

**A REVIEW OF LAND TENURE POLICY IMPLICATIONS ON PASTORALISM
IN TANZANIA**

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Introduction

Land and natural resources occupy an important place in the political history, social organization and economics of Tanzania. Over the years, the politics of land has pervaded the discourse at the national level in the country. This is because the main components of the national economy of Tanzania are based on land agriculture, mining, tourism, fisheries as well as forestry. A large proportion of the population of Tanzania lives in the rural areas and derives their livelihood directly from the land. Subsistence farming and pastoralism constitute a substantial component of the livelihoods of the people. Nearly 80% of the land area in Tanzania is classified as semi-arid (ODA, 1994). Grassland, dense thicket, woodland, gallery forests and seasonally inundated grasslands are found in semi arid areas (Armitage, 1996). The main sources of livelihood in these areas are pastoralism and agro-pastoralism (Brockington, 2001). Pastoralists have well defined social and gender roles (**Figure 1 and 2**) that are useful for their livelihood (Fratkins, 1997). Over years there have been changes in land reforms in Tanzania, which in turn have resulted into changes in livelihood and gender roles of pastoralists. This paper reviews the implications of land tenure policies on pastoral livelihood and suggests measures to improve the pastoral production system.

Background information

The total population in Tanzania mainland is 34.569.2325 and has grown from 12.313.469 persons in 1967 when the first census after Independence was carried out. The majority of Tanzania's population (e.g. 82%) derive their main livelihood from agriculture (including the livestock sector) (NSGRP 2005a p. 6). About 10 % - or 2.2 million people practice pastoralist or agro-pastoralist production (National Census, 2003), under various forms of transhumance. Various developments in Tanzania have implied a high level of mobility and migration in many parts of the country, both rural-rural and rural-urban migration. Migration involves agriculturalists as well as pastoralists resulting into increased land pressure.

Tanzania has recognized the importance of land to the livelihood and economies of its people and hence policy and legal stipulations for sustainable management of land and natural resources are being reviewed. The reviews carried out in recent years have focused on the management of land and natural resources as a consequence of both local and global concerns. At the local level, population increase has resulted in greater pressure on land, while concern for sustainable land use practices has heightened with the rise in environmental awareness (Odhiambo, 2002). At the global level, the pressures for liberalization of land and natural resources, specifically with a view to putting land in the market place have been critical in revisiting land legislations.

Like many other African countries Tanzania is constantly under pressure both from internal and international environmental organisations, conservationists, hunters associations etc. to increase areas under conservation and to increase restrictions in areas already conserved. This is directly and indirectly reflected in recent policies and legislations like for example the Forest Policy of 1998, the Community Based Forest Management Guidelines of 2001, the Forest Act of 2002, the Environmental Management Act 2004, the Wildlife Policy of 1998, the Draft National Livestock Policy of 2005, the Strategic Plan for the Implementation of the Land Acts (SPILL, URT 2005d). Establishment of Game Reserves and conservation are frequent sources of conflicts in many parts of Tanzania.



Figure 1. Massai elder with children at grazing cattle

Increasing land scarcity and conflicts of interest between different land users in these and other areas have implied that huge numbers of people have migrated in search of arable land and pastures elsewhere. Areas that are marginal in terms of fertility and situated in semi-arid parts of the country with erratic rainfall are now increasingly being used for cultivation. The effects of this are aggravated by the fact that the majority of people cultivating in these areas cannot afford to use any inputs to maintain/improve soil fertility (Nielsen et al 2005, Odgaard et al 2005). Other implications of the spread of cultivation into marginal areas, is that access to grazing areas is consequently diminishing (Odgaard, 2005, Mattee and Shem 2006). An increasing number of land conflicts are now occurring between different interest groups and between various types of land use. (Odgaard 2005, Ojalammi 2006).

Laws, policies and interventions affecting land rights

The present legal framework and procedures for the regulation of land rights in Tanzania is laid out in the two new Land Acts e.g. The Land Act and the Village Land Act of 1999 (URT 1999a+b), which became operational in May 2001. The policy behind these acts is the National Land Policy of 1995 (URT 1995).

Land is now divided into three categories: **General Land, Reserve Land, and Village Land**, while land management and administration is decentralized. The President in his capacity as the head of the executive, delegates his powers to the ministry officials to administer and manage land in all the three categories. The central office in the administration of land is the Commissioner for Lands (Shivji, 1999).

General Land is governed by the Land Act and directly under the Commissioner, Reserve Lands under statutory or other bodies set up with the powers over these lands (Forest Reserves are for example governed by the Forest Act of 2002), and village land is governed by the Village Land Act and under the administration of the village council (Shivji, 1999). The village council acts as an agent of the Commissioner in administering land (Shivji, 1999). Village Councils operate as trustees on behalf of village members who together formally compose the Village Assembly. Thus the principle is that the Village Council administers the land through the authority of the Village Assembly – the highest authority at the village level (Wily, 2003, Shivji, 1999 and Sundet 2005).

Historically it has been shown in numerous studies how areas previously occupied by pastoralists or used by hunter gatherers have been constantly reduced due to conservation efforts, development interventions, or due to expansion of cultivation activities into grazing areas and forests and woodlands. In Tanzania and in many other African countries the rights of commons have been very insecure. It has also been shown that one of the reasons why it has been possible to alienate land from the pastoralists and hunter gatherers is that their rights were not well provided for in the previous land legislation in Tanzania , and that their type of land use put them in a disadvantaged position in relation to defend their rights (Odgaard 2005, Madsen 2000, Mattee and Shem 2006, Odhiambo 2005).

In the New Land Acts there are several provisions for the safeguarding of communally held rights. (For further specifications URT 1999 and Wily 2003). Such rights can be registered and the law also recognizes land sharing between pastoralists and agriculturalists. However, many observers point out that reference to the rights of pastoralists are too scanty and in some places there are contradicting provisions in the Village Land Act and the Land Act. Moreover, it has been emphasized that there are provisions in recent policies and legislation based on which whatever rights of the commons provided for in the two Land Acts may be undermined. Especially the following laws and policies are seen to

have sections which potentially may be very detrimental to the rights of the commons: Strategic Plan for Implementation of the Land Laws' (SPILL), the Forest Act of 2002, the 1998 Wildlife Policy, Environmental Management Act 2004, the Draft Livestock Policy 2005, Tanzania Private Investment Act 1997, and the newly established Land Bank Scheme (Mattee and Shem 2006, PINGO, 2006).

