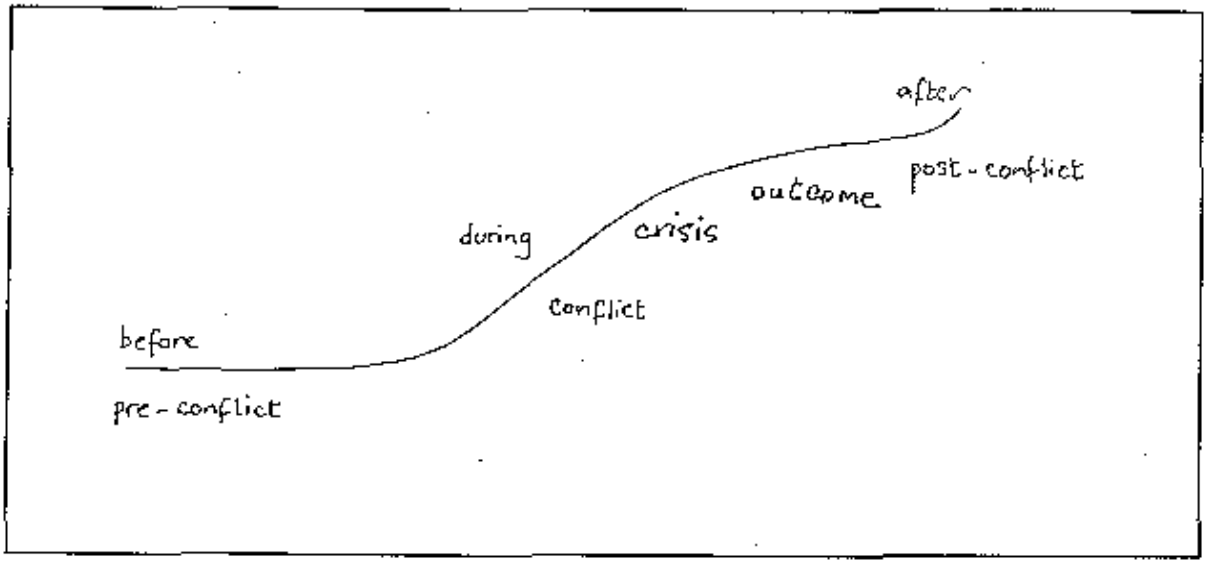
It was suggested that conflict is a fact of life and something inevitably faced by all of us as our societies change. A simple definition was offered:

"conflict is a relationship between two people or parties who have, or think they have, incompatible goals"

Working with poor or marginalised groups for development and justice, as NGOs we often exacerbate a conflict. However conflict is not necessarily a problem. It can be a positive force for change and does not have to be resolved. Preventing violence is where we should focus, as it almost always undermines positive development. It is possible to talk about two forms of violence: **physical violence** and **structural violence**. Physical violence and warfare are not innate to human societies, but are learned by people through the structures and norms of their societies. Some people may have a vested interest in the continuation of violence if it suits their purpose. Although land alienation does not always involve physical violence, landlessness, dislocation and oppression, it is like poverty, a manifestation of structural inequity and the unequal distribution of power, and can therefore be viewed as a form of structural violence (Galtung, 1990).

Conflict-handling skills are necessary for bringing about positive change in a peaceful way and limiting the damaging effects of physical violence. In building strategies for handling conflict it is useful to recognise that conflicts can have several stages. In its simplest form this consists of BEFORE, DURING and AFTER (Box 6) or PRE-CONFLICT, CONFLICT, CRISIS, OUTCOME, POST CONFLICT. Different skills are needed at different points on the continuum.

Box 6: Stages of Conflict



Focusing on the stage between CONFLICT and CRISIS is critical if violence is to be avoided. Mediation - a skill which varies according to each society in which the conflict occurs - can sometimes help prevent the escalation of a conflict. However, most conflicts go through these stages. One reason for this is that the PRE-CONFLICT stage is often neglected. At this stage polarisation exists, but action may still be taken to prevent an escalation into violence. Similarly, the POST-CONFLICT stage is important. Here grievances need to be fully addressed, and reconciliation should be embedded in new procedures and institutions to avoid the recurrence of old passions and hatreds.

When assessing the skills needed for handling conflict, two ideas were offered to participants and illustrated with stories. One was the difference between WIN-WIN and WIN-LOSE. It may be possible to reach an outcome where all sides feel they have won, if the parties involved are prepared to look beyond their fixed positions to the reasons that lie behind the problem. Asking the question "why are they in conflict?" is a beginning.

The second idea concerns "perceptions". In polarised situations, it is important to recognise the partiality of your own and other's viewpoints. If you can understand the point of view of other people in a conflict, then your decision-making is likely to be more effective. Perceptions affect the way in which a situation is defined. For example, an understanding of the recent violence in Rwanda in term of ethnicity, or in terms of a struggle over scarce resources will result in two different proposals for remedial action. Understanding different perceptions can be an important part of trust building (Box 7).

Box 7: Trust Walk

Participants formed into pairs. Each person was blindfolded in turn and led around by the other in order to sense different experiences. In the feedback, participants reflected on their feelings about being led and the significance for them of the game. These are some their insights:

"the blind must put trust in those who are leading them"

"when I was leading there was no problem, when I was being led I was worried..lost my sense of direction"

"it is easier to lead than to be led"

"it is harder to be a leader"

"I did not know what was dangerous or not dangerous"

"I was bored when leading"

"when looking for a partner I looked for someone I trusted"

"when I was led I did not expect to do anything for myself"

"a feeling of dependency eroded my confidence"

CULTURE AND CONFLICT

Several participants asked for "tools" that would help them resolve conflicts. If conflict exists in all societies then all societies have different ways of handling conflict. It was suggested that when looking for "tools" it is useful to begin by looking at the ways in which one's own society already handles conflict. As a Maasai proverb suggests it is not good to neglect one's own traditions:

"*mepal oloitiko isirat lenyena*"
The zebra does not despise its own stripes

Our understandings of conflict and ways of handling it often find expression in proverbs, songs and other cultural forms. The workshop took some time to explore cultural attitudes to conflict and ways of handling conflict by listing common Maasai and Barabaig proverbs and songs. Proverbs draw on everyday experiences and therefore many of them make reference to cattle. The following is a selection of Maasai (M) and Barabaig (B) proverbs.

The Maasai consider conflict a "natural" part of life. This was illustrated by a proverb which purports that children are "born with conflict" and bring conflict into marriage. In contrast, another proverb states that it is worse not to have any children at all:

"*mekarruw olotoishe*" (M)
One with children has no shame

This proverb recognises that conflict may have a positive side.

Other proverbs emphasise the negative side of conflict:

"*meata alarabal eng'ipa sidan*" (M)
Nothing good will come from fighting

"*meitau enara enyawa*" (M)
Fighting does not bring fertility

"*chata mala ngut ghwala mining'wada*" (B)
A throat is either for food or a spear

"*gaba si sansa ng'ua sumgda*" (B)
Everybody feels pain when the spear stabs him

"*enyika impidinga o-layok*" (M)
Two men's necks are similar

The last proverb is similar in English:

"Those who live by the sword die by the sword"

Furthermore, the effects of conflict can be long-lasting. As the following proverbs suggest, wrong deeds can pass from father to son:

"*melo esile engaji natii ayeni*" (M)
The debt of a house which has a son is not lost

"*rimg'eda geschenda meahuma deda*" (B)
No cow will purify someone who sins against his neighbours

The proverbs also revealed that there were different ways of solving conflicts. One Maasai proverb suggests that for a conflict to be resolved one side must give way:

"*memira ishoro ilukuny*" (M)
When two heads are locked together, there can be no conclusion to the fight

Several other proverbs emphasise foresight - the need to prevent a conflict from starting or escalating:

"*miar itu iririe*" (M)
Don't beat someone before you talk to (or advise) them

"*mekordunoi altau ipurupure*" (M)
A heart that has fallen cannot be saved

"*illitaasa woiti aunk inleissa ingumok*" (M)
We made a mistake but others also believed it

"*mibany oloito eitashe oln'gojine*" (M)
Don't eat a bone while the hyena is close by

The second of these emphasises the importance of intervening to prevent conflict; in other words "prevention is better than cure". The third recognises that the fault does not lie only with one side. The last one admonishes a person for saying bad things about others.

Proverbs are also used extensively to take the heat out of a conflict. Some emphasise the need for reconciliation:

"*mesuji ingiporo*" (M)
Forget past wrongs

"*mintarubare endorroni engai*" (M)
Don't follow one wrong with another

Sometimes a party to a conflict knows that they are in the wrong. Before Maasai elders agree to mediate, those in the wrong are expected to admit this by asking for mercy ("*muro*"). This helps to reduce tension and make way for reconciliation.

Several Barabaig proverbs emphasise the importance of conciliatory behaviour and remind us that stubbornness and arrogance can be a cause of conflict:

"*gibesta hirjam weash weashta masobisachi*" (B)
A bone that breaks due to arrogance can never be joined

"*mureda mi gikwalaba aghu*" (B)
Good manners are not judged by the way that a person dresses

Another theme to emerge from Maasai and Barabaig proverbs is the importance of unity and cooperation in problem solving, and that everyone in a group is important:

"*medany orkimojino obo elashei*" (M)
One finger cannot kill a louse

"*miteeng'ai imbwot nitii*" (M)
Don't despair by yourself

Achieving unity and cooperation, however, requires effort:

"*kitagolikio enaa alamada alalashe*" (M)
Your burden is like someone whose brother is insane

The importance of familial relations, and reciprocal relations among age-group members, emerges strongly in both Maasai and Barabaig proverbs:

"*sida immy gagasa ea midang'a*" (B)
If a person is bad it is better that they are related

"*nduguyo akuchukiae hafanani na wa imbali akupendaye*" (M)
A brother who hates you is not like the stranger who loves you

Proverbs encourage people to think and reflect on the lessons of past experience. These Maasai and Barabaig proverbs emphasise the respect for traditional authority, and the wisdom of elders in problem solving, and are often used to 'cool down' people who are considered too arrogant, or angry:

"*hay merukisina dugwa aghwahiti*" (B)
It is not only a herd of cattle that is controlled

"*mejool emurt elukonya*" (M)
The neck cannot go above the head

"*aduhuu gheata neauma uhuda*" (B)
Don't be like a neck that rises above the head

"*meeta ormorwo ingonyek edolisho*" (M)
An old man sees without eyes

CUSTOMARY WAYS OF HANDLING CONFLICT

After examining people's understanding of conflict expressed through proverbs, workshop participants proceeded to explore customary ways in which problems are solved and conflicts handled by different institutions between communities, families, generations and gender.

The socio-political system of the Maasai is based on an exogamous clan (*engishomi*) system of patrilineal descent and of age-grades which structure a man's passage through life. Women do not belong to age-grades.

A Maasai male moves from childhood (*engerai*) through boyhood (*olayeni*), and after circumcision into warriorhood (*olmoraani*). Those who go through circumcision at the same time are initiated into one of two age-groups (*ilporir*), either the "right hand", or "left hand",

which together form an age-set (*oloji*). From warriorhood, an age-group passes into elderhood, sponsored by existing elders.

Each age-group chooses its own leaders (sing. *olaiguenani*; pl *ilaiguenaak*), who in turn appoint assistants (*enkopiror*). The *enkopiror*, together with other respected elders, are responsible for ecologically defined "locations" (*inkutot*). The role of the *ilaiguenaak* is to maintain order and discipline, with the power to curse offenders. Traditionally, the age-group leaders are responsible for maintaining relations between clan members and resolving any disputes that arise over the use of, and access to, natural resources, such as pasture and water.

The clan and age-group system strongly regulates social relations between generations of men and other social and political structures. The importance of this authority is reflected in a number of the proverbs. The clan and age-groups are socially rather than geographically specific. A system of reciprocal responsibilities and mutual assistance means that a man can expect to receive and give hospitality to any person of the same age-group, wherever they are.

The workshop established that among the Maasai certain people have responsibility for managing conflicts at different levels of social organisation (Box 8). A mother deals with conflicts between children. As children get older mothers deal with conflicts between girls, while fathers are responsible for settling conflicts between male children. It was said that the way to prevent disputes between co-wives is to ensure that each wife has her own house.

Box 8: Managing Conflict Among the Maasai

Conflicts involving	Responsible for handling conflict
small children	mothers
young girls	mothers
young males	fathers
husband and wife	people of the same age-group
neighbours	clan
clans	a third clan

Similarly, among the Barabaig there are several institutions that deal with conflicts between different social groups (Box 9).

The institutions mediating in a conflict may draw upon traditional fines and sanctions to help resolve it (Box 10).

