

Eviction of Pastoralists from Mkomazi Game Reserve in North Eastern Tanzania: Analysis of new conflicts and impact on the affected communities



BY

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Executive summary

In 1951, the then colonial authority in Tanganyika under Government Notice No. 265/275 gazetted an area approximately 3,276 square kilometres in north-eastern Tanzania called the Mkomazi Game Reserve (MGR). Despite its gazetted status, many pastoralists were allowed to exploit pastures and other range resources from MGR. Some twenty years later, a study commissioned by the Government of Tanzania found MGR to be in a degraded state for which the huge influx of pastoralists and game poachers were blamed. This study recommended among other things that pastoralists within MGR be evicted to allow its ecosystem to recover. The Government of Tanzania forcibly evicted these pastoralists from the reserve and allocated a substitute area for them in Handeni district, Tanga region. Very few pastoralists relocated to this new area. Instead, the majority settled in villages surrounding the MGR where the local communities are basically cultivators thus creating a potential scenario for fresh conflicts between them and the local communities as well as the MGR itself. These new conflicts and their impact in terms of the socio-economic-cultural consequences to the pastoralists, MGR and the communities around which they settled had never been adequately studied.

This project therefore had four objectives (i) study the new conflicts emanating from those evictions and their impact on the communities around MGR (ii) assess adequacy and potential of current policy, legal and operational strategies of MGR in managing the new conflicts (iii) study existence and potential role of traditional institutions within the MGR communities which could be utilised for management of such conflicts and (iv) identify key areas for which policy review and improvement could be necessary as a tool for conflict management or reduction. The project arose from the realisation that since there are many protected areas in Tanzania with village communities around them, it is essential that lessons from MGR could be availed to either the communities living in/adjacent to protected areas. This could help either community adjust their lifestyles to match with present realities or help policy makers work out policy and legislative solutions for similar situations for countrywide benefits.

This study was conducted in the districts of Same (Kilimanjaro region) and Lushoto (Tanga region) where the MGR extends. In each district three villages were covered. In Lushoto the study covered Mkundi, Mnazi and Kivingo. While in Same the study covered Kisiwani, Jiungeni and Muungano villages. For data collection, participatory techniques were used to diagnose the new conflicts, assess resource conditions and examination of physical efforts directed towards easing of conflicts. In many cases open meetings and semi structured interviews were used to collect data from groups, the MGR administration itself and district leaders (agriculture, wildlife). Formal questionnaires were used to collect data from households. Part of the collected data were stored in computer spread sheets (Excel 97) and then transferred to other programmes (SPSS) for analysis. A lawyer was hired to look into the legislative aspects of the conflicts while a consultative was organised to allow all stakeholders contribute their views and potential solutions.

Results indicate that both pastoralists, the communities around which they settled and the MGR are still locked in conflicts which are essentially based on water and grazing resources. Despite the legal ban on grazing in the MGR, many pastoralists still defy this order and graze in the reserve thus putting themselves and the MGR at loggerheads. During the dry seasons as water points in the MGR run dry, pastoralists make it to the villages around the MGR for grazing and watering their cattle. This gives rise to fresh conflicts between them

and the communities. Many pastoralists now leaving around these new villages have lost up to 95% of the cattle they came out with from MGR during the evictions. Livestock diseases, inadequate grazing and water resources and unsuitable conditions for livestock keeping around the villages they settled are blamed for their losses. In the local communities, many have lost their standing crops (maize and rice) to pastoralists' cattle especially during the dry seasons. In one village, Mkundi the conflicts had led to a loss of life and tension between the two communities is high. Many villagers around MGR were observed to have unfriendly attitude towards the MGR though the reserve is trying to engage them by assisting development projects in some villages in terms of schools and other social services. Many villagers complain of brutal treatment given to them if fallen into the hands of the MGR guards for however small infringement they make against the reserve. On the other hand, the MGR itself complains of acts of sabotage, destruction of natural resources, illegal grazing, wildlife poaching and illegal hunting of animals which have not receded even after the evictions. So far the MGR, lacking financial resources, has only engaged very few villages (2 out of 42) in educational programmes which would otherwise win it community support for its activities and objectives.

This study therefore concludes that the evictions have given rise to new conflicts between pastoralists, the local communities and the MGR. These conflicts are having a negative impact to the three parties. Villagers have suffered crop losses, pastoralists have lost up to 100% of their original livestock while the MGR has suffered increased encroachments, fires demands on its lands and complaints against its staff. Currently it may be argued that while the local communities and pastoralists have traditional institutions with potential for easing these conflicts, their use has mostly been confined to village levels. Extended use of these institutions to engage the MGR has not been exploited. However the shifting nature of the pastoral communities may make it difficult for MGR to engage their institutions effectively owing to the seasonality of their movements and fragmentation of their communities. The study also concludes that despite having positive policy intentions and documents from the Government of Tanzania, their implementation has never been done thus making the entire scenario less helpful in defusing the observed conflicts.

We recommend that the (i) studied villages separate grazing and watering resources between the conflicting communities to reduce the observed tensions. Also the Government should introduce programmes which will expose the conflicting communities to efficient resource use practices and hence reduce their dependency on the MGR for most of their resources (ii) the pastoral communities be encouraged to change their lifestyles and mode of production (iii) that the MGR invest in changing the operational attitude of its field staff, promote dialogue with the surrounding villages and make its actions more transparent to the surrounding communities (iv) that the MGR consider the potential of engaging the Council of Elders in the Maasai communities around the reserve as an additional tool through which more conflicts can be resolved (v) the Government of Tanzania implement the positive policy statements related to recognition of traditional land tenure, provision of dipping and veterinary services in the pastoral land. We also call upon the Government of Tanzania to review its policy on the compensation of damage on property or life from protected Wildlife

Introduction

Conflict is a pervasive and inevitable feature of social systems. Conflict does not necessarily imply outright violence. Mvena *et al.* (2000) describes conflict as including tension, hostility, competition and disagreement over goals and values. Normally conflicts ensue when resources become scarce. The more unequal the distribution of scarce resources in a system the greater will be the conflict of interest between dominant and subordinate segments in a system, Burton and Dukes (1990) provide a useful perspective on conflict when they point out that conflicts normally involve arguments of differences over the choice of alternatives among persons having the same goals and interests. There are many types of resource based conflicts in Tanzania. In this work we are reporting on a land and water resource based conflict around one of the wildlife protected area in north eastern Tanzania. The area is called Mkomazi Game Reserve (MGR).

The wildlife policy of Tanzania has four main objectives. First, promote establishment of Protected Areas for the conservation of biodiversity and create Wildlife Management Areas in buffer zones for benefit of local communities. Second, promote sustainable use of wildlife and provide revenue to the government, employment and food to Tanzanians. Third, manage and develop Protected Areas and retain sufficient revenue from wildlife for management and development purposes. Fourth, encourage involvement of donors and other conservation agencies through international conventions and trans-frontier conservation projects (URT, 1998).