One of the main objectives of the land law is in fact to protect the various types of existing rights, even if they are not registered. Thus a villager's land interest is secure today even if she or he does not have a certificate for the land. However, as mentioned land registration is encouraged and a main purpose of the law is to provide a way for the citizens to register their rights and to get certificates of ownership. (Wily 2003)

The procedures required to obtain a certificate of ownership for individuals as well as for groups are described in detail in Wily (2003). Suffice it here to say that it is a cumbersome process – and certainly not 'free of charge'. According to Shivji (1999, p. 4) acquiring title deeds is 'a top-down process, bureaucratically managed and involving considerable outlay of resources. It is certainly not a process, which can be managed at the village level and, therefore; it is unlikely that the number of ordinary villagers and especially pastoralists will be able to obtain certificates in the reasonable future.' (p. 4). The cumbersome procedure in relation to registration of land rights as well as practical implications of some of the provisions of the law are also dealt with in detail in Sundet (2005).

The number of steps to be taken, forms to be filled and officers at all levels of the government structure to be involved and possible conflicts to be solved/taken to court, is a scaring scenario indeed, and especially vulnerable groups with very little resources such as poor women, young people and poor pastoralists will not be able to go through such procedures in the short run (Odgaard, 2005).

A number of pastoral organizations have also expressed fear that pastures may be looked at as 'idle' or 'bare' land, and then be identified for investment purposes. A large part of the land areas used for pastures fall under the category general land, which is under the exclusive control of central government. Pastoralists fear that the government may find it in the interest of the general public that such land is used for investment purposes in stead (PINGO's Forum 2006 and Olenasha et al; 2004).

When looking at the Land Bank scheme, the Land Acts and other recent policies and legislation related to natural resource management together, the concerns raised do seem relevant. Many draw attention to inconsistency within different parts of the laws and policies themselves and contradictions between them.

Another contradicting legislation in the 'Strategic Plan for the Implementation of the Land Acts' (SPILL) (URT 2005). Under SPILL, the traditional practices of farmers and pastoralists have to be changed and they have to learn to practice

modern agriculture and/or animal husbandry. The starting point for increased production is seen in SPILL to be increasing acreages (URT 200, p. 16). In order to promote such a situation the plan contains two essential strategies, namely to sedentarize pastoralists and change their production system into a ranching system, and to introduce a system of minimum acreages for farmers through a resettlement scheme. How applicable SPILL is at ground level, remains to be seen.

The present performance of the pastoral sector is in general looked at very negatively in the plan (SILL) and a number of points are emphasized as of critical concern:

- “Pastoral production has very low productivity levels (meaning it marginally addresses poverty reduction policy)
- Pastoralism degrades large masses of land (meaning is not environmentally friendly)
- Pastoralism invades established farms (meaning it violates security of tenure)
- At the moment it is impossible to control livestock diseases, thus making it difficult to export meat, milk and livestock due to international demands on livestock, health and products free of infectious agents (meaning has marginal support only to economic development.” (SPILL, URT 2005d, p. 14)

The conclusion to these points in the plan is: “Pastoralists have to be given land and told to settle.

There are a number of other policy reforms and new Acts in Tanzania, which also have implications for land rights and land conflicts for all rural dwellers in Tanzania. Examples of these are: The Environmental Management Act of 2004, the Forest Act of 2002, the Wildlife Policy of 1998 and the draft Wildlife Act of 2004. The main concerns expressed by some observers in relation to these acts and policies are that they are not harmonized with for example the Land Acts and therefore some of the provisions are contradicting provisions in the Land Acts. Moreover, it is emphasized that at the same time as the policies and Acts send signals of more focus on community participation and devolution of powers to the local community level, they do in fact also open for more central government control with natural resources management (interviews with representatives of CORDS, PINGOs Forum and OXFAM, and also appearing from Mattee and Shem 2006).

Pastoralism in Tanzania

Pastoralism is a way of livestock production in which livestock keepers move their cattle, sheep and goats from place to place to take advantage of pasture

and water which are available at different times during the year. On the dry-land plains of Tanzania, livestock and their herders, sometimes entire families, can move large distances to reach suitable pastures, which causes some pastoralists to live a nomadic or semi nomadic existence.

In Tanzania there are approximately 1.5 million pastoralists spread among five pastoral tribes and communities, with the Maasai being the largest and most well known. Pastoralist Maasai in Tanzania, like many other indigenous people in the world, face a number of acute challenges including a shortage of land for grazing, lack of water, frequent cases of cattle rustling, poor delivery of social services, population increase and a break-down of traditional institutions.

Furthermore, inadequate recognition of pastoralism and the pastoral way of life in national policies has resulted in a great deal of conflict, mainly over land issues. This, in turn, has contributed to a negative state perspective on the pastoralist culture, way of life and its value as an economic activity.



Figure 2: A Maasai women community

Due to these issues, and the increased population pressures and the diversification of land use patterns in Tanzania (i.e. expansion of settled and ranching farming, national parks, towns and settlements) access to pasture and water for livestock has diminished and has forced pastoralists to migrate to the central, eastern and southern parts of the country. These migrations have led to increased tension and conflict with crop farmers, national parks and national conservation authorities. The Government of Tanzania has enacted a number of land laws which aim to provide a clear legislative framework for land administration, and help to resolve these conflicts as pointed above.

The Government has formulated a livestock policy. The vision of the livestock policy is that by 2025 the livestock sector will be to a large extent commercially run, modern and sustainable, to ensure food security, improved income for the household and the nation while conserving the environment. The ultimate aim is

to ensure that the livestock sector should be run in a participatory manner, emphasizing dialogue between Government and livestock keepers. The policy underscores the contribution of pastoralism as a viable and profitable way of life for livestock farmers, and it is hoped that the various new laws and policies governing pastoralists will bring about more understanding and acceptance of the pastoralist way of life in Tanzania.

The consequences of land reforms on pastoralism

The evolution of Tanzania's reform of its land laws is an initiative embarked on as part of broad economic liberalization supported by donors and the World Bank Group. The land reform process has so far had three distinct outcomes: first, a Presidential Land Commission presented its report; second, the government issued a National Land Policy; and, third, completed Land acts formulation which has replaced the Land Ordinance of 1923.