Box 9: Barabaig Institutions for Handling Conflict

Institutions	Conflicts
girgweaged ghuta beasta	Within the family, meets in the house of the family head
girgweageda doschta	Among members of the same clan, meets near the homestead of the clan head
girgweageda gischeuda	Between neighbours
girweageda getabaraku	Within and between communities
girgweageda gademga	Among women and between women and men. This institution has become important for handling conflicts over natural resources, particularly land and water
girgweageda ghearemango	Among young men and women

Box 10: Barabaig Sanctions

ghaijoda:	a fine, usually in the form of livestock
bayiga:	beating, for a young offender
radoda:	ostracism, during which time the offender may be in confinement, is not greeted by the community, and will not receive assistance from the community even if sick
moshteaida:	cursing
jakteaida:	outcast
ng'ucheeda:	when a conflict between the Barabaig and another tribe cannot be resolved, the ultimate solution is war

It was stressed that the Maasai have a system of reconciliation which covers all circumstances, including homicide. The process of reconciliation focuses on bringing people back together and enabling them to get on again after the conflict has been settled. In the case of homicide this might be done through a marriage contract. The system of reciprocal cooperation among the Maasai, whether in the family, age-group or clan is crucially important. It was commented that outside forces have now disturbed this system.

Village Councils, for example, impose an alien administrative political structure in Maasai society, where traditionally socio-political organisation is based on clans and age-groups. Traditional elders have responsibility for ecologically defined localities (*inkutot*) that do not coincide with village boundaries, and for relations between age-groups and clans that are often dispersed beyond the immediate locality. There are, therefore, no traditional institutions or means for dealing with conflict at the level of the village, or over those resources which formally come under the jurisdiction of the Village Council.

Among the Maasai and Barabaig different rights apply to different resources. These include communal access to pasture land, restricted access to water sources, or private ownership of trees and specific areas of land. In principle, access to these and other resources is negotiable. With the introduction of formal land use planning and the encouragement of land titling, access becomes less negotiable.

Traditional institutions can handle land conflicts within structures where customary tenure rights are recognised. However, where these rights have been nullified this is much more difficult. The age-group system is still effective in exerting authority over its members or, for example, in dealing with familial disputes (Box 11). However, the age-group system does not formally have authority in Village Councils where traditional leaders have no role in resolving disputes over resources. There is, therefore, an argument for finding ways of integrating these traditional institutions with contemporary local government structures. Following the 1993 local elections more traditional leaders were elected onto Village Councils. Potentially, this could be important for the reconstitution of traditional resource management regulations and practices.

Box 11: A Case of Traditional Conflict Resolution

> An example of how conflicts traditionally are handled occurred one evening during the workshop. On this occasion, participants confronted one of their members over his insulting behaviour. When open discussion failed to resolve the issue the traditional elders present were asked to impose a solution that was acceptable to everyone. After a long and intense session that continued into the night a settlement was agreed upon. The individual concerned was required to make a full apology to the workshop participants and his fine was to buy a round of drinks for the elders.

Several points were noted from these discussions. Firstly, there is considerable capacity in customary institutions for handling conflicts between different social groups in Maasai and Barabaig society. Secondly, these institutions work because of understood and accepted rules and sanctions on behaviour. Thirdly, stress was laid on the importance of 'group' and 'community' relations.

International participants in the workshop commented that in the West rules and norms of behaviour are changing fast and old sanctions are no longer as effective. The state, through the courts, has become the main institution through which many conflicts are handled. In the Western adversarial legal system there is rarely any provision for reconciliation between the

conflicting parties after a verdict has been decided. Pursuing the resolution of conflicts through the courts is expensive and as a consequence many people are looking for other ways, such as alternative dispute resolution or arbitration.

The different roles of mediators in different cultures was also noted. Among the Maasai and Barabaig, the elders who mediate conflicts are given authority to make decisions and impose sanctions. In the West, the role of the mediator is generally not to enforce a solution, but more to help others to reach their own solutions.

NATURAL RESOURCE CONFLICTS

The workshop went on to consider specific conflicts that Maasai and Barabaig communities are facing as a result of the alienation of pastoral lands.

These conflicts are complex. The removal of land from the control and management by pastoral communities not only affects their livelihoods, but also their cultural way of life which is intricately linked to the economy. The alienation of land involves pastoralists in direct confrontation with the state and with other powerful interest groups such as transnational agricultural corporations, parastatals, individual farmers and conservationists. The conflicts raise issues of economic development, the conditionality of international aid, and questions of land tenure - of who has the right to own the land and its resources and who determines how they will be used.

The subject of conflict over land was introduced by asking what is meant by the term 'land' (*ardhi ni nini*). For pastoralists who are dependent on using land in its 'natural' state, the short answer is that land is life (*ardhi ni uhai*).

Alienation of land does not just apply to the area of land that is lost, but a range of natural resources that pastoralists value and use. Participants identified some of these resources:

Land	*Ardhi* (Kiswahili)
trees	*miti*
wildlife	*wanyama wa porini*
pastures	*malisho*
water	*maji*
salt	*chumvi*
minerals	*madini*
burial sites	*makaburi*

Grazing land for pastoralists includes different types of pastures:

* dry and wet season pastures - *malisho ya kiangazi na ya msilea*
* reserves for sick calves and smallstock - *malisho ya ndama* (*olokeri* in Maa; *nadaneda* in Tatoga)

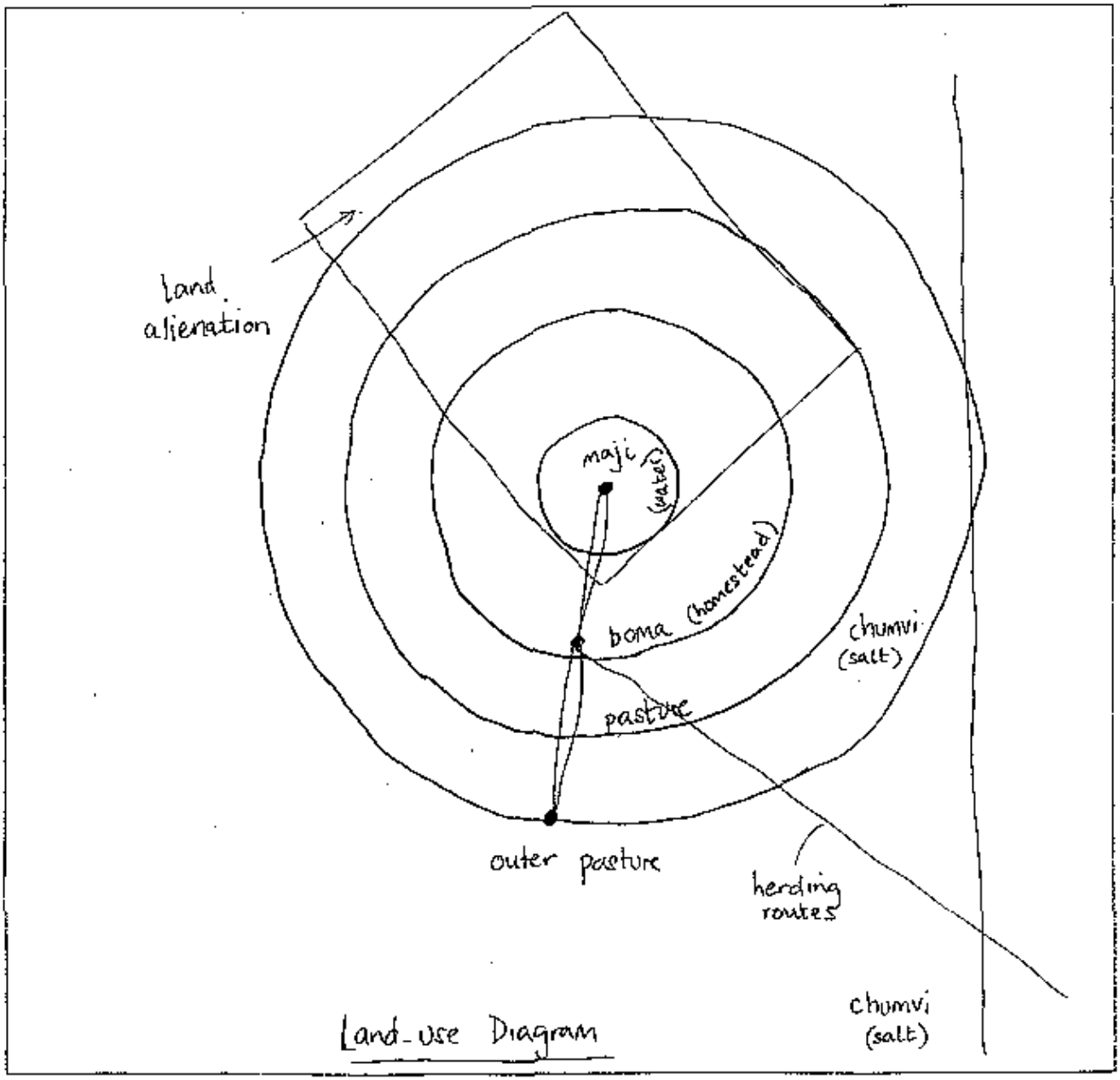
Pastoralists cannot sustain their livelihoods or their culture without land. By acknowledging the importance of burial sites as part of land, pastoralists are expanding the definition of land to include spiritual resources (*mali ya dini*). The loss of sites with cultural or spiritual significance is just as important as natural resources with economic value.

Land for pastoralists is, therefore, not a uniform commodity. It is made up of different resources that vary seasonally and from one location to another. Rights to each resource often belong to different individuals and groups. Conflict is rarely just about who owns land, but more often about the loss of access to a particular resource, at a particular time, by a particular group who have rights to use it. Trees, for example, are an essential resource used for fodder and shelter. The cutting of trees for charcoal reduces the productive potential of the land. It is, therefore, not just the loss of land itself which threatens the livelihoods of pastoralists, but individual resources that make it up.

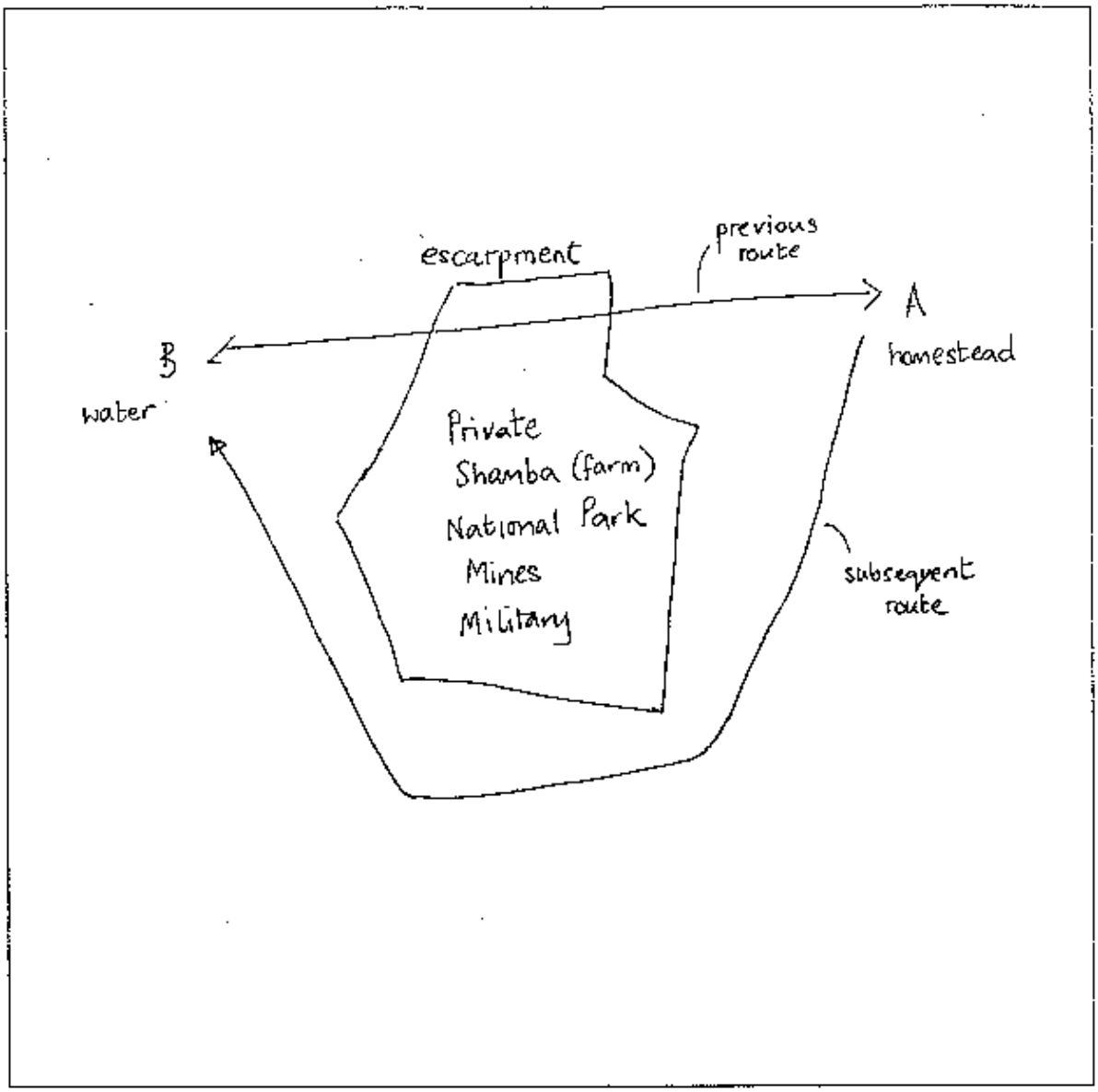
When working with such conflicts it is important to recognise the diversity of uses, value and meanings attached to land. Failure to do so is to deny the level of understanding that is necessary to resolve conflicts over resources in pastoral areas.