Game reserves and other protected areas in Tanzania cover some 20% of the country's vast area of 390,000 km square. In many areas around these protected enclaves, human communities live but are generally forbidden to utilize their flora and fauna resources. This task is normally entrusted to the Wildlife Division. In north eastern Tanzania, one such area is the Mkomazi Game Reserve (MGR). Established in 1951, by the then colonial authority in Tanganyika under Government Notice No. 265/275, the MGR covers an area approximately 3,276 square kilometres (Brockington, 1999). The major reasons given for its formation was to enable the government then restructure wildlife sanctuaries so as to ease pressures of human population growth and migration on wildlife resources. This was more so important in view of the fact that the same government had de-gazetted the then Ruvu Game Reserve a few years before to allow for agricultural activities along the Ruvu river. The new MGR was located in a small part of the Greater Tsavo ecosystem, which covers over 40,000 square miles of wilderness area in Southern Kenya and Northern Tanzania.

According to the Mkomazi General Management Plan – GMP (1997), the MGR location is at the edge of the Zanzibar-Inhambane region mosaic, which stretches along the East African coast from southern Somalia to Southern Mozambique. The south-eastern edge of the Reserve is only 43 kilometres to the eastern coast of Tanzania, which meets the Indian Ocean. To the north, northwest and south the MGR is flanked by the eastern arc mountains of Pare and Usambara. Administratively the MGR is bordered by the districts of Same on the northern and western fringes, Lushoto by the southern and the Republic of Kenya by the east.

The GMP (1997) reports that despite the gazetted status of MGR at its establishment, some six Maasai pastoral families were then residing in the MGR. These were allowed to exploit its pastures and other range resources. Progressively, the MGR was invaded by other pastoralists not resident to the MGR. By 1987, the number of pastoral families had risen to 41 with a total of 392 individuals. These families had among them 40,000 cattle. The Government of

Tanzania alarmed by the degradation of MGR resources in the late 1960s decided that the MGR should be used for wildlife conservation and that the pastoralists residing in the MGR at that time must be evicted. It has been argued by Tenga (1998) that this influx to MGR by the Maasai pastoralists was actually caused by the Government which, a few years after establishment of the MGR had introduced a controversial programme that reallocated dry season grazing land in the then Maasai District for farming. This reallocation resulted in the Maasai relocating and overgrazing poorer land. Consequently some had to move to other areas of the country where fertile lands and pastures for grazing could be found. Mkomazi was one such area.

In 1987-88 pastoralists were forcibly removed from the MGR. This eviction culminated into a prolonged legal battle between pastoralists (mostly Maasai and Pare) and the Government until 1990's when the Government prevailed. It is understood that the Government did allocate an alternative area in Handeni District (Tanga region) where the evicted pastoralists were advised to take their livestock. Very few went there. Some went to settle along River Ruvu in Same District. The majority though settled on the outskirts of the MGR in proximity to the villages that surround the Reserve.

The study we are reporting here is a follow up on assessing what conflicts have developed between the evicted pastoralists and either the communities they settled in or still the MGR itself. The study also aimed to cover the types of conflicts that abound in the areas, their impact to the three parties, coping mechanisms of the affected communities and potential areas for policy advice to the Government. This gap in knowledge has never been studied adequately. Potential of such knowledge for advocating change in the life styles and mode of production of the pastoral communities is immense. This is important considering that Tanzania has many protected areas in which people co-exist with wildlife. Therefore lessons from the MGR case can be extrapolated to other areas in the country or the region.

In view of the above, this study was initiated in six villages that are known to have received pastoralists evicted from MGR. Four of these share a border with the Reserve. These are Mnazi (also known as Kwemkwazu), Mkundi and Kivingo. These three are from the Lowlands of Lushoto District. The fourth was Kisiwani from Same District. Two other villages, Muungano (also known as Ruvu Mferejini) and Jiungeni (also known as Ruvu Jiungeni) do not border the MGR. They are along the Ruvu/Pangani River in Same District where some of the pastoralists went after the eviction.

The study was therefore conducted with the following specific objectives;

- (i) study new conflicts emanating from past evictions in MGR and their impact on the affected communities
- (ii) assess operational strategies of MGR in managing the new conflicts
- (iii) study existence and potential role of traditional institutions within the MGR communities which could be utilised to manage the new conflicts
- (iv) identify key areas for which government policy/legal review and/or improvement could be necessary

De Pauw (1984) locates the MGR and the villages surrounding it in an agro-ecological zone referred to as “EPa1”. This is a semi-arid plain with average rainfall below 600mm. It is gently undulating to rolling plain and plateaux with slopes of 2-10%. Altitude varies from 500-1200 m.a.s.l. The soils have developed from intermediate gneiss and are in many places well drained, moderately deep to deep, dark reddish brown, yellowish red or red sand clay loams with weak or moderate structure. They are of low natural fertility and poor water holding capacity. They mostly classify into luvisols, and calcisols (FAO, 1990). There are over twenty villages around MGR with an estimated population of 75,000 people. It stretches from the Tanzania – Kenya border to the foothills of the Pare and the West Usambara Mountains. The reserve is characterised by savannah woodland. Some 102 mammal species were identified as present within Mkomazi, including the recently re-introduced Black rhino.

The study villages

The salient features of the studied villages area presented in Table 1. The villages were selected based on their accessibility, secondary literature and have considerable numbers of Maasai and Pare pastoralists formerly evicted from the MGR. Of the six it would seem that Mnazi and Kisiwani have the largest populations and area. To date, Mnazi unlike Kisiwani still has a large number of pastoralists. Kisiwani on the other hand experiences seasonal gluts of pastoralists from Hedaru and other lowland areas of Pare Mountains who venture into the MGR during periods of scarcity of grazing resources.

Table 1. Salient features of the studied villages

Name of village	Total village area (ha)	Total population	Livestock numbers				Major crops
			Cattle	Goats	Sheep	Chicken	
Mnazi	299	2075	1133	821	263	631	Maize, Beans, Rice, Sugarcane
Mkundi	162	1011	1334	710	293	821	Maize, Beans, Rice, Sugarcane
Kivingo	162	1015	4813	2171	1004	620	Maize, Beans, Rice, Sugarcane
Kisiwani	320	3100	870	374	132	874	Maize, Beans, Rice, Sugarcane
Jiungeni	345	1050	2242	1362	678	1387	Vegetables, Watermelons Maize,
Muongano	310	1200	2216	1068	321	1285	Watermelons Maize, Vegetables,

Source: Field data 2004

(ii) Characteristics of land resources and Agro-ecosystems of the studied villages

a) Climate

The average monthly rainfall data for the study villages is presented in Figure 2. For the three villages in Lushoto lowland, data was taken at the Mnazi Sisal Estate (recording years 1967-1977) this is the only station located close to those three villages. For the villages in Same District data was taken at the Same Meteorological station. In both areas the rainfall pattern is bimodal with the long rains (locally called masika) and the short rains (locally called vuli) having peaks in March-April and November-December respectively.