In Tanzania the trend has been unfolding is as follows: **First**, the colonial legislation and programmes viewed pastoral land as reserves awaiting proper allocation and exploitation. Wildlife reserves and prime land for settlers were always cut-out of the rangelands. After independence, however, a realization that pastoralism was a way of life, which had to be secured in official policy started to emerge in the conservation strategy of the Ngorongoro where multiple land-use plan recognized that wildlife and pastoral activities could be carried hand in hand.

Second, the post-independence state through the adoption of the World Bank's modernization strategies enacted for the pastoralist development the Range Development Act, 1964 which constituted the official strategy of modernizing the Massai, and other pastoralists. The failure of the so-called range schemes is a lesson on not only the limits of legal engineering on social change but a revelation on how the officials completely misconceived pastoralism.

Third, the pastoralist strategies changed incrementally with the ujamaa villagisation policy. With its agricultural overtones the ujamaa strategy emphasized sedentarisation and in a large measure failed to benefit the pastoralist. **Fourth**, the liberalisation of the economy and emphasis on privatisation fueled by the IMF/World Bank agenda on markets and privatisation has increasingly opened the rangelands to a host of external forces. Land acquired by the state either for direct economic activity or for the 'conservation' (e.g. Mkomazi game reserve and Ngorongoro conservation area); incremental settlement by villagers and state action required the sedentarisation of pastoralists; tilting land use planning and privatization.

The alienation of pastoral lands has generally been a result of the misconceptions about the sadly misunderstood modes of pastoral land and resource use. Pastoral peoples practice a way of life, which, in many respects, is

'unconventional' in that their way of life, in particular, their mode of land and resource use, differs significantly from the general agricultural land use patterns.

Land tenure in pastoral societies of Tanzania comprises of two key concepts namely, **territory** which denotes land as defined by the jurisdiction of state or community, etc.; **and domain** which refers to the range of customary control or sphere of influence (Kaare, 1996, 5). The pastoralists continually move from their territories to their domains and back in a way, which makes the most of the forage, and pasture regimes that semi-arid climatic conditions offer (Lane, 1995, Scoones, 1995, Potkanski, 1997). It is this climate-driven mode of land and resource use which has led to their lands being dubbed as uninhabited, barren or under-utilized. As a result, these lands have been confiscated without concern for the pastoralist way of life on the pretext that they were 'no man's lands'.

Apart from economic rationalizations, there is also an underlying socio-cultural justification for confiscating pastoral lands. In a thoughtful article, Kaare (1996) argues that these 'National Cultural Minorities' lead a way of life, which is said to be incompatible with the requirements of modern states and economic needs of modern societies. Consequently, they have been a target for change and radical transformation as a way of disentangling them from their perceived backwardness. And due to what is seen as their failure to participate in economic processes, the pastoralists have been singled out for the heaviest dose of developmental intervention whose goal has been to change their way of life to sedentary life and make them embrace agriculture in lieu of pastoralism (Kaare, 1996, Scoones, 1995). These see pastoral land and resource use as leading to environmental degradation, desertification, drought and disaster.

The misconceptions about pastoralism and pastoralists are best illustrated by their place in the National Land Policy adopted by the Government in 1996 (MLHUD, 1996). The Policy puts pastoral concerns at the periphery of policy-making. It acknowledges, to be sure, the 'growing social conflicts, environmental concerns and land use conflicts due to haphazard alienation of rangelands for large scale agriculture (which) frequently disown pastoralists of their grazing lands and proposes that security of tenure for pastoralists in pastoral land areas will be guaranteed by appropriate measures including gazetting to protect grazing land from encroachment; issuing of certificates of village lands to protect common property regimes; restoration to pastoralists of under-utilized or neglected former pasture land; and reversion to pastoral land uses of rangelands where any other activity therein ceases.

Then on the same breath, the Land Policy turns against the pastoralists, blaming them for encroaching into agricultural lands and causing conflicts with other communities and for land degradation! It states that 'the free movement of pastoralists with their cattle brings about land ownership and land use conflicts with settled communities. Furthermore, in the manner of the 'old orthodoxy', 'unregulated movement of livestock causes land degradation in areas through

which they pass.' The moral is clear: pastoralism and pastoralists are the victims of who are degrading the environment.

Also, Tanzania has adopted a new Wildlife Policy intended to better address the problems and obstacles that have plagued wildlife management in Tanzania. The current wildlife policy does not adequately recognize the transhumant, or nomadic, nature of many communities living within or near wildlife areas and Tanzania's protected estate. Pastoralism in semi-arid environments requires regular movement and flexibility in order to utilize the different climate-driven resource niches (Potkanski, 1997; Lane, 1995). The concepts of 'domain and territory' (Kaare, 1996) which inform pastoral land use and resource tenure do not coincide with the sedentary, village-centered thinking that informs the Wildlife Management Areas (WMA) concept (Neumann, 1992; Homewood and Rodgers, 1991; Potkanski, 1997). Rural communities are in effect dispossessed of customary land and resources on which they depend for their livelihoods and from which they could generate in-come for local-level development. About 1/3 of the country's total area is protected to a certain degree as *National Park*, "Game Reserve", *Marine Park*, *Forest Reserve*, (Figures 3 and 4). **Table 1 gives an overview on the various protected areas in Tanzania.**