To illustrate the impact of land alienation, workshop participants mapped the various resources that a Maasai homestead utilises (Box 12). Homesteads are usually located near to permanent water sources. When land is cleared and fenced for farming, pastoralists' access to pasture, water, salt licks and other resources is affected. Farmers do not take just any land, but most often the best land, close to water. It is not just the productive capacity of resources which are lost. As a result of fencing, herders are forced to trek longer distances around farms, which places a strain on livestock and can result in lower levels of productivity and higher livestock death rates (see Box 13).

Box 12: Land-use map drawn by workshop participants illustrating the impact of land alienation on a Maasai homestead



Box 13: Diagram drawn by Charles Lane illustrating how land alienation can affect livestock health and productivity



ADVOCACY ON LAND ISSUES: SOME TOOLS FOR ANALYSIS

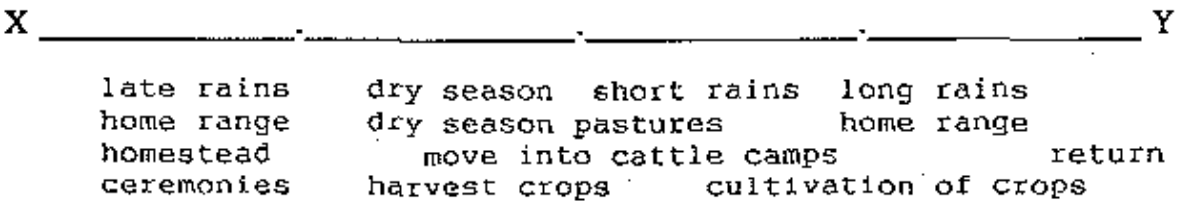
Large areas of pastoral land in Tanzania are being alienated for commercial farming, national parks, mining and military bases. Pastoralism is integral to the national economy. The loss of the pastoral range undermines the economy and can lead to the degradation of natural resources. By sanctioning the alienation of pastoral lands, the government is undermining sustainable production in pastoral areas and therefore fulfilling its own prophesy about the unproductive nature of pastoralism.

Pastoralists have always complained about the loss of their lands. Usually little account is taken of such claims as it is widely believed that much pastoral land is 'vacant' as herders are not actually occupying it, or that they do not make sufficient use of it to qualify as 'owners', or that they have more land than they need and plenty of other places to go. Recently, their complaints have attracted publicity through national and international media. This has succeeded in protecting land in some cases, although generally the problem continues. However, complaining is not enough (*malalamiko haitoshi*). One reason is because complaints about 'land grabbing' start after the land has already been taken. As prevention is better than cure, it is important to gather information beforehand and use it to inform government policy makers and international donors.

If pastoralists are to better assert their rights they will need to acquire new skills. Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) offers some useful methods. For example, drawing maps describing resources that have been lost can provide a wider understanding of the problem. By visually showing the resources that make up a pastoral terrain (transect), or when and how herders make use of resources in question (timeline), they can accurately brief a lawyer or the media, and provide the basis on which to substantiate a legal claim to land. The uses of such maps are illustrated by the following simplified examples:

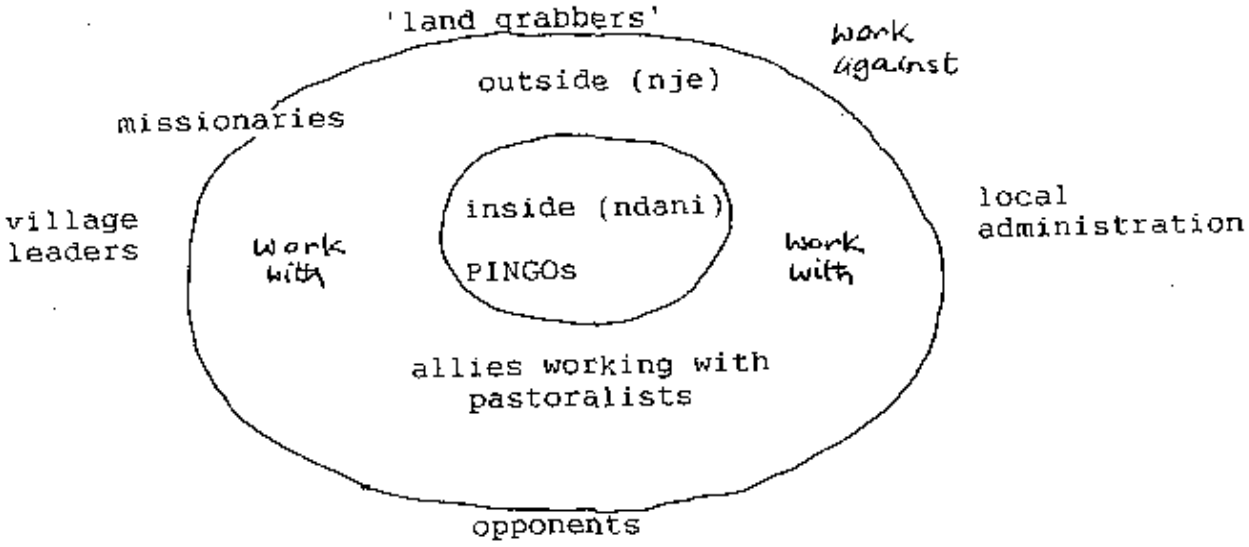
A **Transect** (*safari ya mtafiti*) can be used to identify the different natural resources and cultural sites on lands used by pastoralists during different seasons of the year. Transects are normally drawn by walking with land users across their land, and noting down its different features.

A **Timeline** (*mstari wa nyakati*) provides a chronology of events and could, for example, be used to describe the history of a problem or the history of problem. Time lines may also be used to draw a seasonal map that traces economic and other activities of pastoralists during different seasons, and compares customary and contemporary land use patterns.

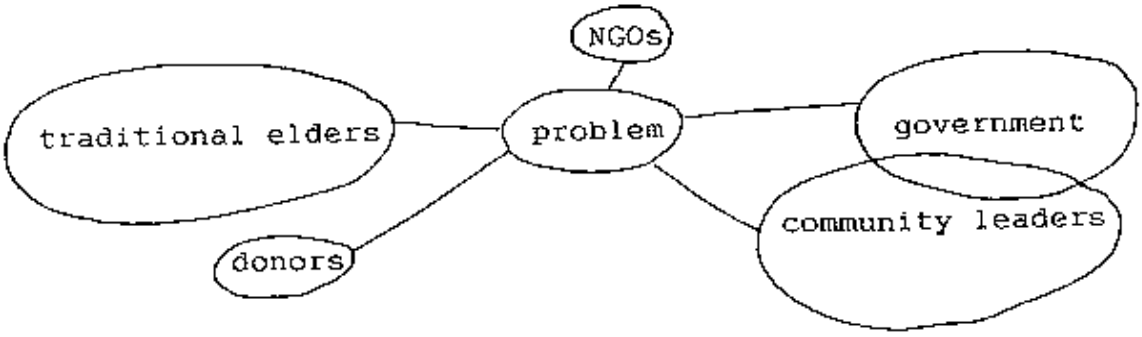


A **Chapati** diagram is a useful way of identifying the relationships between various interest groups involved in land alienation and for locating potential 'allies' and 'opponents' in a conflict for strategy building. In the following two examples circles are used to represent institutions, organisations or individuals who are involved in a particular conflict over land. In the first example, the inner circle represents 'insiders' (*ndani*), who have lost land, or who support those who have lost land. The outer circle represents those 'outside' (*nje*) but, who are sympathetic to and work with pastoralists. In the outer circle are those 'outside' who illegally acquire or facilitate the alienation of pastoral lands. It is this group that pastoralists must work against if they are to retain their lands. In the second example, the relative size of the circles indicates the levels of power and influence that different parties have over the conflict. Their distance from the 'problem' does not describe a physical distance, but is a measure of their association with the problem. The positioning of circles with regard to each other defines the degree of overlapping interests between the parties in the conflict or their degree of antagonism concerning the problem.

Chapati diagram 1 developed by Charles Lane



Chapati diagram 2

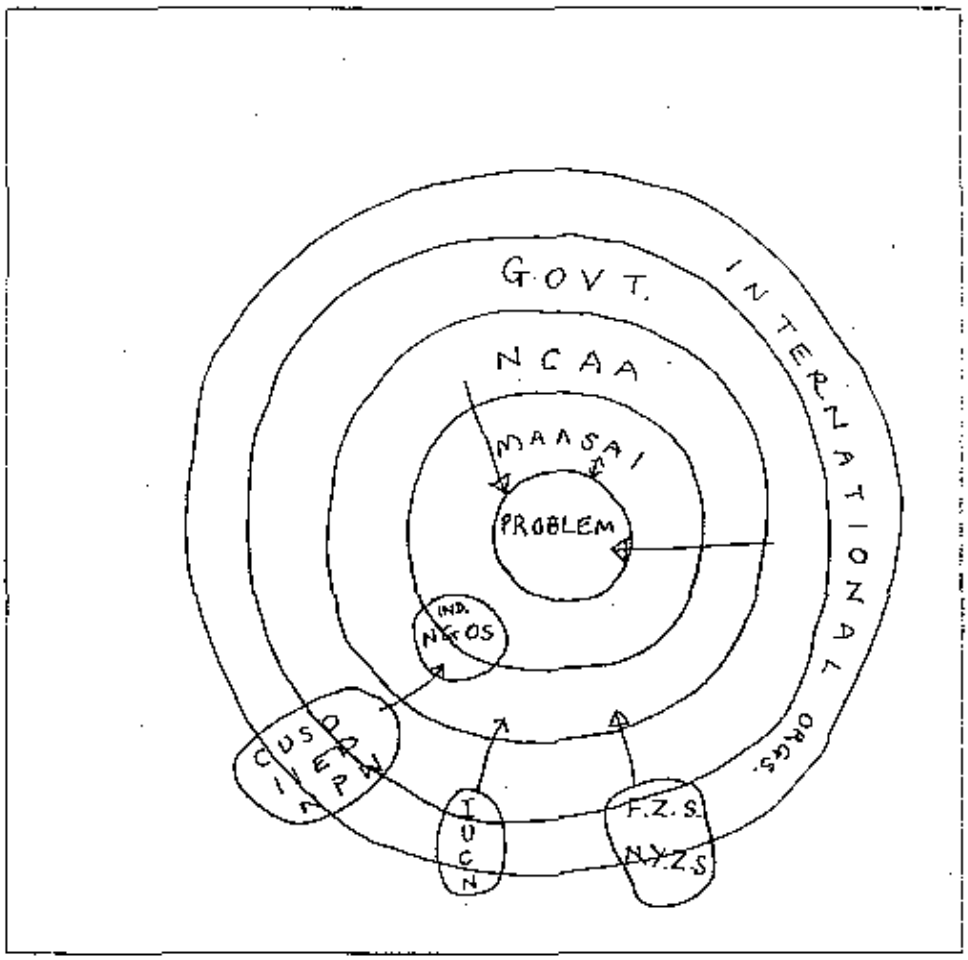


These maps and diagrams should be drawn by the people who are affected by and can have influence on the problem (e.g. elders, warriors, farmers, women, government officials). They can be adapted by them to suit their needs and the particular circumstances they face (private acquisition, government appropriation, enforced eviction). The purpose of such methods is to make information from local people available for use by local people, to develop strategies to address their problems. The workshop participants tested these techniques by applying them to situations with which they were familiar. As can be seen in the examples below they freely adapted the methods to suit those particular situations.

Ngorongoro Conservation Area

In 1974, the Tanzanian Wildlife Conservation Act reserved large areas of land exclusively for wildlife parks and conservation. As a consequence, Maasai families were removed, some forcibly, from their traditional grazing areas in the Ngorongoro Crater and the Serengeti and Terengire plains. Wildlife enter on to Maasai land, outside the protected areas, bringing with them diseases such as East Coast Fever. Pastoralists, on the other hand, are not allowed to herd their animals in wildlife designated areas. One participant from Ngorongoro described laws against the Maasai as a kind of apartheid.

Box 14: Chapati Diagram Drawn by Ngorongoro Maasai Depicting the Problems for them in Ngorongoro Conservation Area



The Chapati diagram drawn by the Maasai from Ngorongoro revealed a range of national and international players involved in creating and supporting the Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA) (Box 14). These include the Frankfurt Zoological Society (FZS), the New York Zoological Society (NYZS), the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), the state and safari operators. Government supports the development of infrastructure in the area, but most of the tourist facilities are owned by foreign companies. Many foreign organisations and companies have been in the area for over 30 years and their interests are well entrenched. There are a few sympathetic NGOs, such as CUSO, IIED and Natural Peoples' World (NPW) who are supporting Maasai interests, but their influence is limited.