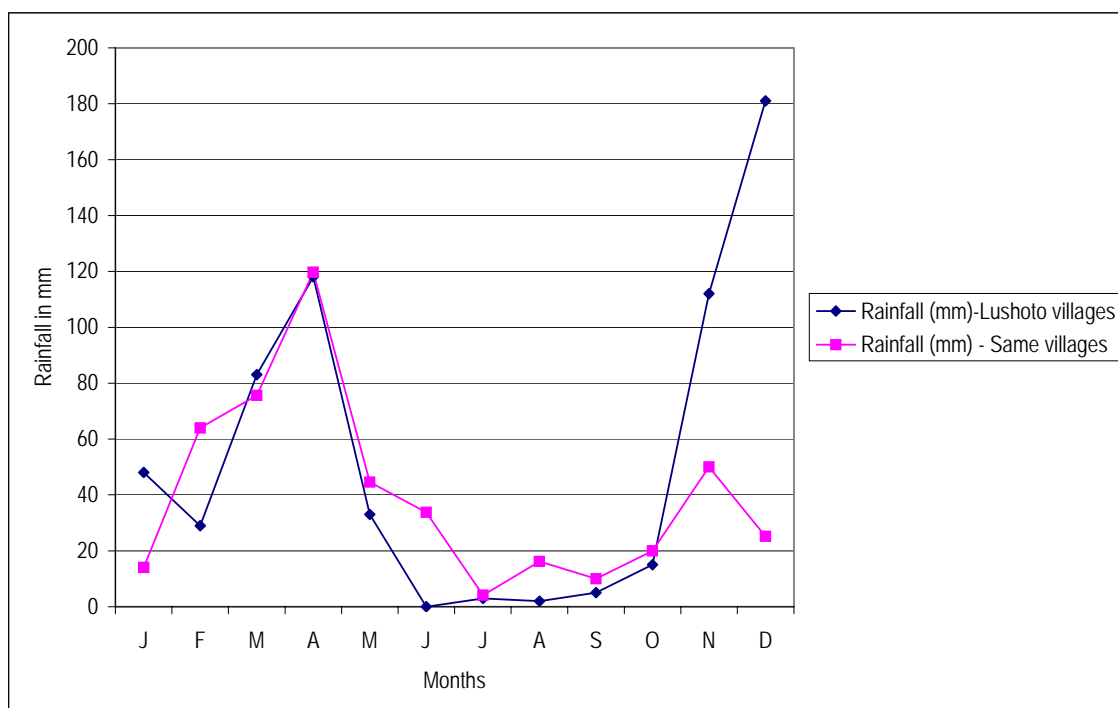


Figure 2. Rainfall pattern in the studied villages

On average it can be said that the Lushoto based villages enjoy a higher level of precipitation in the short rainfall period (October-December) than those in Same district. In Lushoto the average monthly temperature range between 22-28°C while for those in Same the average monthly temperature ranges from 24-31 °C

b) *Physiography and soils*

The Physiography, soils and other features of the studied villages are summarised in Table 2.

Table 2. Physiography soils and related features of the studied villages

Property	Name of study village		
	Mnazi, Mkundi and Kivingo	Kisiwani	Muongano and Jiungeni
Altitude (masl)	300 – 500	400 - 600	300 – 400
Slopes (%)	2-10	2-12	2-10
Relief intensity (m)	200 – 300	300 - 500	50 – 100
Rainfall (mm/yr)	500-700	400 - 600	400 – 500
Landscape	Gently undulating to rolling	Undulating to rolling	Flat to gently undulating
Drainage	Well drained on hilland to poorly drained in the valleys	Well drained on hilland to poorly drained in the valleys	Drained to poorly drained
Major land resource limitations	1. Water inadequacy in dry months 2. Soil salinity 3. Low soil fertility	1. Water inadequacy in dry months 2. Soil salinity	1. Water inadequacy in dry months 2. Soil salinity
Major soils	Ferralsols, Lixisols,	Luvisols and Vertisols	Luvisols, Cambisols,

	Luvisols and Vertisols		Fluvisols
Major vegetation	Mango trees (<i>Mangifera indica</i>), Coconut palms (<i>Cocos nucifera</i>) grasses (<i>Hypparhenia</i> spp, <i>Cynodon</i> spp, <i>Digitaria</i> spp, <i>Pennisetum</i> spp) trees like (<i>Balanites</i> spp, <i>Royena</i> spp) and Acacia	Mango trees (<i>Mangifera indica</i>), grasses (<i>Hypparhenia</i> spp, <i>Cynodon</i> spp, <i>Digitaria</i> spp, <i>Pennisetum</i> spp) trees like (<i>Balanites</i> spp, <i>Royena</i> spp) and Acacia	Acacia <i>Hypparhenia</i> spp, <i>Cynodon</i> spp, <i>Digitaria</i> spp, <i>Pennisetum</i> spp) trees like (<i>Balanites</i> spp, <i>Royena</i> spp)
Major Livestock	Cattle, Goats, Sheep, chicken	Goats, Sheep, chicken	Cattle, Goats, Sheep,
Land holding per household (acres)	3-4	2-3	3-4
Household size	5-8	5-7	4-6

Water resources

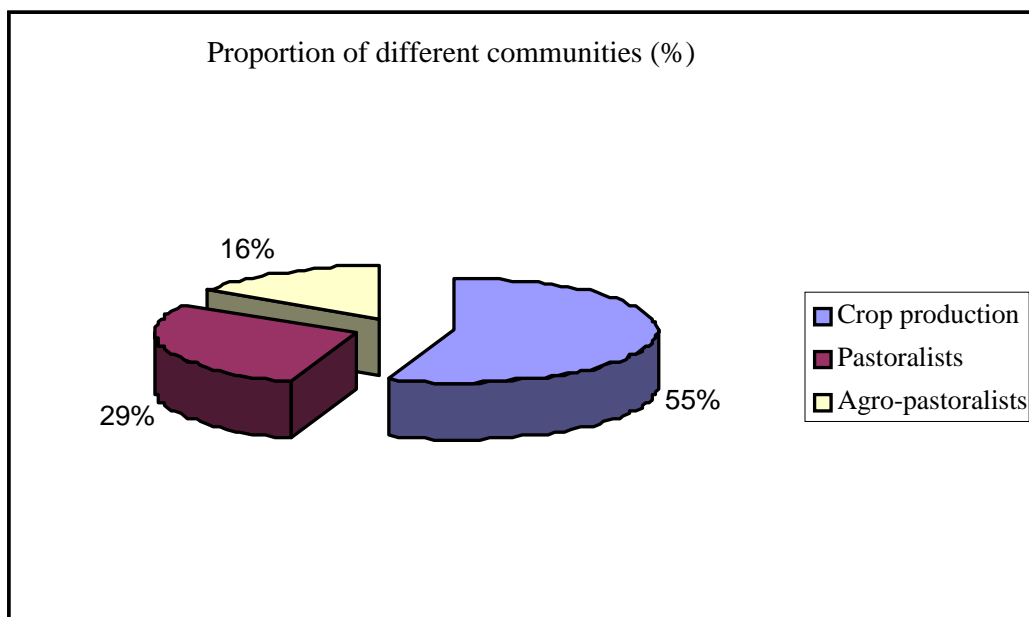
The villages of Mkundi, Mnazi and Kivingo largely depend on Mbaramo River (Figure 3.) for their water supply. However recently farmers upstream in Mtae and Mbaramo on the West Usambara highlands have taken to cultivating and irrigating ginger. This practice has put a lot of pressure on this river and in recent times the Mbaramo River has been running dry during the dry months. This is development is poisoning to become the major source of conflicts in the communities which depend on its waters down stream for domestic and livestock use. For the villages in Same, Kisiwani depends on water from the South Pare Mountains from which a number of miniature rivers flow. Water from these rivers is used mainly for domestic, livestock use and irrigation purposes. Kisiwani is closer to four rivers that flow from these Mountains. These are Hingili, Nakomo, Yongoma and Saseni. Because of these rivers, Kisiwani has vibrant irrigation agriculture in which paddy is a commercial and food crop. The other two villages of Muungano and Jiungeni basically depend on the Pangani/Ruvu River for their water needs for both domestic and irrigation. The two villages are famous for production of vegetables, watermelons and Lablab, which are sold to Moshi, Arusha and Dar-es-Salaam markets.