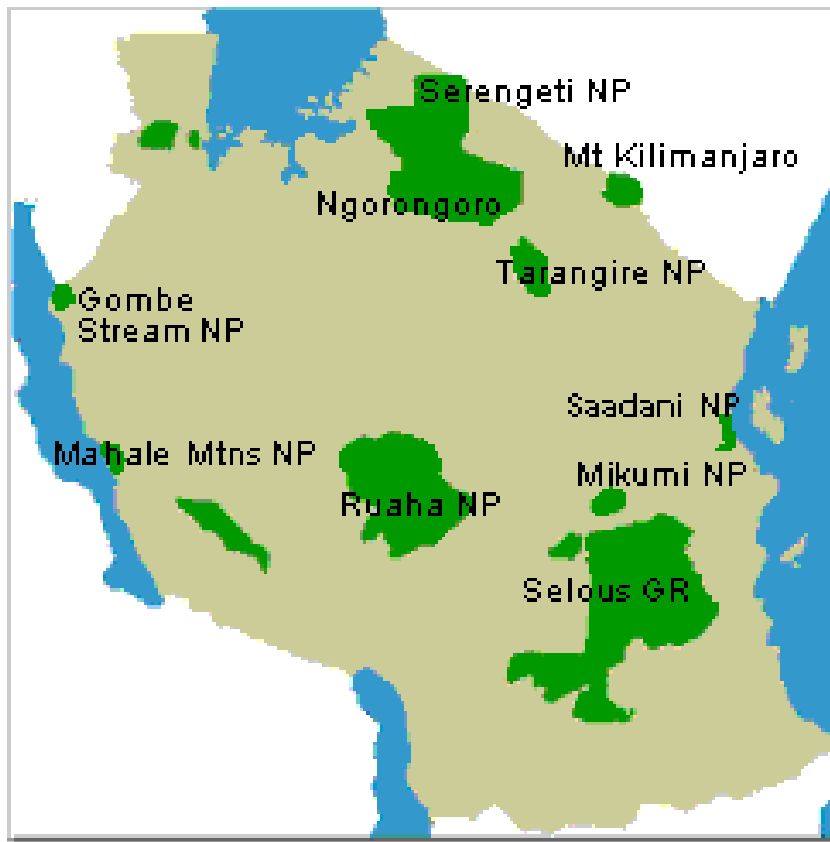


Figure 3: Distribution of National Parks in Tanzania



Figure 4 Wildlife Protected Areas of Tanzania

The pastoral people in Tanzania have been the most prominent victims of protected areas and wildlife conservation policies and practices widely acknowledged today. In pre-colonial times, the Maasai and other pastoral groups controlled a vast area stretching from central Kenya to central Tanzania. Today, they occupy less than two thirds of their former territory and there are indications that this will go on dwindling (Kaare, 1996, Okoth-Ogendo, 1992). Wildlife conservation policies, characterized by the creation of exclusive wildlife protected areas, and state-sponsored agriculture - both large and small scale - and commercial ranching have been responsible for this plight of the pastoral peoples in dry land ecosystems of Tanzania (Lane, 1991, 1994, Scoones, 1995, Mustafa, 1997).

The inadequate consideration of pastoralist in both the land and wildlife polices triggers off the migration of the pastoral communities because the interference with their pastoral land use regimes renders their economies difficult to manage.

The ever shrinking areas to which they are forced to move are then unable to sustainably hold their herds, leading to land degradation. And when this happens, they are blamed for it (Lane, 1994, Scoones, 1995).

Pastoralist migrations

Johnson (1969) identifies the combination of animals herded and the role that agriculture assumes in a pastoral group's economy as being the most influential factors determining migration. The first and most obvious response to drought is to move the animals to areas where there is still pasture and water. This is probably the major motor for the expansion of pastoralism especially in the case of the southward in the country. In the pre-colonial era, pastoralists migrations were limited principally by disease and more occasionally by insecurity. In the present century, these have taken second place to the occupation of land by cultivators, wildlife and the presence of boundaries that impede free passage.

The migration of pastoralists (**Figure 4**) to areas of higher productivity alleviates stress on less productive or exhausted land. Conversely, if the movement of pastoralists is restricted, already marginal land becomes more overused. Johnson (1975) observes that if pastoralists face a long journey stock deaths increase, and they must weigh likely losses from the migration against comparable losses were they to stay on suboptimal land.

Population increase in settled areas starts migration to more fertile land units in previous prime grazing areas causing a conflict between grazing and cropping and a decrease in grazing condition triggering further migration and need for new water supply..

Highest cattle populations are found in same areas where are highest wildlife concentrations. The increased number of National Parks (**Figure 3**) and reserve areas (**Figure 4**) coupled with alienation of grazing land for agriculture for example in Hanang for wheat production, in Shinyanga for cotton production without due consideration of the increased livestock population and ecological concentration have forced pastoralists to migrate southwards (**Figure 5**).

While pastoral communities have for many years been moving to the south, Tanzania has experienced another kind of the Massai migration to urban centers beginning during early 1990s in search of wage labour and other income earning activities. The reasons for such movements include loss of livestock due to diseases, drought, limited land for livestock keeping etc.



Figure 5 Southwards pastoral migration routes in Tanzania

Changes in pastoral gender roles

The picture of Maasai culture and lifestyle is very quickly being distorted. Tradition is challenged and many times overthrown by a lack of customary resources. Time-honored practices have little chance for survival within the context of rapid western influence. Everything is threatened. No longer are the times where the Maasai can maintain a cattle centered lifestyle. Conversationalist groups have come close to eradicating the Maasai way of life.

Traditional means of sustenance, medicine, water and education have been labeled as inefficient by western influences. Due to changes in political structure the Maasai are facing devastating issues, the most pertinent being Maasai land allocation, wildlife preservation, disease and poverty, lack of education, healthcare, and lack of clean and safe drinking water. These issues are all tightly intertwined and endlessly complex; altering cultural practices, shifting traditional power dynamics, redefining survival essentials and threatening lives.

The basis of pastoral organization almost everywhere in the world is the clan, a set of patrilineally-related households traced in theory to an apical ancestor. One of the most distinctive features of pastoralism is the system of age-sets.

Among the Massai, for example, men born within a seven-year cohort fall into named age-sets and these have rights and privileges within society, as well as acting as a powerful force for cohesion and a calendrical system (Legesse 1982).

Gender reflects a set of behavioral norms ascribed to men and women in a given social group or system. Gender thus reflects attitudes and beliefs that a particular cultural group considers appropriate for males and females on the basis of their biological sex. Allocation, distribution, utilization and control of resources reflect gender relations embedded in both ideology and practice. In most parts of the world, there exist gender biases, which disadvantage women. (Mehta and Srinivasan, 2001)

Gender analyses examine the ways in which men and women interact with each other and the gendered nature of their roles, relations and control over resources (Mehta, 1997). Women and men are heterogeneous constituencies with many internal differentials undercutting their varied social locations (Mehta and Srinivasan 2001). It is thus imperative to examine gendered dimensions in the access and use of resources. Their differential roles, needs, and concerns should be accommodated in the planning, implementation, and evaluation of strategies and projects.