Inyuat e-Moipo

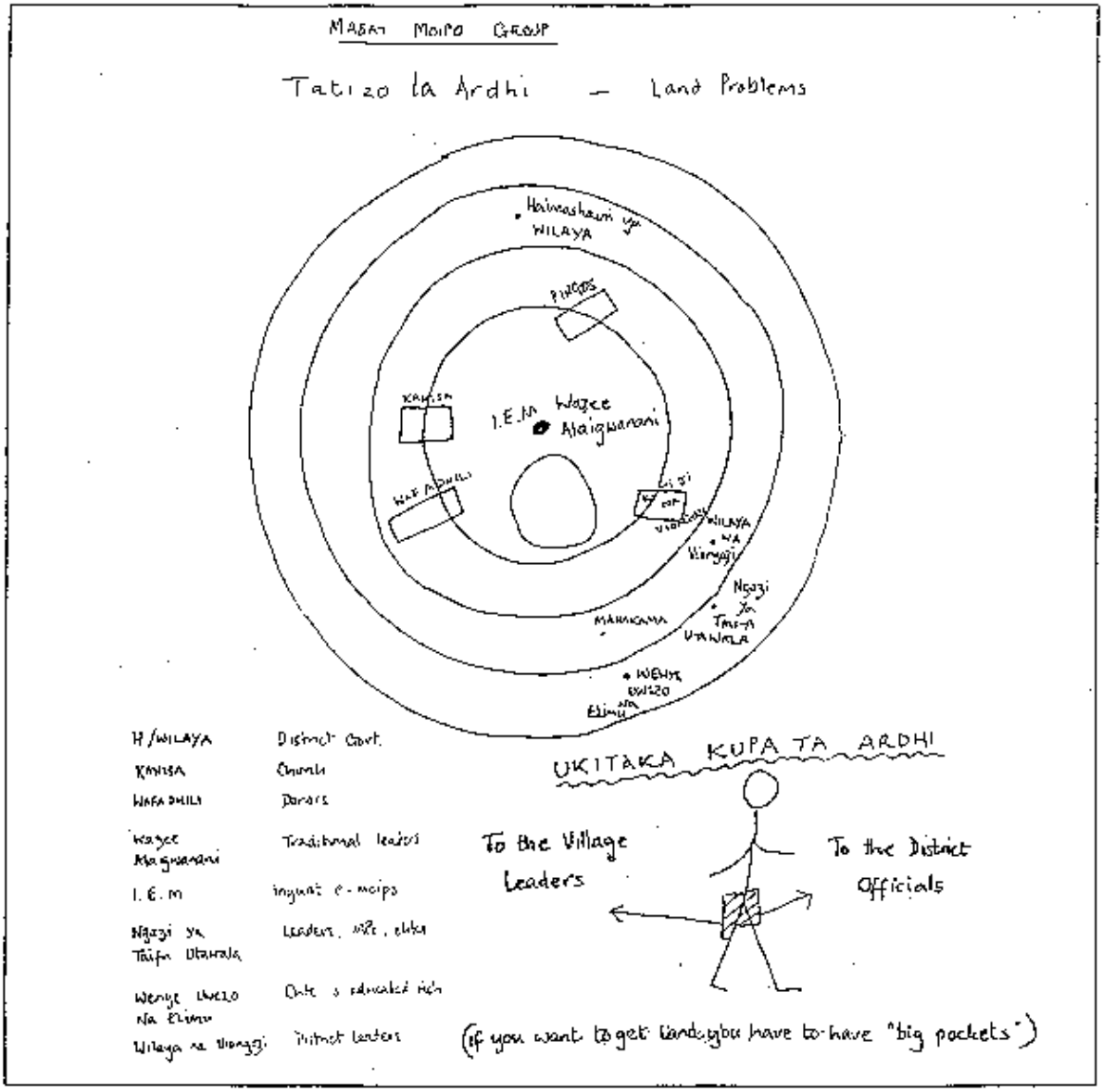
In 1988 seven villages in the Monduli district were threatened with alienation of 300,000 acres of land. The villages raised money to pay lawyers to fight the case. District leaders, however, were frightened to do anything because authorisation for the land allocation had come from higher authorities. The villages, therefore, got no backing from the District Council and had to work alone. One *olaiguenani* (age set spokesman) who was a government official did take the side of the villagers and led a delegation to the government. The MP for the area subsequently rescinded the allocation.

The following Chapati diagram, drawn by members of the NGO Inyuat e-Moipo, illustrates how the community is often isolated with few supporters (Box 15). The position of the Church on land issues is ambiguous and there is a big gap between the village and the government. As one participant commented, "central government is a myth to most people".

The lesson that was learned by the community in Monduli was that to prevent land alienation they had to be united. This led to the formation of Inyuat e-Moipo in 1990 to protect natural resources and people's rights. The difficulty that e-Moipo faces is that there is a range of opposing interests within the community. Recently, for example, a company wanted to start an ostrich farm and some farmers were prepared to accept this in return for compensation without considering the possible future consequences for the wider community of land users.

In 1988, Maasai residents were forcibly evicted from Mkomazi Game Reserve. People trespassing on the farms have to pay a fine of TZs 25,000/- (£ 26 at current exchange rate, but significantly more before devaluation) and have their cattle impounded. For each beast impounded they have to pay TZs 300/- a day for each day it is held. In response a thousand villagers have lodged a legal suit against the government.

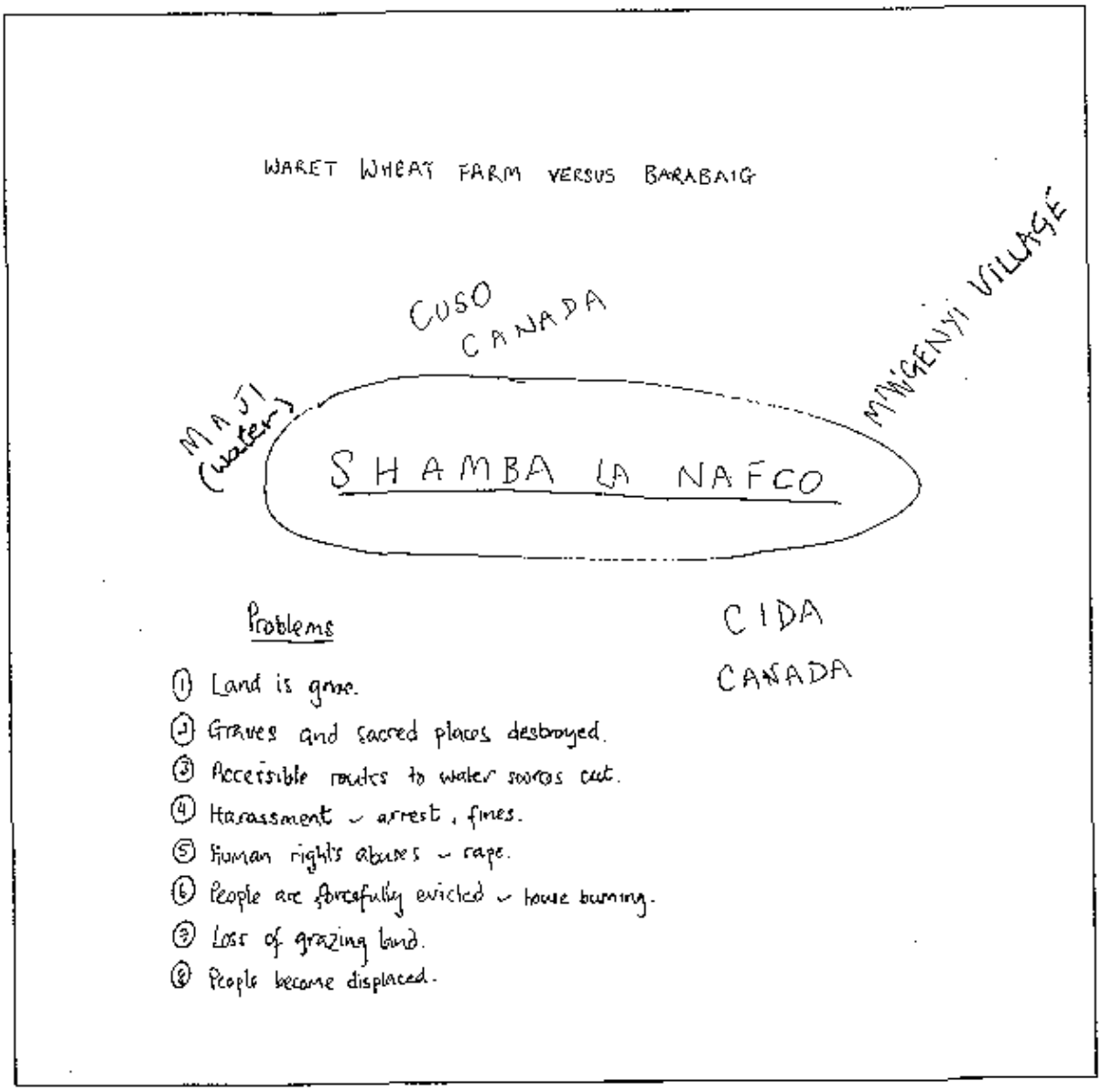
Box 15: Chapati Diagram drawn by Inyuat e-Moipo illustrating the different vested Interests in land alienation



The Barabaig in Hanang district

In 1970, Tanzania drew up an agreement with the Canadian government (CIDA) to start farming wheat in Hanang district in Arusha region. The Tanzania Canadian Wheat Project (TCWP) was intended to reduce dependency on imports and to meet an increased national demand for wheat. The project was implemented through the parastatal National Agriculture and Food Corporation (NAFCO), to which CIDA provided over Can$ 200 million of aid, mainly in the form of technical assistance and farm machinery (Lane, 1994).

Box 16: An illustration drawn by members of Bulgalda illustrating the problems caused by the NAFCO wheat farm



Over 100,000 acres of prime land traditionally grazed by Barabaig cattle have been taken by the project. Although the land under cultivation represents only 12% of the total land area of the district, the loss of pasture land undermines the entire land use system, and restricts access to salt pans, forest reserves and other resources. Some herders prevented from crossing the farms must now trek twice as far with their cattle to reach water. This stresses their cattle and also increases the incidence of disease (Box 13). Cultivation is causing soil erosion. Not only have the Barabaig's grazing system and economy been disrupted, but at least eighteen ancestral burial sites (*bung'eding*) and other sacred sites have been destroyed (Lane, 1994).

In some cases, NAFCO has forcibly evicted the Barabaig and burned their homesteads. Some families have been compensated for loss of physical assets, but there has been no compensation for the loss of the land. Herders who try to cross the farms are charged with criminal trespass, and reports of sexual abuse of women and beating of men caught on the farms have been confirmed by a governmental commission report. Despite confirmation of violations against the Barabaig, no compensation has been forthcoming.

Ironically this 'development project' which was intended to support Tanzania's economy has increased dependency on foreign aid and caused poverty among the Barabaig. Furthermore, the wheat is mainly sold in the cities at prices higher than imported wheat, and has done very little to improve food security in Hanang district.

The Barabaig were taken by surprise by the project. The farms are now larger than they had originally been led to believe. On several occasions the Barabaig have challenged the legality of land alienation through the courts. Although the courts have twice found in favour of the Barabaig, they have received no compensation for their economic loss nor the return of the land.