Figure 3. The Mbaramo River is the major source of water for Mnazi, Mkundi, and Kivingo villages. Recently, the river has stopped flowing during the dry months due to irrigated agriculture in the highlands. This development is becoming a major source of conflicts in the three villages which depend on it for irrigation and livestock

Agricultural practices

Community composition in terms of agricultural activities is as presented in Figure 4. Despite having pastoralists in the vicinity, the studied villages are basically of cultivators. The major limitation is that the type of agricultural practices undertaken by nearly all farmers is that of low input-low yield approach. This in itself is also a major recipe for conflicts because the low efficiency for resource use means an average farmer needs more water and land to harvest little amount of crop yields. The same philosophy on low efficiency of resource use can be said of pastoralists.



Source: Field data 2005

Figure 4. Proportion of different agro-communities in the study villages

In all the six villages, the fields are never fertilised neither from inorganic fertilisers nor organic amendments like kraal manure. Considering that natural soil fertility in most of the villages is already low, most farmers harvest very little compared to the area put under cultivation. Yield of different crops under farmers management practices in the studied villages are presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Yields of various crops in the studied villages

	Crop/village	Mnazi Kivingo Mkundi	Kisiwani	Muungano + Jiungeni
1.	Maize (kg/ha)	800	1200	1500
2.	Beans (kg/ha)	600	800	1300
3.	Onions (kg/ha)	na	2000	2100
4.	Lablab (Fiwi or ngwala) (kg/ha)	na	na	1800
5.	Rice (kg/ha)	2500	2200	2800

Source: Field data (2004/05)

For all villages, the crops are sold at farm gate or in the village market. For livestock, the animals are sold at designated weekly markets locally called “mnada”. According to farmers and resource people we encountered, the six villages have generally similar agricultural constraints that hamper realisation of full potential for the crops cultivated. These include; unreliable rainfall, poor soil fertility or soil salinization, soil erosion/land degradation and poor market prices. For livestock production, the constraints include lack of reliable source of water; lack of adequate pasture during the dry season; insufficient grazing areas and lack of reliable veterinary services.

(iii) Study approach

Samples and sample sizes

The number of households interviewed in each village is in Table 4. In each village respondents were divided into 2 groups of equal size. Pastoralists evicted from MGR but now resident on the fringes of the study villages and the local villagers. In order to select the study households within each group, a list of names of household heads were first assembled from the respective village governments, then each written in foldable piece of paper, put in a bucket, stirred and picked on random basis. Additionally provision was made to also sample households recommended by each community as potentially suitable for providing data and other information that could suit this project. The six villages had 40 such resourceful people. This brought the studied sample to 340 households.

Table 4. Households interviewed across the six villages

Village Name	Household interviewed
Kivingo	60
Mnazi (Kwemkwazu)	52
Mkundi	61
Kisiwani	60
Ruvu Jiungeni	48
Muongano (Ruvu Mferejini)	60
Total	341

Engaging the communities

The project team conducted open meetings, semi structured interviews with the target communities, their representatives, the local counsellors from the surrounding villages and the MGR authorities through meetings, interviews, key informants and interest group discussions. Individual interviews were conducted with administrative leaders in the districts of Lushoto and Same. These were leaders whose offices had direct exposure to the conflicts around MGR and the villages. Physical field visits were made to water and grazing resources involved in either conflict situations or in their alleviation. Household surveys were conducted using both formal structured questionnaires and semi structured interviews. A professional lawyer was hired to examine in detail issues related to policy and legal framework of the conflicts and how they can be resolved within the same framework.

Processes

1. The project team applied a questionnaire for the study of the households in the respective study villages.
2. A checklist of issues to be addressed when meeting the Mkomazi Game Reserve (MGR) administration was developed and role for each member in the process was described
3. Both the study villages and MGR administration were contacted and informed about the pending visit of researchers through agricultural Extensionists in their villages.
4. Leaders of the villages and MGR were briefed about the objectives of the visits. For the villages, the number and type of households intended for the study were described
5. A detailed examination of land resources in the six villages was carried out using conventional land resources study methodologies

6. For MGR the meetings were held in the form of semi structured interviews at their Same headquarters
7. Data collected from the questionnaires was entered in Excel 97 and then transferred to SPSS programme for detailed analyses

Characterisation of resources

Characterisation of the agro-ecosystem around the study villages was done using participatory procedures with few modifications to suit conditions for this study. For resource degradation information the team used field visits and transect walks to supplement data collected during interviews. Key informants from respective villages were also consulted for historical trends of resource status and associated conflicts.

Data collection

Two types of data were collected in this study. Primary data were collected in the field using participatory diagnostic approaches. These included household information, historical trends of conflicts in the target communities and resource status. Secondary data were collected from literature, reports and relevant manuscripts available on the study area. These included the Mkomazi Management Plan and Technical Papers from MGR itself, public libraries and the internet.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

1. New conflicts emanating from the evictions and their impact

In the studied villages there are new conflicts which emanate from the evictions of 1987-88. Nature of these conflicts is resource based. One conflict is between the communities and the MGR. This involves both the evicted and the non evicted villagers against the MGR. The other is between pastoralists and cultivators.

a) New conflicts between the communities and the MGR

Despite the official ban of trespassing into the MGR, some 10% of the respondents admitted to still be making use of the MGR resources (Table 5). The practice is most evident in the villages which share a common border with the MGR like Mkundi, Kivingo and Kisiwani. The majority of those making use of the resources from the MGR do it at their own risk. Some 56% of the respondents reported knowing that trespassing into the MGR was forbidden. Such offenders reported that they trespass because resource conditions left them no other alternative other than depending on the MGR which is just across the road. For most people the major use was for building poles and firewood. In some cases cultivation inside the MGR has been reported.

Table 5. Major resources of conflict from the MGR used by surrounding communities

Resource	Percent (%)
Fuel wood	3.2
Grazing	2.4
Building poles	4.0
Wild meat	0.4
None	90.0
Total	100.0

There are no figures to indicate what the situation was before the evictions. However, nearly a tenth of the respondents reported that incidences of trespassing into the MGR have actually been increasing (Figure 5). Despite some respondents reporting that these incidences are decreasing, the magnitude of those being unaware (55%) casts doubt on the validity of the decrease. This is because; in an earlier study Kiwasila and Brockington, (1996) reported that the human population around the MGR had increased by 13% from 1978 to 1988. It is now estimated that approximately 48,000 people live up bordering the Mkomazi Game Reserve. This means, as the populations in these villages increase, the need for resources from the MGR by the adjacent communities will also increase. In fact, recently the MGR (1997) in its Management Plan has admitted increase in the incidences of trespassing into the MGR by adjacent communities.