Gender needs and interests are influenced to a great extent by gender roles and relationships. Men and women play different roles. There are three main categories of gender roles: productive, reproductive and social/community tasks. A typical example of differential gender roles is given by the Massai pastoral community. Maasai life is one of domestic industry in which they produce most of what they use to live themselves. For example men are responsible for making spears, shields, clubs and machetes while women are responsible for beaded ornaments worn by both men and women. These are examples of different gender roles. Also, their living quarters, called Inkajjik, (**Figure 6**) are built by the women of the society using mud, sticks, grass and cow dung while the fences that protect the houses are built by the men using different types of trees.



Figure 6. Masai women repairing a house in Masai Mara (1996)

Traditionally the homes are shared by more than one family, but in recent times it is common for only one extended family to live in a house. These houses are arranged in a circular fashion, in an Inkangitie, which is a collection of several houses that serve as a homestead.

Within the homestead there are different jobs for the different members of the household. The most senior members are the elders and they are in charge of organizing the day's labor and making the day to day decisions. The elders will announce every morning the schedule of the day for everyone to follow. Women are responsible for supplying water, milking cattle, collecting firewood and cooking. This is a combination of primary and secondary subsistence activities since many of the chores do not deal directly with food getting, but since milk is so important in their society this should be considered a food getting responsibility. Boys are responsible for herding the cattle and the warriors, who are young men, are in charge of security (Syed et al., 2003).

Maasai women play an important role in selecting animals for breeding. Owing to their daily contact with cows while milking them, Maasai women are able to monitor the animals closely. In respect of the breeding of animals, women have their own prioritizing criteria. This information is regularly shared with their husbands and the other men of the boma. Women monitor animals and their health situation closely. Women take care of sick animals and prepare medicine for their treatment and also treat less serious diseases. Women are responsible for newborn calves, their mothers etc. **Women are responsible for milk management;** the income from selling milk products is controlled by women. Women and children may possess their own animals, which are managed together with the herd of the boma. Women have control over their own animals. Outside influences: when men, from time to time, leave the boma in search of additional income earning opportunities, women assume greater and greater responsibility for the herd and its management.

During the last three decades Tanzania has experienced major migrations of pastoralists and agro-pastoralists due land alienation by the government and encroachment of their grazing lands by other land users such as crop producers or mining explorations as outlined in the above section. These migrations have involved moving with their livestock to new areas or movement of certain age and gender groups in search of alternative income earning activities. Women are left at the semi-permanent house (hut) with the entire responsibility of managing the household (including, perhaps, a farming plot), as well as children and livestock left behind (particularly young, sick or milking animals)

Traditionally Maasai dancing (Figure 7) consists of rhythms provided by a chorus of vocalists man singing harmonies while a song leader, called **olaranyani**, sings the melody. The **olaranyani** is usually the singer who can best sing that song, although several individuals may lead a song. The olaranyani begins by singing a line or title (namba) of a song. The group will respond with

one unanimous call in acknowledgment, and the **olaranyani** will sing a verse over the group's rhythmic throat singing. Women sing lullabies, milking songs, and songs praising their sons. Nambas, the call-and-response pattern, repetition of nonsense phrases, monophonic melodies repeated phrases following each verse being sung on a descending scale, and singers responding to their own verses are characteristic of singing by females. One exception to the vocal nature of Maasai music is the use of the horn of the Greater Kudu to summon morans for the **Eunoto** ceremony. Unfortunately, because of their movement to new areas where they interact with different people, such systems of culture are slowly disappearing.



Figure 7. Maasai men and women singing and dancing

Due to increased emphasis on wildlife preservation many Maasai have been forced to convert to a more western way of life. Maasai herd sizes have shrunk significantly and many Maasai are now involved in agriculture. This western imposed sedentary lifestyle has proven to yield insufficient food for the Maasai and has left the land overused and eroded. The seasonal climatic shifts and poor soil quality of most of Maasailand have proven to be far more favorable for traditional Maasai sustenance methods of pastoralism. Western impositions have put the Maasai in a position of poverty, famine and economic duress

The traditional Maasai way of life is increasingly threatened The emerging forms of employment among the Maasai people include farming, business (selling of traditional medicine, running of restaurants/shops, buying and selling of minerals, selling milk and milk products by women, embroideries), and wage employment (as security guards/ watchmen, waiters, tourist guides), and others who are engaged in the public and private sectors.

Many Maasai have moved away from the nomadic life to responsible positions in commerce and government. Yet despite the sophisticated urban lifestyle they may lead, many will happily head homewards dressed in designer clothes, only to emerge from the traditional family homestead wearing a shuka (colourful piece of cloth), cow hide sandals and carrying a wooden club (**o-rinka**) - at ease with themselves and the world.

Traditionally, the Maasai diet consisted of meat, milk, and blood from cattle. An ILCA study (Nestel, 1989) states: “Today, the staple diet of the Maasai consists of cow's milk and maize-meal. The former is largely drunk fresh or in sweet tea and the latter is used to make a liquid or solid porridge. The solid porridge is known as uoli and is eaten with milk; unlike the liquid porridge, ugali is not prepared with milk. Meat, although an important food, is consumed irregularly and cannot be classified as a staple food. Animal fats or butter are used in cooking, primarily of porridge, maize, and beans. Butter is also an important infant food. Blood is rarely drunk.”

Studies by the International Livestock Centre for Africa (Bekure et al. 1991) shows a very great change in the diet of the Maasai towards non-livestock products with maize comprising 12 – 39 percent and sugar 8 – 13 percent; about one litre of milk is consumed per person daily.

Studies have also found that the Maasai consume approximately 1 litre of milk per person per day. Most of the milk is consumed as fermented milk or buttermilk - a by-product of butter making. Milk consumption figures are very high by any standards. The needs for protein and essential amino acids are more than adequately satisfied. However, the supply of iron, niacin, vitamin C, vitamin A, thiamine and energy are never fully met by a purely milk diet. Due to changing circumstances, especially the seasonal nature of the milk supply and frequent droughts, most pastoralists, including the Maasai, now include substantial amounts of grain in their diets

The mixing of cattle blood, obtained by nicking the jugular vein, and milk is done to prepare a ritual drink for special celebrations and as nourishment for the sick. However, the inclusion of blood in the traditional diet is waning due to the reduction of livestock numbers. More recently, the Maasai have grown dependent on food produced in other areas such as maize meal, rice, potatoes, cabbage (known to the Maasai as goat leaves), etc. The Maasai who live near crop farmers have engaged in cultivation as their primary mode of subsistence. In these areas, plot sizes are generally not large enough to accommodate herds of animals; thus the Maasai are forced to farm.