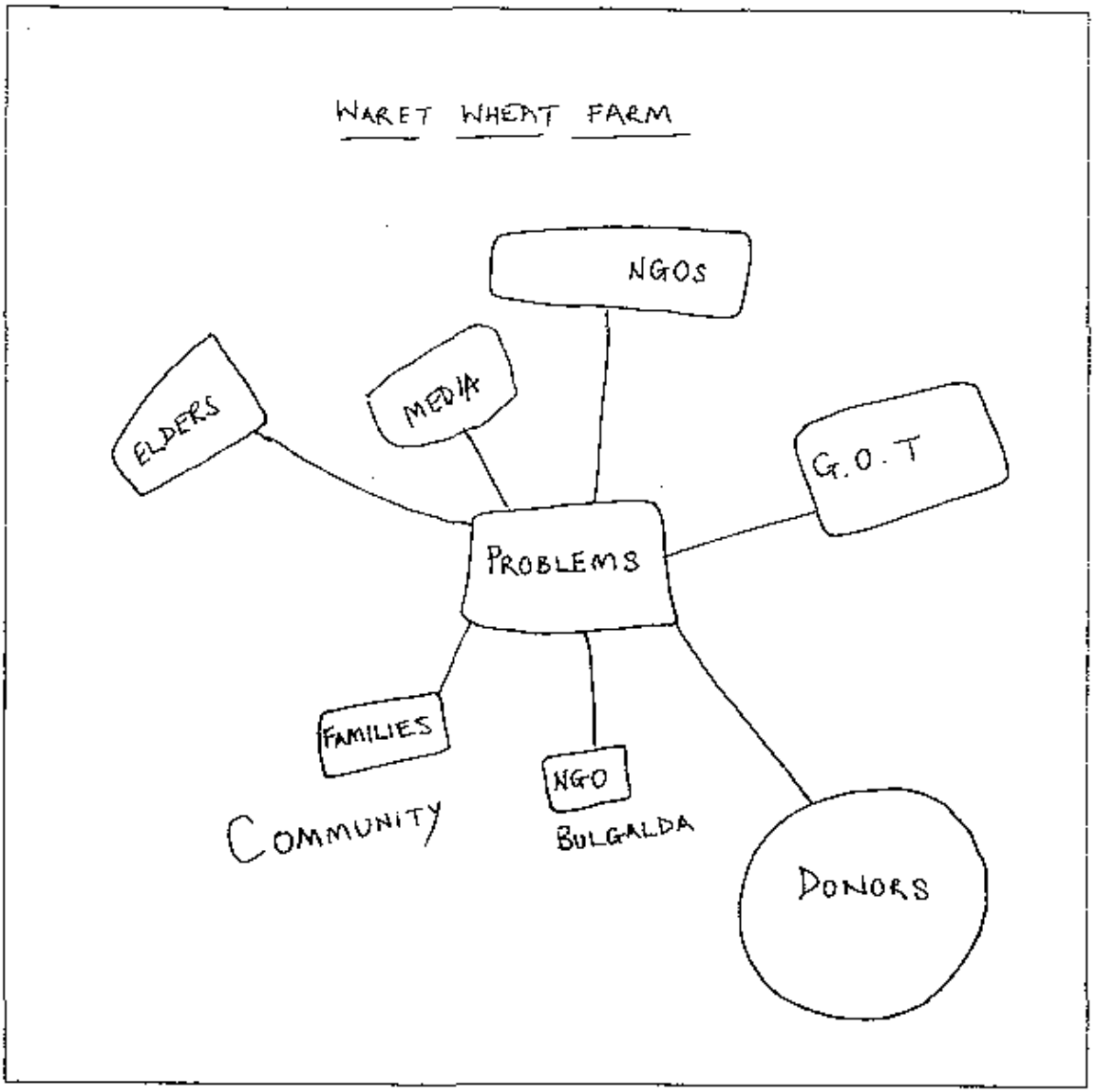
After receiving no satisfactory response from government to their complaints, they mounted an international campaign with the help of international human rights organisations so as to bring pressure on the government. Although CIDA have withdrawn Canadian aid from Tanzania, they have never accepted responsibility for the problems caused by the project.

The various interest groups involved in the Hanang case were mapped by Bulgalda (Box 17):

- international donors (CIDA)
- government and NAFCO
- community
- individuals
- foreign NGOs, IIED, CUSO, Survival International
- the international media

The diagram illustrates the imbalance in power relations between the state and NAFCO supported by international donors, and the community. Villages by themselves do not have the power to solve the problem, to prevent human rights abuses or further encroachment on their land. It is hoped that the recently formed Barabaig NGO, Bulgalda, will provide a means through which the community can develop stronger links to external supporters and negotiate greater respect for Barabaig rights.

Box 17: Chapati diagram drawn by members of Bulgalda depicting different interest groups in Hanang district



Simanjiro District

The Maasai pastoral organisation, Ilaramatak Lolkonerei, drew a timeline that traced the history of land alienation in Tanzania (Box 18).

By 1993 an estimated 45,000 hectares of pastoral land had been acquired by large scale farming enterprises in Simanjiro district alone (Muir, 1994). The group argued that the first priority should be for communities to establish their own land use plan. Further points made by the group were:

* Education is important for the Maasai if they are to be able to influence government and future land policy.

* Local NGOs have a role to play in developing an appropriate land use policy.

* Traditional leaders should be involved in coordinating the work of local NGOs.

* The role of government cannot be ignored, but the Ministry of Lands in Dar es Salaam is far away and therefore unable to understand the problems of local people.

* International NGOs should not tell local people what to do, but local NGOs should be empowered to better select the kind of support that is useful to them.

Hunters and gatherers

Land alienation affects not only pastoralists but also hunters and gatherers like the Hadzabe and Ndorobo. A Hadzabe participant in the workshop explained that conditions for his people are becoming worse as wildlife are protected for tourist operations and professional hunting. Much of their land has been allocated as hunting blocks and professional hunters are pushing them off. When pursuing their traditional economic activities, such as collecting honey, they are arrested for 'trespassing'; and one of their people has recently died in jail.

The Hadzabe have a close relationship with wildlife, only hunting animals to satisfy their needs. Animals are also important in Hadzabe rituals. "When the animals get thin we get thin" he explained, and "if the wildlife are wiped out so will we". The government says that the animals do not belong to the Hadzabe, but to the nation. However, the government is selling the nation's assets to foreign interests, and neglecting the rights of indigenous people.

The conflict between the Hadzabe and the professional hunters also affects the Barabaig. Because of the declining wildlife, the Hadzabe enter Barabaig land to find game. As a consequence, there have been problems between the Hadzabe and Barabaig over water. The Hadzabe complain that the Barabaig pollute water with their cattle. However, this problem has often been settled through negotiation.

The Ndorobo in Simanjiro district face the same problems as the Hadzabe. Hunting blocks have been allocated to commercial hunters in villages where people have customary rights, and, in some instances, even title deeds to the land. These are often ignored by government in favour of the hunters. Foreigners assert their right to hunt because they hold a hunting licence, while those with customary rights are deemed to be 'poaching'. Human rights abuses against the Ndorobo have been reported, and it was alleged that there was a "shoot to kill" policy against the Ndorobo. A Maasai participant in the workshop asked that if the Hadzabe way of life is disappearing, why don't they build houses and settle down? Another Maasai participant responded that this was exactly the same kind of prejudice that they, as pastoralists, face simply because they want to preserve their way of life. The Maasai was then able to understand the importance of preserving their way of life through securing rights to land.

Box 18: Timeline made by members Ilaramatak Lolkonerei depicting the history of pastoral land alienation in Tanzania

1950s	Pre-independence. Alienation of high value highland and riverine areas by colonialists
1960-1967	Post-independence. Migration of farmers into pastoral land. Land nationalised (1962).
1967	Arusha Declaration. Blue-print for socialist development. Villagisation brought migrants onto pastoral lands. Villagisation imposed a new political structure.
1970s	Agricultural development. Farming close to water resources brings conflict between herders and farmers.
1974	Wildlife Conservation Act prohibits human habitation in wildlife protected areas.
1980s	Expansion of large-scale farming and land grabbing reaches a peak.
1987-1990	Liberalisation of the economy increases potential profits from large-scale farming. Government and village officials enter into the joint farming operations.
1990s	Community becomes more conscious of the costs of alienation. Conflicts increase. Local NGOs begin to form and establish connections with international organisations. Local and international NGOs begin to put pressure on the government.

Analysis of the case studies

Several comments were made by the participants about the diagrams.

1. Pastoralists and agriculturalists:

The diagrams did not analyse the relationship between the more sedentary agriculturalists, like the Warusha, and the pastoralists. Much of the labour on the commercial farms comes from outside the area. Most are poor farmers who need the income and so are not concerned about pastoralists' needs. However, if they were made more fully aware of the pastoralists' situation, it was thought by participants that they might be more sympathetic to them.

2. Local NGOs and the community:

The Chapati diagrams tended to depict local NGOs as separate from the community. Several people argued that the NGOs should be an integral part of the community.

3. The role of local government, Village Councils and traditional leaders:

It was felt that government was too distant from the people and their problems, and that it did not have sufficient information to be able to make decisions concerning management of local resources. Consequently, there is a need to devolve power to local institutions to manage land.

The Village Council is currently empowered by the state to manage village lands. However, it is often corrupt and lacks credibility with the community. It often works against the herders' interests by facilitating 'land grabbing'. Meetings are conducted in Swahili, which some Maasai elders and women do not speak. Consequently, they have difficulty in getting their point across.

Customary institutions have been marginalised and suffer because of divisions within communities. One way forward could be to form alliances. This was illustrated by a story told by a representative of Inyuat e-Moipo. He described how they had formed an alliance with foreign hunters to prevent the Village Council from allocating land to farmers. The hunters, who wanted to see the wildlife protected, sponsored a trip to Dar es Salaam by this man to lobby the government on the land issue. They eventually managed to prevent the allocation of land to farmers, although this did cause a quarrel with the farming community.

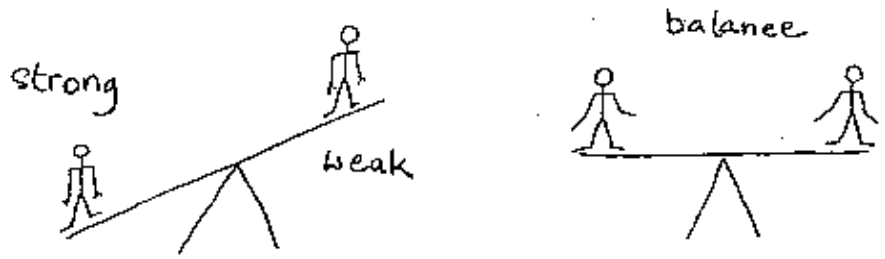
4. Relationship between local NGOs:

It is clear that there is a growing sense of power and confidence among pastoral NGOs to solve their problems. However, they are also weakened by a lack of unity among them.

5. Power:

It was suggested that there are two kinds of power: "hard power", where particular groups exert control over what others do by force (e.g. physical, political, economic); and "soft power", where influence is gained through information sharing, coalition building, education, awareness raising and networking. In their various ways, this is what PINGOs are doing when trying to shift the balance of power to pastoral communities (Box 19).

Box 19: Shifting the Balance of Power



NABERERA FIELD VISIT

On the fourth day of the workshop a visit was made to Naberera ward in Simanjiro district, where land is being alienated for large-scale farming and forests are being cleared for making charcoal. The visit enabled participants from other parts of Tanzania to see at first hand the problem of land alienation in Simanjiro district, and to view their own problems in a wider context. Maasai participants from Ngorongoro were shocked at the scale of land alienation. For the Barabaig, it was less impressive as they have experienced a similar scale of alienation in Hanang district. It did, however, provide a graphic reminder to them that they were not alone in having this problem, and it helped reinforce a sense of unity and cohesion in the group. The visit also provided an opportunity to apply some participatory methods of analysis of land and conflict related issues.

Naberera lies approximately 150 kilometres south of Arusha and 50 kilometres from Terrat. The ward covers an area of 5,600 km² with a population of over 7,726 people (Muir, 1994). This area of undulating hills and savanna scrub incorporates important pastures for the Maasai. However, there are a few permanent water sources. There are several Rhodelite mines in the area and a number of charcoal making operations have set up semi-permanent settlements.

The visit revealed how isolated some of the affected Maasai communities are. It also uncovered the extent of foreign interests involved in 'land grabbing' and the scale of human rights abuses taking place. In Naberera, Ilaramatak Lolkonerei opposes the land alienation vociferously. It argues that the promotion of large-scale farming in Naberera ward is both unsustainable and ignores the rights of indigenous peoples. It therefore goes against the International Convention to Combat Desertification to which the Tanzanian government is a signatory. Ilaramatak Lolkonerei plans to carry out a legal, environmental and economic impact study of farming in the ward to assist the community in developing a sustainable land management plan that involves all local land users and respects their customary rights.

Land grabbing is most evident in four communities - Naberera village itself, Lendanai, Namalulu and Okutu - all settlements located in dry season grazing areas. Much of the wet season grazing areas formerly used by pastoralists have already been allocated for farming (Muir, 1994). This has reduced the availability of pastures for pastoralists, changed grazing patterns and limited access to water sources. The land has mainly been allocated to non-Maasai interests including foreigners and transnational corporations that have shown little interest or respect for local land users. For example, it is alleged a Dutch seed company was initially allotted 7,000 acres of land for growing beans, but it now farms an estimated 19,000 acres!

Alienation of land by international corporations and foreigners has received some publicity, but land acquisition by local leaders has not received the same attention because it is a more sensitive political issue. There are, for example, several cases of Village Councils allocating land to district leaders. In 1991 a delegation from Naberera village protested to the District Council about the granting of 16,000 hectares of grazing land without their approval. Ilaramatak Lolkonerei assisted the affected community by getting lawyers to send letters to

local leaders advising them not to develop the land. In Emboret, also in Naberera ward, it is reported that the Village Council distributed 12,000 hectares to former council members, without consultation with villagers. Also during a dispute between Naberera and Komolo over village boundary demarcation, it was alleged that senior local officials took advantage to acquire large tracts of land.

Bordering Tarangire National Park, pastoralists also have to contend with wildlife who move on to the pastures outside the park during the calving period. Wildlife bring with them diseases and infections to livestock and they reduce the area of pasture available for cattle. At the same time there is no reciprocal access for the Maasai to pastures in the park.