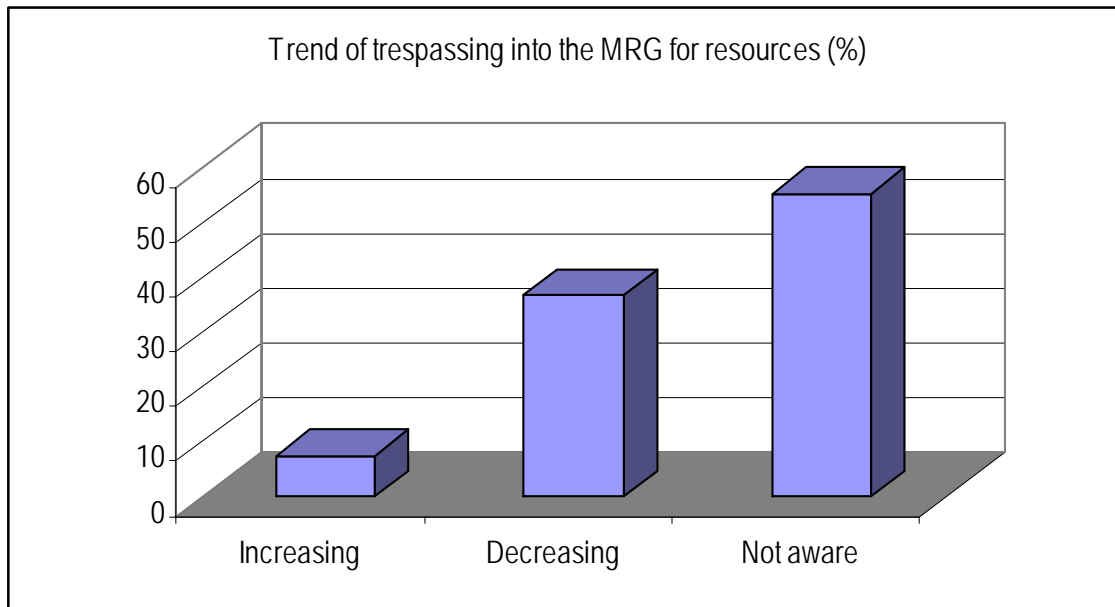


Figure 5: Perception on trend of the trespasses with time

The data in Table 5 and Figure 5 actually manifests a human-wildlife conflict. In his work, Chachage, (1996) describes a human-wildlife conflict as involving the wildlife conservation services on one hand and the communities around the game reserves on another. Normally this type of conflict ranges from conflict on grazing resources (Igoe and Brockington 1999), watering points (Brockington and Homewood, 2001), forest and edible products (Kiwasila and Brockington, 1996, Kiwasila *et al.* 2000) to poaching and illegal hunting of game (Chachage, 1996).

In fact, during our discussion with the MGR administration in its Same headquarters, it was reported to us that incidences of fire and poaching have generally been increasing. In July 2003 for example, the MGR had a big fire which destroyed a major portion of the reserve. This fire was reported to the Same District Authorities (Photo 2). In their assessment of the fire, the District Authorities concluded that the fire was caused by game poachers who set it to allow themselves a better view of the wild animals in the MGR. In the reported fires, the Game Warders obtained help of the adjacent communities to help put out the fires. In other instances, similar fires in the MGR have been set by honey hunters, charcoal makers and other people making illegal residence in the MGR.


JAMHURI YA MUUNGANO WA TANZANIA OFISI YA RAIS TAWALA ZA MIKOA NA SERIKALI ZA MITAA	
MKOA WA KILIMANJARO. Anuani ya simu: "ADMIN" SAME Simu Na: 2758033 Unapojibu tafadhali taja: Kumb. Na. G.10/4/V1	<div style="text-align: center;">  </div> OFISI YA MKUU WA WILAYA, S.L.P. 1, SAME. 15 Julai, 2003
Kaimu Mkuu wa Wilaya, <u>SAME.</u>	
Yah: <u>TAARIFA YA KUUNGUA MOTO MBUGA YA WANYAMAPORI YA MKOMAZI</u> <u>(MKOMAZI GAME RESERVE)</u>	
<p>Tarehe 14/7/2003 jioni, Meneja wa Mkomazi Game Reserve alitoa taarifa kwako ukiwa na Katibu Tawala (W), kwamba kuna moto unaowaka katika mbuga hiyo ya wanyamapori. Meneja wa Mkomazi Game Reserve aliomba ofisi yako itembelee mbuga hiyo kuona uharibifu huo wa moto. Nilipewa jukumu la kutembelea mbuga hiyo tarehe 15/7/2003 nikiwa na Meneja wa Mkomazi Game Reserve.</p> <p>Tarehe 15/7/2003 majira ya saa 4:00 asubuhi Meneja alikuja kunichukua na tulikwenda naye maeneo hayo ya pori yaliyoungua moto.</p> <p>Sehemu kubwa ya mbuga hiyo ya Mkomazi imeathirika sana na moto ambao nilielezwa hivi:-</p> <p>Tarehe 2/7/2003 askari sita wa Wanyamapori wakiwa na gari Toyota STJ 2702 walianza doria ya siku 15 katika mbuga hiyo ya Mkomazi. Tarehe 4/7/2003 moto ulizuka sehemu ya Kambi ya Simba na uliunguza sehemu kubwa sana ya mbuga. Moto huo ulizimwa na wananchi wa Majevu wakishirikiana na askari wa wanyamapori waliokuwepo ofisi ya wanyamapori.</p> <p>Mnamo tarehe 14/7/2003 mchana moto mwingine uliwa sehemu za Dindira na Meneja wa Mkomazi Game reserve aliuona moto huo akiwa sehemu za Ngurunga akitokea maeneo ya Kisima. Aliwajulisha askari waliokuwa doria kwa njia ya simu ya upepo na walidai wao hawajauona japo walikuwa sehemu hiyo hiyo ya Ngurunga wakati akiwapigia simu. Meneja alifika eneo la Dindira na askari hao walifika pia baadaye na kuanza kazi ya kuzima moto.</p> <p>Baada ya kutembelea pori hili hadi Dindira nimeona sehemu kubwa sana imeungua moto. Chanzo cha moto huo kinaweza kusababishwa na wananchi waishio jirani na mbuga hii na ambao huwinda wanyama. Kwa kuwa kipindi hiki majani ni marefu hawawezi kuwaona wanyama kwa urahisi na ndiyo huamua kuchoma moto. Moto ulitokea sehemu za Kambi ya Simba unaweza ukawa umesababishwa na wananchi wawindaji wanaotoka sehemu za Vijiji vya jirani kama Kwizu. Moto</p>	

Photo 2. A notification of the fire out break in the MGR and its causes from the Same District Authorities

Data available from the MGR indicates that since the evictions, subsequent re-introductions of some game species and concerted efforts of curbing poaching, there has been some increase of animal numbers. For example elephants are now reported at 1100 from 30 (MGR, 2001). The MGR management also considers increasing tourist attraction of MGR to the local and outside world. It is not known though to what extent will the increase of animals in the MGR pose a conflict to the surrounding communities. Field discussions with respondents in Kisiwani, Mkundi and Kivingo villages revealed that their crops have frequently been the target of elephants, monkeys, baboons and wild pigs from the reserve (Photo 3). Respondents in Mkundi recalled an incident in 2002 in which a lion from the MGR killed a man plus livestock. Rangers from the MGR eventually killed the lion. The MGR itself in its Strategic Planning Workshop (Manongi, 1997) considered discontinuing a project on the re-introduction of the wild dogs partly fearing of its "after release" effects. The workshop reported that four wild dogs were released in late 1996 from that project. These dogs were

found dead near Kisiwani village in Same, apparently killed by pastoralists after these dogs had killed several cattle, sheep and goats. A similar scenario has been reported in Kenya where, the KWS (2002) established that increased animal numbers also cause conflicts because some strayed in nearby fields in the adjacent villages and destroyed crops and even killed humans.