The piercing and stretching of earlobes (Figure 8) has been common among the Maasai. Various materials have been used to both pierce and stretch the lobes, including thorns for piercing, twigs, bundles of twigs, stones, the cross section of elephant tusks and empty film canisters. Fewer and fewer Maasai, particularly boys, follow this custom. Women wear various forms of beaded ornaments in both the ear lobe, and smaller piercings at the top of the ear

The removal of deciduous canine tooth buds in early childhood is a practice that has been documented in the Maasai of Kenya and Tanzania. There exists a strong belief among the Maasai that diarrhoea, vomiting and other febrile illnesses of early childhood are caused by the gingival swelling over the canine

region, and which is thought to contain 'worms' or 'nylon' teeth. This belief and practice is not unique to the Maasai. In rural Kenya a group of 95 children aged between six months and two years were examined in 1991/92. 87% were found to have undergone the removal of one or more deciduous canine tooth buds. In an older age group (3-7 years of age), 72% of the 111 children examined exhibited missing mandibular or maxillary deciduous canines. However, this practice is slowly disappearing as more women attend clinic for health care and more children go to school



Figure 8. Maasai elder with stretched earlobes

Many Maasai in Tanzania wear simple sandals, which were until recently made from cowhides. They are now soled with tire strips or plastic. Both men and women wear wooden bracelets. The Maasai women regularly weave and bead jewellery. This bead work plays an essential part in the ornamentation of their body. Although there are variations in the meaning of the color of the beads, some general meanings for a few colors are: white, peace; blue, water; red, warrior/blood/bravery. Recently, men who have moved to urban centres have been seen weaving in saloons in order to get income.

Bead working, done by women, has a long history among the Maasai, who articulate their identity and position in society through body ornaments and body painting. Before contact with Europeans beads were produced mostly from local raw materials. White beads were made from clay, shells, ivory, or bone. Black and blue beads were made from iron, charcoal, seeds, clay, or horn. Red beads came from seeds, woods, gourds, bone, ivory, copper, or brass). When late in the nineteenth century, great quantities of brightly colored European glass beads arrived in East Africa, bead workers replaced the older beads with the new materials and began to use more elaborate color schemes. Currently, dense, opaque glass beads with no surface decoration and a naturally smooth finish are preferred.

The southward migrations of the Massai have seen them going as far as Zambia (**Figure 9**) *selling their traditional medicines* (IRIN, 2006). The rising demand for the services of traditional healers is drawing Tanzanian Masai practitioners across the border. Daniel Nakaraga, one among thousands of Masai traditional healers and herbalists believed to be practicing in Zambia, was reported as saying "Many people didn't know about my medicines when I first came to Zambia in June 2006, but they are now appreciating it and my sales are improving every day," Nakaraga told IRIN



Figure 9. Masai healers plying their trade in Zambia irk their local counterparts

The Masai traditional healers sell their herbal remedies mostly on the streets and in open markets, and claim to cure a variety of ailments from diabetes, kidney failure, strokes, diarrhea, headaches and malaria to more superstitious problems like breaking a cycle of bad luck and bringing back runaway spouses, although not HIV/AIDS. They also provide aphrodisiacs for treating impotence, referred to as gunpowder, and herbs that apparently reverse barrenness in women. The selling of traditional medicines by the Massai is done by both men and women in most urban centres of East and Central Africa.

The continuing marginalization of pastoral people

Despite decades of pastoral development programmes and a plethora of policies designed to improve livelihoods, the vast majority of pastoral people still face a multitude of problems. These range from land alienation, degraded resources, acute poverty, conflict and insecurity, vulnerability to drought, poor social services, and limited marketing opportunities.

Pastoral areas continue to be viewed as unproductive “wastelands”, and government investment is rarely proportionate to the contribution made by these areas to local and national economies. Furthermore, the contribution that pastoralism makes to the national economies is rarely quantified in national development statistics. For example, there is little recognition of the fact that

pastoralism is the backbone of the commercial livestock sector for both domestic and foreign markets, or that almost all the wildlife that attracts significant foreign earnings is located in pastoral areas. The fact that pastoralism is able to make profitable use of the million people in Tanzania, is also often not recognized.

Poverty and marginalization are not exclusive to pastoral people, and nor does it affect all pastoralists. Other groups suffer from social, economic and political marginalization as well such as the urban poor or migrants. However, pastoralists do suffer disproportionately to other groups in Tanzania from insecurity, weakest access to social and economic services, social dislocation and severe poverty. For example the Maasai and the Barabaig have suffered land alienation and encroachment from both wildlife reserves and large-scale farms and have been pushed onto more marginal lands.

Two reasons explain this situation. **First**, many pastoralists live in drought-prone areas with scarce and unstable resources. Vulnerability is thus inherent to the system so that over time pastoralists have developed complex strategies to mitigate the effects of environmental uncertainty. However, in many cases, their vulnerability and poverty have been exacerbated as a result of a long history of inappropriate policies and development interventions dating back to colonial times, which have systematically undermined their abilities to respond to environmental adversity.

The crux of the problem lies in the fact that many people have never understood the rationale of customary pastoral livelihood systems. Ever since colonial times policy makers have viewed them as archaic, unproductive and environmentally damaging relics of the past, which need to be “modernized” and brought into line with “progressive and modern” development. Policies have consistently focused on settling pastoralists as the way to bring them improved services and economic opportunities. Land titling, privatization of the commons, and provision of permanent water are some of the interventions that have been used to “modernize” pastoral people.

The vast majority of these actions have proved ineffective as well as costly in both social and economic terms. The greatest paradox is that over the last thirty years, an enormous amount of research has been land use, well adapted to the unstable environmental conditions of dryland Africa. Despite these findings, many policy makers, government staff, development workers and the broader public still have a negative image and poor understanding of pastoralism. Why is this?

Figure 1 provides a schematic “answer” to this question.