Irkidomungan Village

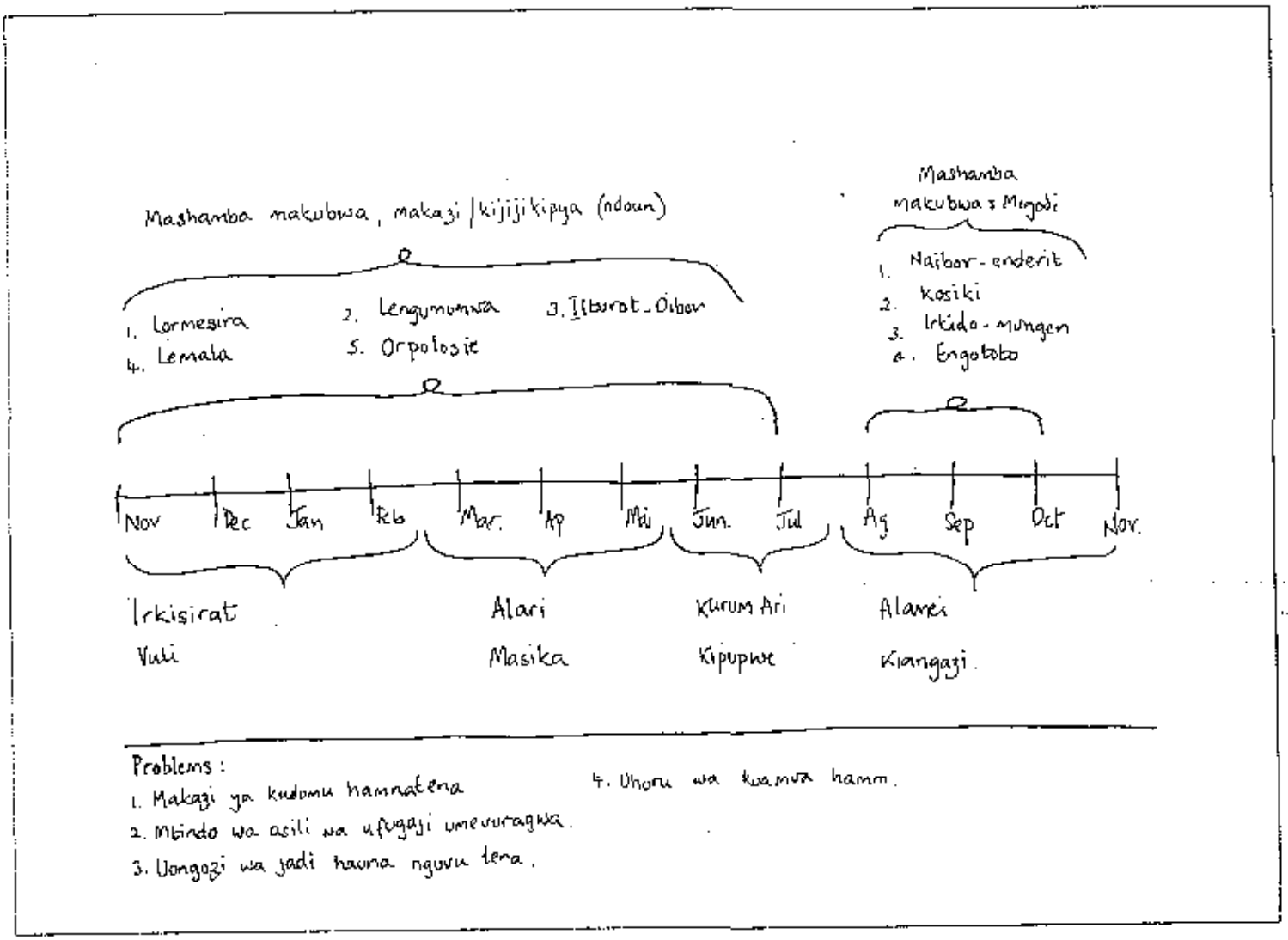
The workshop participants visited Irkidomungan village, made up of ten homesteads with approximately 100 families, numbering about 1,000 people. The village is surrounded by large farms. Even though many of the residents are descendants of people born in the area, and despite the fact it is their home territory, they fear that as land under cultivation increases, they will soon be forced to leave the area. Agricultural encroachment has already withdrawn many pasture resources from their use and has curtailed their traditional grazing movements. At the time of the workshop many of their livestock were far away utilising pastures in other areas. Many families have already left. Those who remain say they have nowhere else to go.

Workshop participants and villagers formed small discussion groups, with a broad mixture of village representatives. Utilising the PRA mapping and diagramming techniques, workshop participants were able to elicit from the villagers of this particular homestead their perceptions of the nature and extent of the problems facing them, with a view to informing future community action.

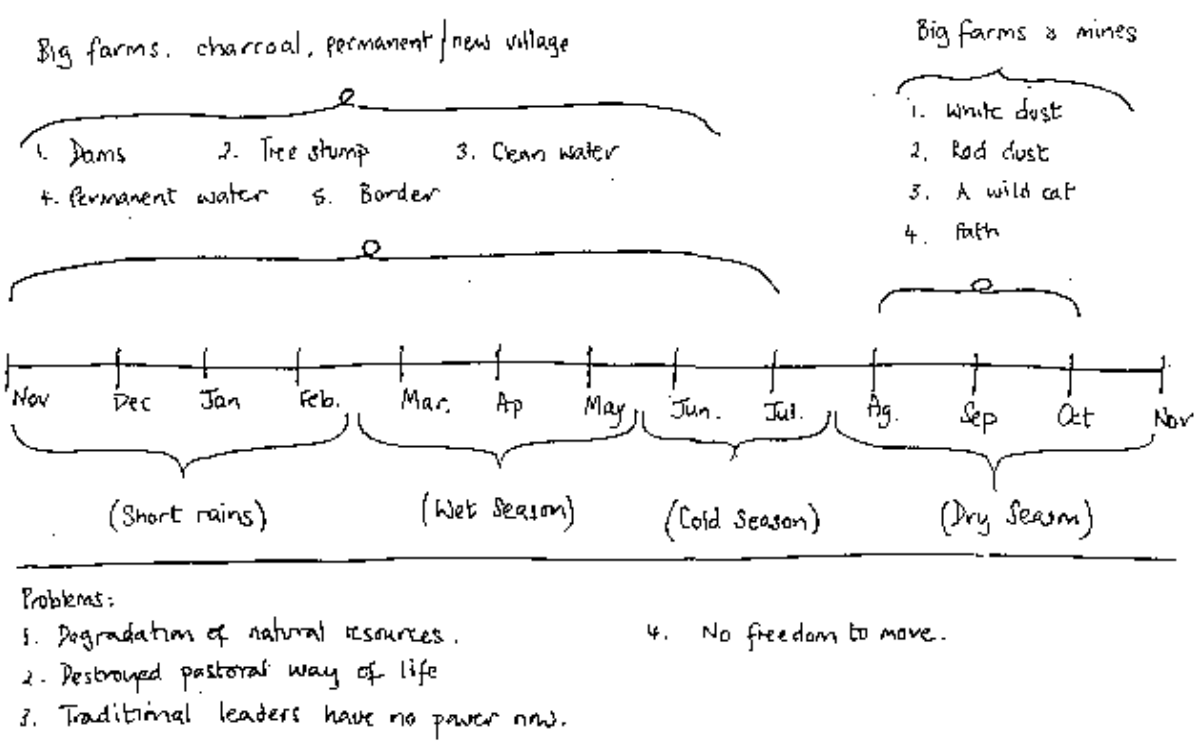
A **seasonal timeline** revealed that the families in this particular homestead were forced to remain in the same area for nine months of the year because former grazing areas had been taken over for agriculture and charcoal making (Box 20). Previously they would have been in the area for only three months. Some of the charcoal making camps have now been officially designated as villages. The main problems identified by the group were:

* Local resources could no longer sustain their way of life
* The traditional grazing system has been destroyed. The system of reserving areas of pasture for calves and sick animals has broken down
* The traditional leadership have lost power
* People's freedom to participate in decision-making and planning has been eroded

Box 20: Timeline drawn by workshop participants and villagers illustrating the impact of land alienation on the seasonal activities of villagers in Irkidomungan

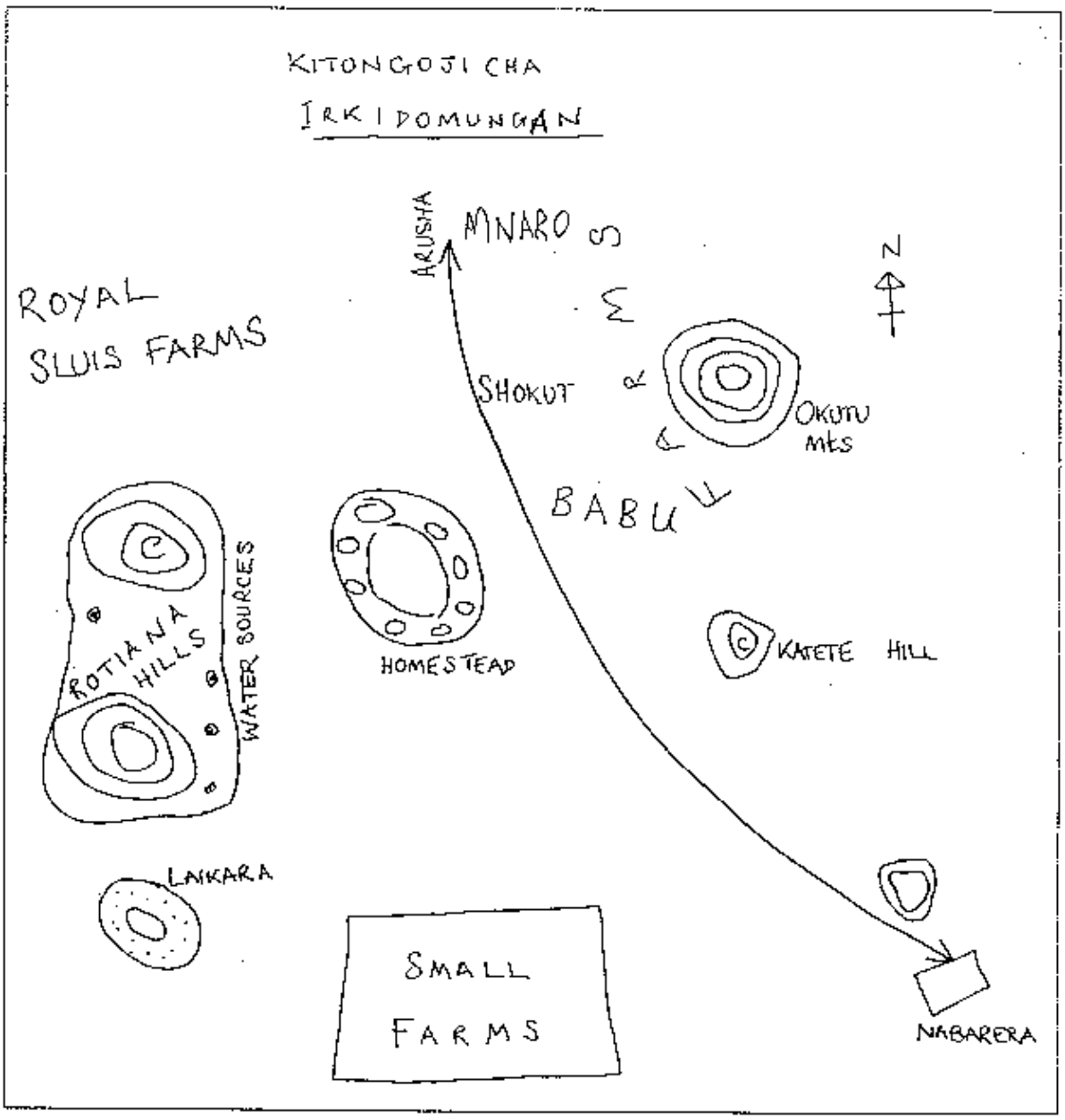


Box 20: English translation of the timeline showing the impact of land alienation on the seasonal activities of villagers in Irkidomungan