Kisiwani
 AFISA JA MTEMBATI KATA
 IDARA JA KILIMO/MUFUGO
 AFISA KILIMO/MUFUGO (W)
 S. L. P. 6
 SAME
 (56)
 S. L. P. 6
 KISIWANI
 17/02/2000
 JAH
 UAMIZI WA TEMBO KATA JA KISIWANI
 Mchwa cha labari juu cha kuhika, makundi
 ya tembo kutoka Mwanazi Game Reserve yamevama
 kata ya Kisiwani. Tembo lawa hika kipindi
 cha ukame wamekuwa wakwama maeneo
 ya kilimo kwa ajili ya kutafuta maji na
 chakula.
 Hali za munda zimefungwa kwa ajili
 ya kukusanya maji kwa ajili ya makundi
 haya ya tembo.
 Leco ambalo liko katalini kushambuliwa
 ni kituo ambalo lina mahidi ya unwagibo
 na yako katika stage ya kuvuma.
 Msaada unaombwa ili kuzima wanyama
 lawa kuvama maeneo ya mashamba
 husiani kitweno ambalo ni mategemeo
 makubwa kwa wakazi wa kata hii.
 Wako
 Bw. Phamba
 Kisiwani

Photo 3. In this letter the Village Extension Officer for Kisiwani village requests for help from the District Agricultural Office against stray elephants from MGR which are destroying farmers' fields

Unfortunately for the communities around the MGR no compensation over wildlife damage to human property is currently possible given the policy governing wildlife management in Tanzania.

One other area the MGR has been having conflicts with the surrounding communities is the ambiguity of the MGR border. In some cases farmers have complained about their farms being declared as being in the MGR and eventually being kicked out of their plots which they been cultivating for many years. In the case below (Photo 4), the farmer from one of the villages bordering the MGR complains about his labourers being refused access to till his farm by the MGR Manager on the basis that the farm is in the reserve. For many years this farmer has been cultivating that farm without being told that he had trespassed into the MGR lands. This farmer lodged a complaint with the District Lands Office citing being tired of constant harassment by the Game Warders from MGR and especially during that rain season which he wanted to use for cultivation.

SALIMU KADARI,
BOX 165,
SAME.

29/12/2003.

AFISA ARDHI (W),
S.L.P. 28,
SAME.

34/12/2003

**YAH. MGOGORO WA MPAKA KATI YA MKOMAZI GAME
RESERVE NA WAKULIMA WA KIJJI CHA MARANU (MAJEVU)**

Tafadhali rejea somo la barua hapo juu.
Mimi ni miongoni mwa wakulima wa kitongoji cha MARANU.

1. Mnamo mwezi wa Februari 2003 niliwapeleka vibarua kunilimlia shamba langu hapo maranu, vibarua hao walirudi bila kulima kwa madai kuwa wamezuiwa na MENEJA WA GAME RESERVE. (BW. LUSASI).
2. Mwezi wa 8 (August) 2003 nilikutana ana kwa ana na Meneja huyo naye alinitembeza katika mipaka husika. Hata hivyo nilimweleza kutokubaliana naye (kutoridhika)

Ili tuondokane na Adha ya kufukuzana na Askari wa GAME tunaomba ofisi yako iingilie kati kuweza kusuluhisha jambo hili haraka itakavyowezekana Hii ikizingatia kuwa wakati huu ni wa kilimo husika kwa wakulima.

Ndimi Mkulima

2005

Selim Kadari
SALUM KADARI

Nakala:-
9 : Meneja wa GAME RESERVE SAME (KWA TAARIFA)
8 : Mkuu wa Wilaya
8 : Box 1,
8 : SAME.
" Mwenyekiti wa Kitongoji
cha Maranu Majevu

Photo 4: Complaints of a farmer from one of the villages bordering the MGR after being denied access to till his farm by the MGR Manager on the basis that the farm is in the reserve.

It can therefore be said that despite the evictions in 1988, there has been an increase in conflicts between the MGR and the surrounding communities. The increase though seems to be caused by population increase of people around the MGR. This creates more demand for resources from the MGR than before. It is difficult to see how this will be dealt with given the conflicting situation of the two parties. It is obvious though that the communities do not see the MGR in the same beneficial light as the MGR sees itself. It is therefore important that the MGR seeks more ways of engaging these communities to correct the image already formed by the surrounding communities towards the MGR.

b) Conflicts between pastoralists and cultivators

Before the evictions, all pastoralists were deep in the MGR where natural water dams could easily be found. For that reason they had no motivation of bringing their cattle to the surrounding villages to find water. Likewise, the communities in the surrounding villages had never experienced water shortages because the current water sources used to meet all their demands. However after the evictions, many of the pastoralists settled outside the MGR but in proximity to these villages. As long as rainfall was abundant the animals could easily be watered out in the range. But when rainfall was inadequate or a dry spell got prolonged problems between villagers and pastoralists began emerging. The latter would be forced to bring their animals into the villages for water. The animals would get watered either from the water pipes or from the natural water sources like wells, rivers and springs. The large numbers of animals brought to drink from such sources all at once has actually been the major source of bringing conflicts and destruction of the water sources. In Mkundi village for example farmers reported that incidences of sabotaging the water pipes (Photo 5) bringing water to the village from the Usambara highlands began emerging after pastoralists settled around their village. A pipe would be cut and then animals would be fed water from the spillage. In the village meanwhile, people started spending hours in long lines waiting for the water.



Photo 5. A water pipe in Mkundi village. The pipe had been vandalised to force the water out so as to feed livestock. Such actions have been fuelling conflicts between pastoralists and cultivators

In 1990 a homicide was committed in Mkundi over water related conflicts. When we visited this village there was still so much tension between pastoralists and farmers such that we could not bring the two to hold a joint meeting. Despite some small variations in the perception as to who is most affected, the majority of the respondents reported that the entire communities are seriously affected (Table 6)

Table 6: Perception on who is most affected by resource degradation across the villages

	Percent (%)
None	16.7
Women	16.0
Children,	1.1
Men	3.2
All	63.0
Total	100.0

To many of the respondents the most serious effect was on farms and water sources (Table 7). Most reported that as the dry season approaches, most pastoralists bring their stock to feed from their farms and drink from the water sources close to the villages. This in turn causes destruction of the farms and the water sources because the animals are brought in large numbers thus causing erosion in the fragile environment of the water sources. In the Usangu Plains in the southern highlands of Tanzania, Kajembe (2002) cites a study in which about 50% of farmers in the area had experienced one form or another of resource based conflict. The Usangu plains host pastoralists, farmers and irrigation schemes all spread over a 40,000 hectare area. The majority of the respondents in Usangu indicated that the most frequent causes of the conflicts included crop damage by livestock; blocking of cattle routes to water and grazing areas by farmers and competition for water. Other causes of conflicts reported included encroachment of farming into grazing lands (Maganga, 2000) and furrow damage by livestock as well as confiscation of livestock by farmers when grazed in harvested fields (Kajembe 2002, Brockington, 2001). In our study villages, there was no report of blocking animal routes to the watering points. However incidents of inflicting physical harm to stray livestock were also reported. Whenever such incidents take place then the situation is often ripe for physical confrontations between pastoralists and cultivators