Inadequate & inappropriate institutional environment for pastoral development
Giving rise to a whole series of problems including land alienation, destitution, conflict & crime, lack of appropriate services, etc

Knowledge Gap

Power Imbalance

The inadequate and inappropriate institutional environment

The lack of an adequate and appropriate institutional environment is due to two major factors:

- the poor understanding of pastoral systems (the knowledge gap issue),
- and the fact that pastoral people do not have the political leverage to ensure that policies are designed in their favour (the imbalance of power issue). Both issues are closely related.

(i) The knowledge gap

Although information on pastoralism is available, many policy makers, government staff, NGO personnel, etc. do not fully understand its dynamics which partly explains their inability to design and implement supportive policies for the sector. However, as is argued in the section below, this lack of understanding is only part of the problem.

This knowledge gap on pastoralism has three components:

First, much of the research has not “filtered down” to those who most need it. It is published in articles and books that are predominately written by Northern researchers, and there has been no sustained campaign to popularise the information to ensure that it reaches national and local policy makers, government and NGO field staff or even pastoral groups themselves. Where it is available, it is accessible largely to researchers and bureaucrats many of whom have at best ambivalent attitudes to pastoralists and their customary livelihood systems.

The second problem, which is more profound, lies in the Northern cultural values and ideologies that continue to shape environmental policy in dryland Africa, and which are widely shared by Southern policy makers. There is still widespread belief among national governments and many of the donors that Africa's drylands are undergoing a process of severe and irreversible environmental degradation, and that the combined effects of irrational land use practices and rising population, exacerbated by periodic drought, have destroyed the "equilibrium" that used to exist. Restoring this "equilibrium" and protecting the environment from further degradation are the key objectives driving environmental policy, backed by the belief that environmental degradation can be addressed solely through technical solutions without taking account of broader political, social or economic factors.

Within this analysis, pastoralists are singled out as key culprits, responsible for environmental degradation because they keep large numbers of animals, refusing to sell them because of the prestige attached to large herds. These beliefs appeared to be validated when images of desiccated landscapes, dying cattle and starving people in the Sahel and East Africa were broadcast world-wide following droughts in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. These images provided national governments and the donor community with the "evidence" to support their views.

The third point is that pastoral groups themselves lack the knowledge, capacity and resources with which to fight their own cause. On the one hand, they are frequently unaware of the stakes at play in the policy arena (particularly at national level), the impact national policy has on local livelihoods and of the consequent importance of their active and informed participation in policy design and implementation. On the other hand, they are unable to challenge the perceptions that the "outside world" of policy makers, government staff, project personnel hold about them and their way of life. This is partly because they lack the skills to articulate the rationale which underlies their livelihood system in a language that can be understood by others, but it is also because they are poorly organized. Even where initiatives for the empowerment of pastoralists exist, many of them are limited to creating opportunities for pastoralists to fit into the existing scheme of things. Relatively little attention is paid to helping them not only articulate the rationale of their livelihood and land use system more effectively, but also to question the dominant paradigm driving development policy for pastoral areas.

(ii) The imbalance of power

Information alone will not induce policy makers to change their policies. Policy design is essentially a State-driven political process aimed at reconciling the divergent needs of multiple stakeholders. In theory, policies are supposed to respond to the common needs of the nation as a whole; in practice, they tend to

favour politically dominant elites. Political leverage is thus an essential ingredient of the policy formulation process and, as is argued below, pastoral groups do not always have the political clout to apply any significant pressure to policy processes.

Power relations are also critical at the local level and determine how different interest groups negotiate access to and control over resources. Research has shown that environmental problems in the drylands of Africa are more closely related to social and environmental differentiation than to imbalances between society and the environment. The debate has become more political in focus with certain researchers arguing that land degradation is essentially determined by the power imbalances between different interests groups. Sound environmental management is not simply a “technical” issue of controlling the absolute use of resources (e.g. establishing tools such as carrying capacity), rather it is about mediating access to and control over, strategic resources that are in constant flux due to annual variations in rainfall, and the increasing demands of a wide range of stakeholders.

Over the past decade or so, there has been a marked growth in the number of civil society organisations advocating and lobbying in support of pastoralists in Tanzania. Many of these groups emerged in response to assaults on their land by state and commercial interests, government withdrawal from the public sector and, in certain areas, processes of democratization and decentralization. However, while some grew out of an endogenous process of self-determination, many are the product of external support and consist of relatively small, locally based groups involved in specific project-based activities.

Furthermore, it is not clear how representative, transparent and accountable these groups are, whether they genuinely serve the interests of their members or the pastoral community in general, have established links with other interest groups or acquired the skills associated with sound organizational management. What is clear, however, is that Tanzania does not as yet exhibit a vibrant and effective pastoral civil society movement capable of engaging with the national policy apparatus to represent and defend the interests of pastoral people. Pastoral groups need to acquire if they are to develop into strong, representative and independent groups capable of defining and implementing their members’ vision of their own development.

Pastoral empowerment

Relatively little attention is being paid to building the capacity of pastoral groups to understand, analyse and ultimately contest the overall policy framework regulating their livelihood systems, and the underlying forces that keep them in poverty and on the margins of society. In this respect, pastoral groups in Tanzania need to acquire the ability to speak in an informed and authoritative manner on policy issues of concern to them, and to express this in a language

that is understandable not only to policy makers but also to their grass-roots membership.

A better understanding of the dynamics of their own livelihood strategies in relation to the broader policy environment and the ability to articulate this effectively and persuasively is an essential pre-requisite for pastoral groups. This knowledge will enable the pastoralists better to appreciate the forces that keep them on the margins of society and to influence them to their advantage. With this greater awareness will come an improved facility not only to identify their own solutions to current problems, but greater confidence to confront “policy marginalization’ of pastoralism. They will thereby, acquire a more equal footing in discussions with government and the development community in the design of policies and development projects for their benefit. It is also argued that this greater awareness, if extended to the grass-roots membership, will trigger internal processes of accountability as ordinary pastoral people start to understand the issues and demand more democratic control over their associations.

Building the capacity for self-determination among pastoral groups in Tanzania is a major challenge and long-term process that will span at least a generation (15 to 20 years if not more). Yet, it is the only acceptable and long-term solution for until pastoral citizens have the skills and confidence to define and defend their own vision for their own development, they will remain vulnerable to other people’s interpretation of what is best for them.