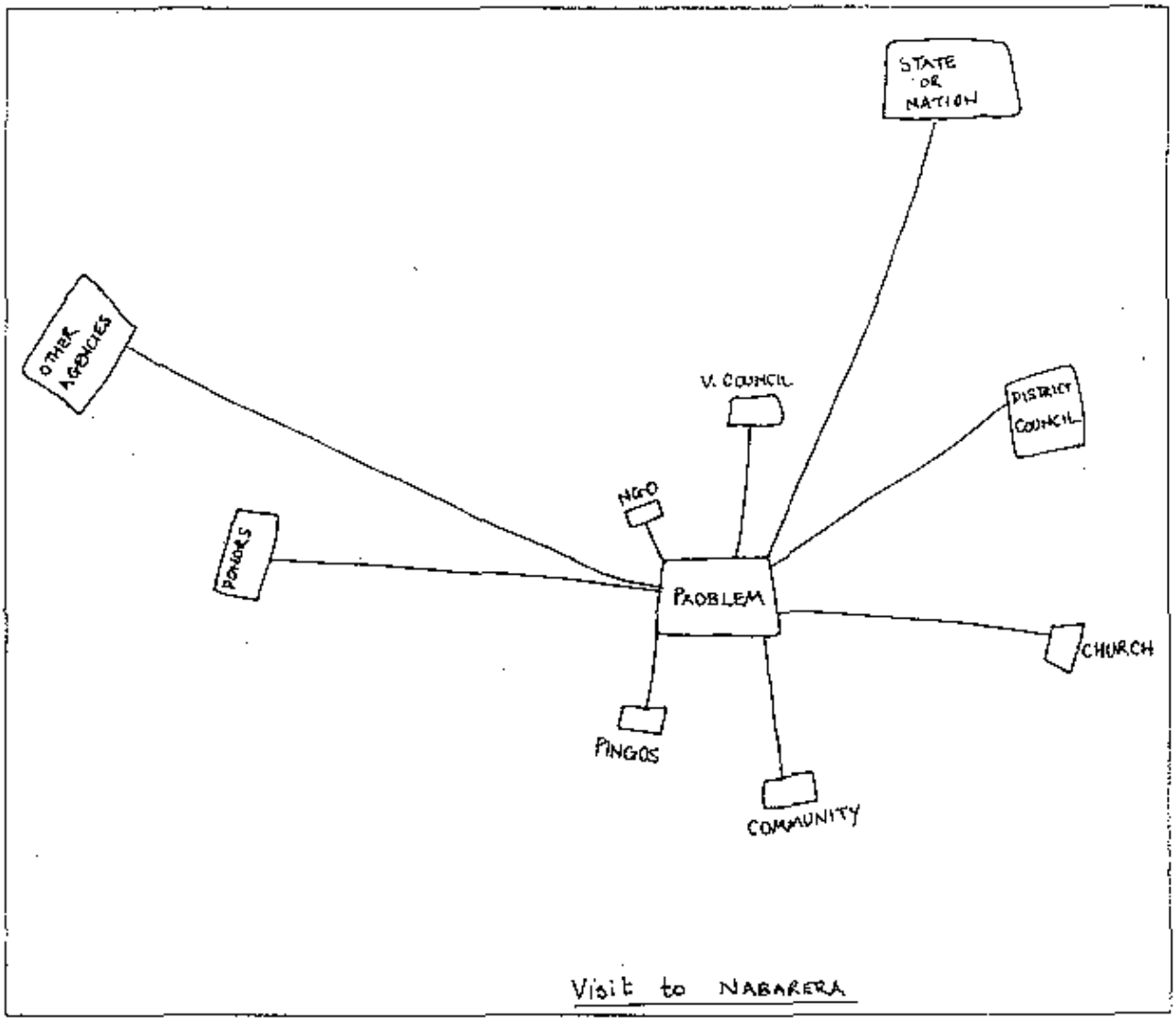
Another group drew a map of their land. This graphically illustrated how they were virtually surrounded by farms (Box 21). Grazing has been reduced to a 5 kilometre radius and the Dutch bean farms have deprived them of important wet season pastures. The farms have also blocked access to four dams and some salt licks. The Shokut farm has also blocked off four dams, and the Gerard Müller farm another three dams. Therefore a total of eleven dams have been lost to farming, and the village is now reliant on only two sources of water which *previously were only used during the dry season. Discussions* revealed that the farms had also cut off access to certain sites sacred to the Maasai.

Box 21: Land Map drawn by workshop participants and villagers showing the encroachment of commercial farms on Irkidomungan village land



When local people have tried to access resources on or near the farms, they have often been harassed, and had penalties imposed on them. When women have gone to the farms for gleaning post-harvest residues, they have been fined for 'trespassing' and threatened with dogs. Herders whose animals have strayed on to the farms have had their animals impounded or have been fined. Villagers suspect that the fines are illegal and go straight into the farm employees' pockets.

Box 22: Chapati diagram drawn by workshop participants illustrating the relative power of different interest groups involved in land alienation



The different interest groups in Naberera ward were mapped by using a **Chapati diagram** (Box 23). This reveals that those villagers directly affected by the problem of 'land grabbing' had limited power to deal with it. The Village Council, on the other hand, was perceived as part of the problem, because the interests of some village officials differed from others in the community. The traditional leadership was also implicated. One local *olaiguenani*, for example, had been appointed chairman of the Village Council, but proved not to be interested in defending other people's interests.

Villagers also said that the church, while physically 'close' to the problem, was not interested in helping local people. Ilaramatak Lolkonerei, on the other hand, has shown concern and been active on local people's behalf. Although its influence is still small, members of the community are considering joining it, thereby increasing their strength to seek outside assistance and prevent further 'land grabbing', and increase their ability to seek outside assistance.

Another Chapati diagram revealed what one participant called "the hopelessness of the situation" (Box 23). At the centre of the diagram is the community and one NGO (Ilaramatak Lolkonerei). The Village Council who, together with the District Council and the traditional leadership, were depicted in positions far from the centre, and they are accused of being involved in the alienation of land. The church was considered ineffective in helping local people with this problem. All were accused of working with 'land grabbers' (*mabepari*). The villagers are depicted as isolated, with few allies and fewer organisations that they can go to for assistance. Those institutions that were supposed to help them, such as traditional authority, are said to have failed them. As one Maasai proverb says: "The lion does not just open its mouth and swallow you" - it hunts, mauls and eats you.

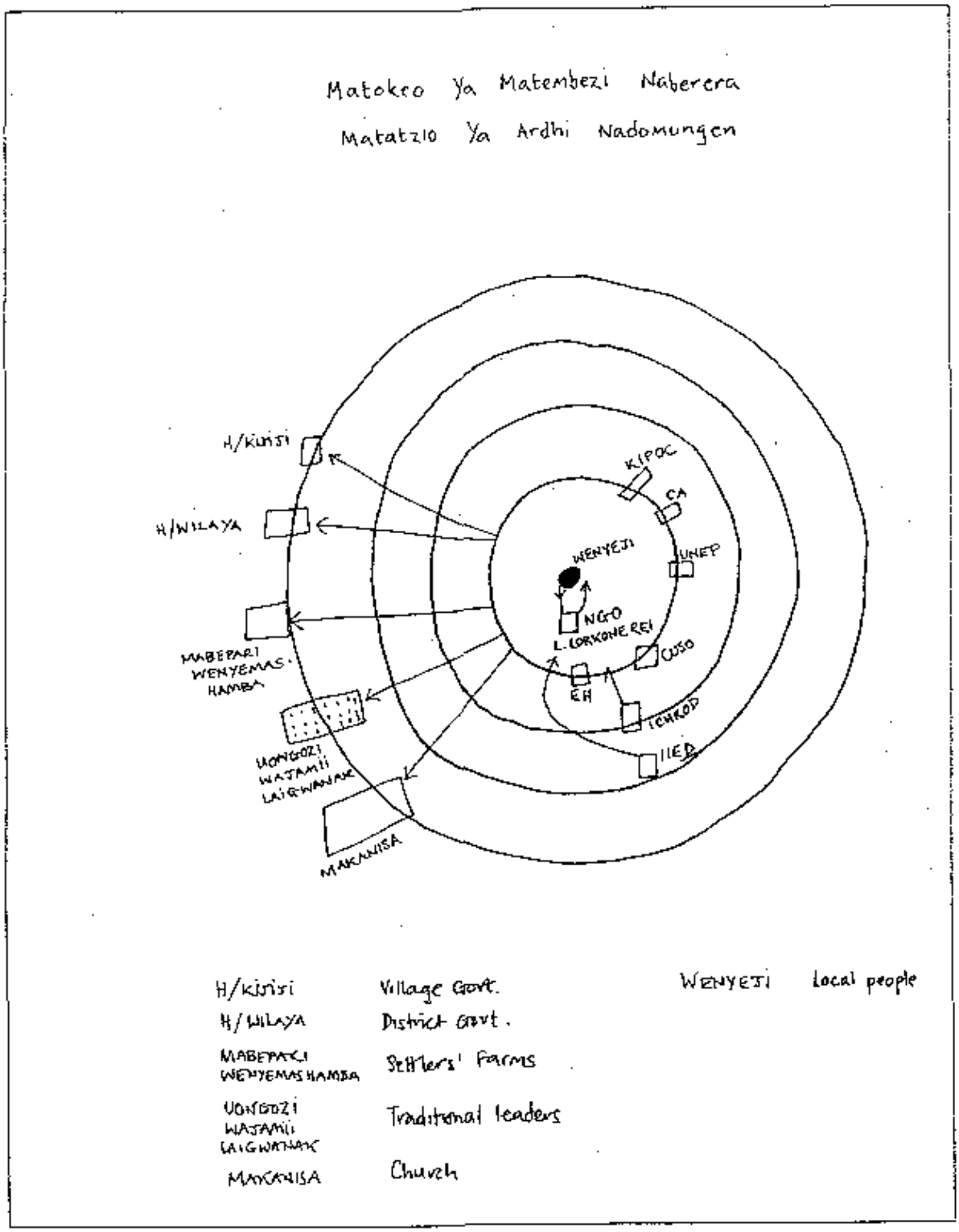
A number of international agencies that offer the potential to support communities include the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), IIED, CUSO, and the International Centre for Human Rights and Development (ICHRD). One strategy suggested by participants for assistance was to strengthen their links with such organisations.

Reflections on the visit to Naberera

During the report back on the visit to Irkidomungan village in Naberera ward, there was some intense discussion on the role of the traditional leadership and government in the land issue. This discussion was important. It revealed that workshop participants had very different interpretations of the data that they had recorded and, therefore, different perceptions of the problem and its solutions.

Some participants argued that the villagers felt helpless and demoralised because they could no longer rely on their traditional leadership. There was little that the community could do about their problem if their leaders collaborated with the 'land grabbers'. Meetings of the leadership do not take place and traditional leaders cannot be voted out of office. In contrast, other participants criticised the analysis represented in the chapati diagram that suggests the traditional leadership was "running away from the problem". They argued that it was wrong to confuse the actions of one or two people who may have a lot of power in decision-making with the whole leadership group. Rather than running away, they suggested that traditional leaders have been incapacitated. Discussion thus revolved around the question of whether the traditional leadership could be empowered, and whether it should be.

Box 23: Chapati diagram drawn by Naberera villagers expressing the feelings of isolation



Another participant, who came from Naberera, argued that the chapati diagram also misrepresented the role of the Village Council. She reported that in 1990 much of the land had already been taken, facilitated by some officials through 'dubious' means. When some members of the Village Council came to realise this they protested to the District Commissioner, who had endorsed fifteen requests for land allocation, and they asked the Chairman and Secretary of the Village Council to resign.

The Village Council itself, however, was divided over the District Commissioner's directive. Several members were in favour of the land allocation, and the villagers failed to remove the chairman because he was a traditional leader. The chapati diagram was therefore wrong, as it only represented one side of the picture; some members of the Village Council are close to the problem and are working to solve it. Furthermore, the traditional leaders are also close to the problem and should be involved, but they are often intimidated by government officials.

Several participants expressed the opinion that the role of women in the land issues had been neglected during the workshop. Although traditionally women have little decision-making power over land management, women's groups have been very vocal in their opposition to land alienation. This is because it poses particular problems for women. Discussions with men and women in Irkidomungan showed that they experience the problem differently. When men leave to work in the towns or mines, it is women who have to stay in the homesteads to care for the children, and women have been particularly vulnerable to sexual harassment. Some women in Irkidomungan complained of stress and mental disorder because they were constantly worried about the security of their children.

It was generally agreed that traditional elders should be included in the search for a solution to land problems, and others in the community, such as women, should also have an important role to play. Where the traditional leadership is found wanting, all local institutions should come together and use their power to improve it.

Discussion on the field visit concluded that if one is to intervene to prevent, reduce or resolve a conflict, it is important to try to gain an understanding of the attitudes and perceptions of all the parties involved, even if one does not accept their views. This can be very difficult to do. However, the process can yield essential information, and may even reveal common problems between conflicting parties. The map and diagrams drawn with the villagers in Irkidomungan represent their own perceptions of the problem. These differed from some of the workshop participants. Similar discussions with the Village Council or the 'land grabbers' may have produced different maps and diagrams, because their attitudes and perceptions of the problem may also be different.

The participatory mapping exercises in Irkidomungan and subsequent discussions among participants, illustrated how such methodologies can help elicit different perceptions of a problem that can potentially provide a framework for constructive discussion of problems. The visual representation of the problem, or problems, enables people to 'see' their perceptions of a problem in more objective light. It is feasible to compare them with other people's perceptions and to stimulate discussion, that potentially may produce some consensus. Our analysis of the land alienation issue in Naberera would have been more

comprehensive, and probably even more useful, if workshop participants had been able to hold similar discussions with other homesteads, with women and young men, with 'land grabbers', the church, the Village Council, government officials and with those with very few livestock who were specifically excluded in discussion.

STRATEGY BUILDING

After analysing the case studies and the visit to Naberera, the workshop proceeded to discuss strategy building for PINGOs. The main problems to be addressed, and the options that PINGOs might pursue in tackling them were summarised under four headings and discussed in small groups:

* International interests
* Society
* Government
* Land Rights

International Interests

The group that looked at international interests concluded that the 'local' issue of land alienation was directly linked to Africa's and Tanzania's marginalisation in the world economy. Tanzania's submission to the strictures of international donors and financial institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund, works to undermine local self-sufficiency, and creates wealth and power differentials within society that result in the exploitation by the powerful of the least powerful such as pastoralists.

The options open to PINGOs to address this issue include:

* Suing the international corporations that are directly involved in land alienation.

* Lobbying for policies and legislation that ensures respect for human rights, and requires farming corporations to undertake environmental impact assessments before any operations are undertaken. This is in line with the guidelines of Agenda 21and the International Convention to Combat Desertification.