Table 7. Perception of constraints across the six villages

Major constraint	Percent (%)
Damage of farms and water sources	49.6
Water shortage	29.7
Problem of availability of grazing lands	15
None	5.7
Animal diseases	0.7
Conflict with pastoralists	12.1
Total	100.0

Many cultivators reported to have had direct conflicts with pastoralists. Nearly a third reported to have had their crops damaged in the field by pastoralists' cattle. While the village governments and the courts have been used to settle most of the conflicts, some of these developed into full fledged physical confrontations (Table 8). In general it can be said that

though there have been conflicts between the two communities, the area for conflicts have remained being over water and grazing resources. This is propounded by the perception of cultivators that the Maasai pastoralists actually let their cattle destroy crops on purpose.

Table 8: Perception of the effects from the presence of pastoralists by local communities

Effect	Yes (%)	No (%)
loss of crop through grazing	27.8	71.9
physical fights	6.0	94.0
conflicts over water	24.9	75.1

The views of pastoralists are different from those of cultivators. In Mnazi, Mkundi and Kivingo villages the Maasai pastoralists, while acknowledging destruction of crops by their cattle, they claim that in many cases they actually buy the standing stalks from cultivators after they have harvested their crops. The current arrangement is that they take their cattle to such fields and graze on the stalks. In the Maasai communities, it is the boys who do most of the cattle herding. Often these boys will leave the cattle grazing in such a field and start their childhood plays, thus leaving the cattle to stray into fields which have standing crops and which had no such arrangements with the Maasai.

In many instances the Massai have accepted paying a compensation fine to owners of the destroyed crops. The problem has been when the owner over-estimates the value for the destroyed crops than what a pastoralist will accept. In such cases the two parties will eventually go to a court in which an evaluation of an agricultural extension officer will be called upon to decide on the value of the destroyed crops. In Same District cases of similar nature have been reported to the Authorities (Photo 6). In this letter shown below cultivators in Gonja Maore village which borders the MGR lodged complaints seeking compensation for damaged crops from cows owned by pastoralists. The bulk of the pastoralists in Gonja were those evicted from the MGR in 1988.

JAMHURIA YA MUUNGANO WA TANZANIA
OFISI YA RAIS
TAWALA ZA Mkoa Na Serikali Za Mitaa

68

Mkoa wa Kilimanjaro.
Amani ya simu: "ADMIN" SAME.
Simu Na: 2758033



OFISI YA MKUU WA WILAYA,
S.L.P. 1,
SAME.

Kumb. Na E.40/XV/41 13 Septemba 2004

Bw. M.J. Tendwa na Wenzake,
Gonja Maore,
S.L.P. 639,
GONJA.

YAH: UHARIBIFU WA MAZAO YA WAKULIMA WA MRAMBA - WEKODEKE

Rejea barua yako ya tarehe 17.8.2004 yahusika.

Nasikitika kwamba barua yako ilichelwa kunitikia.

Pili, poleni sana kwa kuhanbiwa mazao yenu.

Tatu, wewe pamoja na wenzako mnashauriwa mfungu chauri la mada katika Mahakama dhidi ya walioharibu mazao yenu kudai mipwe fidia kutokana na uharibu wa mazao yenu.


W.A. Sereya
KATIBU TAWALA (W) WILAYA
SAME
KATIBU SAME.


14/9/2004

2005
9
8

✓ Afisa Kilimo (W)	- Same
✓ Mkurugenzi Mtendaji, H/Wilaya	- Same
✓ Katibu Tarafa	- Ndungu
✓ Afisa Mtendaji Kata	- Maore
✓ Mkuu wa Kituo cha Polisi	- Gonja
✓ Diwani wa Kata	- Maore
✓ Mwenyekiti wa Kijiji	- Kijiji cha Mheza

Photo 6: In this letter a group of cultivators in Gonja Maore village lodged complaints with the Same District Commissioners' Office seeking compensation for their crops damaged from cows owned by pastoralists.

(c) Conflicts over cultural differences

The other area which was reported as being of conflict was on the cultural aspects. About a third of the respondents (Table 9) reported a negative cultural experience between cultivators and pastoralists. These were especially the Maasai pastoralists. Two issues were reported. First was the habit of the Maasai youth "morani" wearing garments that left most of their private parts visible. From a distance this was not offensive. But on close range, things were perceived offensive when these moranis entered homes of farmers in full view of the family. Strangely, the Maasai girls and women were praised by farmers as being very respectfully dressed. Generally there are many farmers, women especially, who feel offended by this unwelcome nudity of the Maasai youth once amongst their homesteads. There are instances of men from Maasai pastoralists marrying girls from cultivators, but seldom are cultivators marrying from the Maasai due to the high dowry prices associated with Maasai girls. However, the fact that cultivators already perceive that the Maasai pastoralists are arrogant

and that they despise them does not serve well the two communities. This state of affairs means the two communities actually live in distrust of each other. For example when a farmer loses livestock, the first suspects are the Maasai pastoralists and vice versa. The other socio-cultural conflict between the two communities was on participation in development work for the communities. Farmers generally perceive the Maasai pastoralists as being reluctant to take part in collective actions for community development. They complain that whenever they decide to build something for the betterment of the two communities, the Maasai do not participate as they are supposed to do. The complexity of this matter is amplified by the fact that most of the Maasai and indeed other pastoralists reside away from farmers. Also some of them still move their stock to other places including Kenya when dry conditions are excessive. This makes participation of pastoralists in such development work nearly impossible which unfortunately for cultivators this is often translated as the non cooperation.

Table 9: Perception on the effect of presence of the evicted families in the villages

Effect of presence	Percent
Negative	32.7
Not negative	67.3
Total	100.0

2. The impacts associated with the new conflicts

From the observations the eviction posed much negative impact to both evicted pastoralists and the communities around the villages where the evicted pastoralists established their settlements. The impacts include:

Destruction of water sources

Among the first causality of the evictions were the water sources in and around the villages into which the evicted pastoralists settled. The water sources found in the villages include rivers and springs. For example in Kisiwani village, a water source at Njiro has been a frequent site of destruction. In year 2004 pastoralists were reported to have vandalized three pipes taking water from this source hence leaving most of the villagers with no water. This scenario is reportedly reoccurring in the dry season in each year. This development never used to be there before the evictions in 1988. In the villages of Mkundi, Mnazi and Kivingo the major river supplying water is called Mbaramo. This river feeds most of the livestock during drought periods. Lately, though the river has been drying during dry seasons due to increase in irrigated agriculture on the Mtae area in the West Usambara Mountains. This decrease in water has meant the livestock now drink from wells and other springs in and around the villages. As the numbers of animals involved is big, these springs get eroded and silted to the point that some especially in Mkundi and Kivingo have long ceased to give water. In turn this shifted the problem of availability of water to involve both livestock and humans.