Conclusion

The Maasai are not rigid and opposed to learning about the western ways that have been imposed upon them. To the contrary, most Maasai feel that some change is inevitable and welcome the education as a means to better understand and act within the Kenyan and Tanzanian governments that rule so many aspects of their lives and culture. Maasai leaders are eager to see a progress is made, but they have strong obstacles to overcome. There are very few schools in Maasai region and no colleges. There is no investment into the children of Maasai; government leaders live a lavish lifestyle while their privileged children are sent to get a proper education over seas. The Maasai have become the underprivileged and often overlooked minority group. Kenyan and Tanzanian governments have done little in the way of supporting Maasai culture. As more land is being taken away, and more conditions are being placed on government aid, the Maasai are faced with the difficulty of having to navigate an entirely new sociopolitical system with very little education into it

There is need for a planning approach that takes into account the very different roles and needs of women and men. This is necessary to allow women to participate in development, make them more productive, independent and

empowered. Also, as more households become headed by women as is the case with Swaziland, it is important to realize the differences that the gender of the household head has on access, use of resources, production, food security and nutritional status of the children. It also becomes increasingly important for water management to be accountable to women's "triple roles".

Changes in production caused by land reforms may cause profound changes in social and gender relations in a community (Mehta and Srinivasan). Land alienation has in many areas lead to shortage of grazing land. Literature shows that the pastoral community has been forced to develop coping mechanisms against these changes of land reforms. The coping mechanisms include migrations to new areas of the country and diversification of productive activities. There is need for a planning approach that takes into account the very different roles and needs of women and men. This is necessary to allow women to participate in development, make them more productive, independent and empowered. Also, as more households become headed by women as is the case with Swaziland, it is important to realize the differences that the gender of the household head has on access, use of resources, production, food security and nutritional status of the children. It also becomes increasingly important for water management to be accountable to women's "triple roles".

These changes could mean greater insecurity or greater vulnerability for certain social groups, while bringing prosperity for other groups. It is thus important to understand what the gains and losses are and how they are distributed. This study helps understand this vulnerability by showing how resource allocation decisions regarding productive assets, rests primarily in the hands of men. Women's limited control over productive resources, for example grasses, exposes them to a level of vulnerability and insecurity that is gender determined. At the same time, as heads of households, women are engaged in the same activities as their male counterparts. This suggests that there is scope for changing unequal gender relations attached to resource use. Government policy must be sensitive to these conditions if women are to benefit from changes in resource allocation and utilization. The following are important to note while dealing with pastoralism:

1. Extensive pastoral production takes up some 25% of the world's land area and produces some 10% of the meat used for human consumption, while supporting some 20 million pastoral households. Although pastoralists, along with foragers with whom they have much in common, represent an almost vulnerable social group and donor interest in the sector is minimal.
2. The rangelands exploited by pastoralists often cannot be used by conventional agriculture, although as technical advances spread cultivation into remoter regions, pastoralists are forced into increasingly inhospitable terrain.
3. Although spontaneous settlement is quite common on the fringes of the pastoral domain, national governments are often hostile to pastoralists.

- Many countries have policies of sedentarisation that derive as much from political considerations as a concern for the welfare of those they wish to settle. However, compelling pastoral nomads to settle has a very unsatisfactory history.
4. Pastoralists make substantial contributions to the economy of developing countries, both in terms of supporting their own households and in supplying protein, both meat and milk, to villages and towns. The governments of those countries rarely recognize these contributions by a corresponding investment in the pastoral sector.
 5. The pastoral economic system is under increasing threat from the globalisation of the trade in livestock products and unpredictable import policies in many countries. Broadly speaking, the trend in this century has been for the terms of trade to increasingly turn against pastoralists.
 6. The marginal lands that have previously been the province of pastoralists are increasingly coming into focus as reserves of biodiversity. Their very inaccessibility has permitted the survival of species eliminated in high-density agricultural areas. Consequently, there is pressure on governments to declare large regions protected areas, both because of pressure from the conservation lobby and the potential income from tourism. Their low education and uncertainties about pastoral tenure have made it difficult for pastoralists to lodge effective land claims.
 7. The future of pastoralism will depend heavily on political decisions made by national governments in countries with extensive grasslands. Enclosed pastures are unlikely to see any significant extension, but conditions for existing pastoralists will become more difficult as both farmers and the conservation lobby expropriates land.
 8. Work with pastoralists, and a more sympathetic understanding of their production systems, could act both to protect their lifeways and enhance their capacity to produce protein on otherwise marginal land.
 9. To protect and support pastoralism during the next millennium major policy re-orientation will be required. Elements likely to become important are:
 - a. Production of niche products, either unusual species or breeds, and meat and milk free from contaminants
 - b. Crop-livestock integration, the effective use of pastoral outputs in mixed farming, particularly the extension of work animals
 - c. Co-conservation, the development of interlocking strategies to link conservation of wild fauna and flora with pastoral production
 - d. The expansion of ecologically-sensitive low-volume tourism, using pastoralists to provide services, particularly in the area of indigenous knowledge

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Appendix Table 1: National Parks and their total land area

National Park

Arusha National Park established: 1960 **renamed:** 1967 **enlarged:** 1973
area: 137 km²

Gombe Stream National Park established: 1943 **gazetted^l:** 1968 **area:** 52 km²

Jozani Chwaka Bay National Park established: 1940s **gazetted** 2004 **area:** 50 km²

Katavi National Park established: 1951 **gazetted:** 1974 **area:** 4,471 km²

Kilimanjaro National Park established: 1910s, 1921 **gazetted:** 1973 **world heritage:** 1987 **area:** 753 km²

Kitulo Plateau gazetted: 2002 **area:** 412.9 km²

Mahale Mountains National Park gazetted: 14th June 1985 **area:** 1,613 km²

Lake Manyara National Park established: 1957 **gazetted** 1960 **area:** 325 km²

Mount Meru National Park established:

Mikumi National Park established: 1964 **extended:** 1975 **area:** 3,230 km²

Ruaha National Park established 1910 **gazetted:** 1964 **area:** 10,300 km²

Rubondo Island National Park established: 1977 **area:** 240 km²

Saadani National Park established 1969 **gazetted:** 2002 **area:** 1,062 km²

Serengeti National Park established: 1929 **gazetted:** 1951 **world heritage:** 1981 **area:** 14,763 km²

Tarangire National Park established: 1970 **area:** 2,850 km²

Udzungwa Mountains National Park established 1994 **area:** 1,990 km²