* Hold public hearings on these issues and support the formation of a National Commission on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

* Developing an information and media campaign to publicise the issues, strategically aimed and leading up to the First International Day for Indigenous Peoples on 9 August 1995.

Society

The group which looked at issues in society suggested that the problems partially emanated from within Maasai and Barabaig societies and identified the following 'failings':

* The pastoral mode of production and the contribution it makes to the national economy has not been adequately explained and understood by central authorities.

* Pastoral groups have a management system, but have failed to formalise their legal ownership of land within government structures.

* There is a need to recognise changes in society and find ways of marrying the new with the old.

* There is lack of cooperation within Maasai society, and this prevents open communication between different parts of Simanjiro district.

* Pastoralists who accept a form of development defined by the government are foregoing their own culture.

* Their traditional institutions are disintegrating and the educated Maasai are alienating themselves from their own people.

* Pastoralists are caught in a position of dependency and they say; "the Maasai like a free ride".

The options open to PINGOs to address these problems were identified as:

* unity and cohesion among all pastoralists to bring strength to their cause.

* education for liberation.

* advocacy on the issues that affect them.

* avoiding dependency on outside assistance.

* a need to develop structures that allow women as well as men to have access to and control over resources.

Government

The group that looked at the problem of government argued that the state has destroyed the indigenous political and social institutions of pastoral society. It was suggested that the state needs to recognise the legitimacy of traditional legal and institutional authorities. For example, traditional leaders need to have a voice in local government.

Land

In order to address the problems described in the case studies and seen on the field visit, the group which looked at land and resources suggested that the following needed to be done:

* There is a need to mobilise community action and educate people about their land rights.

* Pastoral communities need to develop their economic strength in order to be able to protect their land.

* The government needs to understand and recognise the contribution pastoralists make to the national economy.

* The government should return land that has been illegally taken, and people should be compensated for the loss of such land.

* PINGOs should attend the Land Policy Workshop to be held in Arusha in January 1995, and take their case direct to the government (which they did).

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Time constraints made it impossible to undertake a full evaluation of the workshop with all participants. The following conclusions and recommendations are therefore purely those of the workshop facilitators and authors of the report.

1. Evaluation by PINGOs of the Terrat workshop as a basis for planning next steps

The workshop provided the first opportunity for pastoralist NGOs in Tanzania to receive training in 'conflict management' and 'conflict resolution'. The workshop was, therefore, necessarily exploratory. There was insufficient time to develop an action plan of practical NEXT STEPS that member organisations of PINGOs might take after the workshop. Responsibility for developing such a plan was delegated to the PINGOs Joint Committee.

It is proposed that the PINGOs Joint Committee makes its own evaluation of the workshop before considering whether and how to undertake any further work in this field. We recommended that PINGOs take time in the near future to reflect on the outcomes and benefits of the workshop. In evaluating the workshop, participants might reflect on the following basic questions:

Which sessions in the workshop were most useful?
Which sessions in the workshop were not useful?
Were expectations of the workshop fulfilled? If yes, how? If not, why not?
How will the workshop assist with future work?

Future support for training in conflict management and resolution for PINGOs should be guided by this review. However, in advance of this, the following recommendations can be made.

2. Conflict resolution workshops for specific situations

Historically, the institutions and means have existed within pastoralist society for dealing with conflict over resource management. However, the efficacy of these customary institutions and mechanisms for dealing with the large-scale land alienation going on in Tanzania at this time is now in doubt. There are nonetheless cases where the traditional leadership, combined with NGO support and other interest groups, have had success in combatting land alienation in some places.

The current legal framework is biased against pastoralists and other marginalised groups. Some work is needed to bring together those 'grabbing' land and those suffering the effects of 'land grabbing'. IIED and FTPP should consider supporting further conflict resolution workshops in different locations that will bring together villagers, elders, pastoral organisations, government officials, commercial farmers, and others directly involved to discuss the issues. However, this will require much preparation and further training of PINGOs in conflict handling skills.

3. Developing a contemporary role for traditional leadership in managing conflicts over natural resources

Political structures in Tanzania are currently going through a transition following the introduction of multi-party politics. A number of traditional leaders have been elected on to Village Councils and others are contesting the elections as parliamentary candidates. There is, therefore, potential for leaders to take a more significant role in the settlement of land disputes. The current role that traditional leaders are playing in land alienation was a contentious issue in the workshop. IIED and FTPP should consider facilitating further workshops that specifically bring together traditional leaders to discuss land conflicts.

4. External Training to Assist Local Capacity-Building

IIED and FTPP should consider supporting further training of people selected by PINGOs in conflict resolution and management skills. This might take the form of a scholarship for one or two PINGOs development workers to attend a course in "Working with Conflict" conducted by RTC, or a similar training course with another agency such as RESOLVE. The purpose of this would be three-fold. Firstly, to enhance local capacity and reduce the need to rely on external personnel. Secondly, to help PINGOs develop contact with people and organisations working with conflict. Thirdly, to develop a programme of research on traditional conflict resolution and conflict management methods, that can improve the capacity of these institutions to meet contemporary conditions, and assess the relevance of Western models of conflict resolution for Tanzania.

5. Improved Joint Preparation for Future Initiatives

Any further workshops on conflict resolution should involve the participants, organisers, donors and facilitators in preparation and implementation.

6. Institutional Development of PINGOs

NGOs are a relatively new development in Tanzania's pastoral and hunting and gathering communities. They are still fragile organisations very dependent on their leadership. Their fragility was evident on a number of occasions during the workshop when disputes arose over representation in the workshop, the structure of PINGOs, and the behaviour of individuals. The problem is clearly recognised by PINGOs and resources should be directed to resolve internal problems as much as external ones. The workshop also revealed the different perceptions among members of PINGOs of the nature of the land conflicts and solutions to them.

As an alternative to government institutions, such as Village Councils, local NGOs provide an interface between customary and contemporary institutions. Although the NGOs have no parallel in customary institutions, they tend to be managed by people from the same age-group (*irkishumu*). The significance of this was not sufficiently explored at the workshop. Further work on this could reveal interesting new ways that local people can become more involved with issues that affect them.

The organisational structure of local NGOs in Tanzania is currently stipulated by government. It is legitimate to ask whether this organisational model is appropriate, and meets the needs of the constituents that the NGOs support? An answer to this question could shed light on the reason why NGOs are prone to fragmentation.

Donors often have high expectations of local NGOs without providing essential institutional support. There is a danger that because these NGOs are dependent on foreign support, organisational weaknesses will create credibility problems with donors. As a dispute over the use of a video camera during the workshop indicated, well intentioned donor support can become divisive. Currently CUSO is the only international NGO in Tanzania providing consistent institutional support to PINGOs. Other donors should give thought to the institutional strengths and weaknesses of local NGOs and identify ways of strengthening these organisations. This may need to take into account the way that traditional institutions are organised. One possible way of approaching this would be to support a workshop, or series of workshops, for the leadership of the PINGOs, which would both analyse the make up of their respective organisations, and assist with the development of specific management skills.

7. Further Training in PRA Methods

Participatory approaches such as PRA mapping methods and role play can have a useful impact on conflict resolution processes. These techniques, therefore, need to be explored in a variety of settings, e.g. for conflict prevention, for identifying different perceptions, for use in negotiation, for information gathering. IIED and FTPP should consider supporting the

further development of these methods for different settings and needs. Different interest groups should be encouraged to participate in any future conflict-related exercise. If workshop participants and local NGOs are to use these techniques there is clearly a need for more comprehensive training in these methods. It is recommended, therefore, that IIED and FTPP consider supporting those members of PINGOs interested in developing the use of participatory methodologies, including PRA, in conflict situations to undergo further training.

8. Responding to Conflict

Responding to Conflict is pleased to have been involved in the Terrat workshop, and is willing, according to its capacity, to provide advice and assistance in the future to develop or implement any of the above proposals.

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APPENDIX A: WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS

Name	Organisation
1. William S. Sikarari	Ilaramatak Lolkonerei
2. Saning'o-k ole Saning'o Martin	Ilaramatak Lolkonerei
3. Ndelelia Saruni	Ilaramatak Lolkonerei
4. Jacob ole Peshut	Ilaramatak Lolkonerei
5. Isaya ole Koonya	Ilaramatak Lolkonerei
6. Sundeka ole Mbipiyo	Ilaramatak Lolkonerei
7. Edward Kalo Mbarnot	Ilaramatak Lolkonerei
8. Suzana Thomas	Ilaramatak Lolkonerei
9. Mary Labdaki	Ilaramatak Lolkonerei
10. Juliana T. Porokwa	Ilaramatak Lolkonerei
11. Edward Aldei	Ilaramatak - Mkomazi
12. Lameck A. Kipuyo	Ilaramatak - Mkomazi
13. Lekei ole Milakoni	Ilaramatak - Mkomazi
14. Moringe L. Parkipuny	KIPOC Loliondo
15. Isri Yusufu	KIPOC Loliondo
16. Metui Michael Tipap	KIPOC Loliondo
17. Sunole ole Tutayo	KIPOC Loliondo
18. Norkitoipo M. Kaake	KIPOC Loliondo
19. Maanda Ngoitiko	KIPOC Loliondo
20. Jacob ole Toroge	KIPOC Loliondo
21. Elaine Ward	KIPOC Loliondo
22. Stephen K. Mairinai	Inyuat e-Moipo
23. Peter Parsais Tendee	Inyuat e-Moipo
24. Zakina Maiperi	Inyuat e-Moipo
25. Lawrence Shongon	Inyuat e-Moipo
26. Saruni ole Koreya	Inyuat e-Moipo
27. Magy Shahanga	Inyuat e-Moipo
28. Martha Kipaiwa	Inyuat e-Moipo
29. Elibarik G. Basuta	Bulgalda - Katesh
30. Augustino Maragu	Bulgalda - Katesh
31. Daniel Shing'adeda	Bulgalda - Katesh
32. Mathayo Langay	Bulgalda - Katesh
33. Zeinabu Gidobat	Bulgalda - Katesh
34. Christopher Digay	Bulgalda - Katesh
35. Charles A. Maragu	Bulgalda - Katesh
36. Daniel Murumbi	Bulgalda - Katesh
37. Linda Parema	Bulgalda - Katesh
38. William Gwamda	Bulgalda - Katesh
39. Godfrey Sakita	Inyuat e-Maa
40. Tate ole Rokerea	Inyuat e-Maa
41. Lekoko Baraka	Inyuat e-Maa
42. Saruni ole Ngulai	Inyuat e-Maa
43. Francis Syapa	Ngopadeo - Ngorongoro

44. William ole Njoye	Ngopadeo - Ngorongoro
45. Peter Melele	Ngopadeo - Ngorongoro
46. Tepilit ole Saitoti	Ilparakuo Lolgira Lekorongoro
47. Francis ole Ikayo	Ilparakuo Lolgira Lekorongoro
48. Richard Baalow	Mongo-wa-mono
49. Charles Lane	IIED
50. Simon Fisher	Responding to Conflict
51. Mark Bradbury	Responding to Conflict
52. Anders Tivell	Forests Trees & People Programme
52 Geoff Taylor	Forests Trees & People Programme

APPENDIX B: TERRAT WORKSHOP PROGRAMME 11-15 DECEMBER 1994

Day 1:

1. Introductions and Welcomes
2. Structure and Organisation of Workshop
3. Establishing Expectations
4. Understanding Democracy

Day 2:

1. Development: What is it?
2. Understanding Conflict
3. Culture and Conflict

Day 3:

1. Culture and Conflict (continued)
2. Natural Resource Conflicts
3. Tools for Analysis
4. Case Studies: Ngorongoro, Monduli, Hanang, Simanjiro

Day 4:

1. Field visit to Naberera

Day 5:

1. Analysis of Naberera field visit
2. Gender
3. Case Studies: Hadzabe, Tarangiri
4. Strategy building
5. Evaluation

The Drylands Programme at IIED was established in 1988 to promote sustainable rural development in Africa's arid and semi-arid regions. The Programme acts as a centre for research, information exchange and support to people and institutions working in dryland Africa.

The main fields of activity are:

• Networking between researchers, local organisations, development agents and policy makers. Networks help exchange ideas, information and techniques for longer term solutions for Africa's arid lands.

• Support to local organisations and researchers to encourage sharing of experience and ideas, capacity building and establishing collaborative links.

• Action-oriented research in the practice and policy of sustainable development in Africa's drylands, focusing on the variability of resources and incomes on which populations depend, development-oriented research methodologies, and natural resource management systems.

Pastoral Land Tenure Series

A programme for research support and institutional collaboration on pastoral land tenure in Africa was established in 1991.

The programme's goals are:

• To influence the formulation of land use policy through the generation of research findings that support and inform the debate on common property resource management.

• Contribute to the resolution of conflicts over land.

• Clarify the policy options available to national planners and donor agency personnel.

• Provide the basis for more efficient land use in pastoral areas of dryland Africa.

A series of papers arising from this work will be published with a view to making relevant information available to policy-makers and development practitioners.

IIED
INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

3 Endsleigh Street, London WC1H 0DD, UK
Telephone: 44.171.388 2117
Fax: 44.171.388 2826 Telex: 317210 BUREAU G