Losses of livestock

The most common feature for all the pastoralists evicted from Mkomazi is the heavy losses they have incurred in terms of livestock numbers. The lowest loss was calculated at 70% of the original herd taken from MGR at the eviction to present. The highest was 100%. Table 10 gives a general impression of the losses across the study villages with a sample of selected

respondents. According to the pastoralists, the heavy losses of livestock suffered after the evictions are attributed to a number of factors:

(i) **Diseases.** The general claim is that when they were in the MGR their cattle were widely scattered such that disease outbreaks could not spread easily from one herd to another. However following the evictions, they now graze from small area around the villages. In these small areas, their animals now mingle with so much ease. This has caused diseases to spread fast from one herd to another. The commonest diseases which have contributed to the decline in the livestock numbers include Foot and Mouth Diseases (FMD) and East Coast Fever (ECF). The six villages lack reliable veterinary services. The only place they can buy vet drugs are the weekly markets (Gulio). Many of these pastoralists administer the drugs themselves to their cattle.

Table 10. Differences in livestock numbers owned by pastoralists evicted from the MGR for selected villages

NO.	NAME	VILLAGE	NUMBER OF CATTLE		
			During Eviction (1988)	Now (2004)	% LOSS
1	Nakukucha Yandia Mhando	Mnazi	300	3	99.0
2	Pamela Elibarki Kengele Mingi	Mnazi	1000	5	99.5
3	Petro Mwalimu	Mnazi	500	4	99.2
4	Risoni Ole Zakayo	Mkundi	600	30	95.0
5	Lemalali Ole Ndukai	Mkundi	300	30	90.0
6	Lemomo Lakulana	Mkundi	270	20	92.6
7	John Ole Maandali	Mkundi	400	25	93.8
8	Alangusho Ole Mapachi	Mkundi	600	26	95.7
9	Letinga Ole Katei	Mkundi	200	15	92.5
10	Saidi Ole Ketende	Mkundi	40	4	90.0
11	Isaka Ole Kionge	Mkundi	400	3	99.3
12	Mulki Ole Kionge	Mkundi	200	3	98.5
13	Mzee Ley Faru	Kisiwani	1200	11	99.1
14	Mzee Lekengere	Kisiwani	2100	40	98.1
15	Mzee Makange Fido	Kisiwani	1600	46	97.1
16	Lekei Koyai	Kisiwani	280	30	89.3
17	Nguvu Lendugushi	Kisiwani	900	58	93.6
18	Ndimangwa Ramadhani	Kisiwani	2000	60	97.0
19	Kanyorota Mbatwa	Kisiwani	2400	7	99.7
20	Kahise Ramadhani	Kisiwani	1600	70	95.6
21	Rashidi Mtego	Kisiwani	170	0	100.0
22	Kisongo Parkwa	Muungano	780	10	98.7
23	Mathias Mkohoi	Muungano	100	10	90.0
24	Ikayo Ole Nagulu	Muungano	938	200	78.7
25	Mohamed Lemunga	Muungano	500	20	96.0
26	Kiatu Lawangene	Muungano	400	10	97.5
27	Mabasi Msami	Muungano	1000	300	70.0
28	Kirema Kanyika	Muungano	1000	220	78.0
29	Ndeserwa Mgosi	Muungano	300	0	100.0
				Average	93.9

Source: Field Data (2004)

(ii) **Water.** The bulk of the six villages are located in Semi –arid zones areas in which both water and grazing resources are limited. During the dry months nearly all pastoralists bring their stock to feed and drink nearer to the villages. For example, in Mkundi village, the animals are usually watered from water ponds constructed especially for the task. But, when drought comes, all the villagers scrambled for the little amount of water available from the pipes. Frequently, the water quing in Mkundi can take nearly all day during the dry months.

To make matters worse, pastoralists also bring their animals each late afternoon and evening to drink from the same sources. This normally causes a lot of tension and physical fights have been reported. A homicide was committed in Mkundi due to such tensions. According to the pastoralists in Mkundi village, it is only those who crossed into Kenya in an area called Katamboi who still have large size of herds. It is reported that in Katamboi, the Kenyan Government dug water dams which feed the livestock during the months of drought.

(iii) **Different ecological setting:** Most pastoralists complain that the setting in Mkomazi is very different to where they currently live. Presently they are forced to feed their cattle, salty waters, poor grasses, and live in tse-tse infected places. All these were not present in MGR. An example was given of Mzee Ndalo Tamtam (57 yrs) who was evicted from MGR in 1988. He went to Pangani, Tanga region at the coast with his 300 cattle, Now he has only 2. Similarly Mzee Kiambwa Larusai (60yrs) left for Pangani with 1700 stock - in 1988. Now he has only 40. In these places they encountered tsetse flies, salty and brackish waters which were unsuitable for livestock.

Loss of farms, crops, and increased social skirmishes

One of the impact of the new conflicts between pastoralists and the communities they settled in is in the crops and fields destroyed. Unlike pastoralists, though farmers do not keep accurate record of the destruction. Most will recall only a few plants which were destroyed. In many cases the timing will not be well kept. In Ruvu Jiungeni for example respondents reported the following losses in the study year (2004) alone.

Table 11. Loss of crops and farmland due to livestock from pastoralists in Mvungwe – Ruvu Jitengeni village for year 2004

Name of Farmer	Area destroyed by livestock	Value (Tshs)
Francis Fongonyo	1 acre of lablab	400,000
Hamisi Sindano	0.5 acre of lablab	200,000
Loisi Mokaine	1 acre of maize	150,000
Hakimu Ramadhani	0.5 acre of maize	75,000

Source: Field data (2004)

Note 1 US Dollar was calculated at 1000 Tshs

Many farmers complain that over the years this trend has been increasing. Many reported that cases involving destruction of their crops in the fields have increased after their village welcomed families which had been evicted from MGR. In many instances the affected parties would attempt to settle the matter between them before involving the authorities. However in the event that fails, the authorities have been using the agricultural extension staff to estimate value of the damaged crops (Photo 7). In the case reported in Photo 7. A farmer complained about his tomatoes being destroyed by cattle from pastoralists. The extension technician was requested by the Police to estimate value of the crop destroyed and Tshs 24,000 (USD 24) were awarded to the farmer. There are many such cases in the villages surround the MGR in which farmers live in proximity to those evicted from the MGR.

HALMA SHAURI YA WILAYA SAME.

Dhifa ya Kata ya - Njoro,
Idara ya Kilimo,
Kata ya Njoro,
29-09-1999. (54)

Kumb. Mg. MAC/COL/13.

Kuhusu Chuo Polisi,
Same.

YAH. THAMANI YA MIMBA AWIA YA NYANYA ILIYOHARIBIWA NA MAFIGO
KATIKA SHAMBA LA KALISI % XSAVERY.

Ikurika na somo hilo hipo juu.
Nilijika kabika Shamba la Ndugu Kalisi Xsavery pamoja na
nong'zi wa kutongaji ziko Chato mnamo tarehe 28-09-1999 kama
kama yake iliyopamuru kupanga tathmini.
Tathmini haina ni kama ijuatanyo:
Kwanza eneo hilo la miba za Mamba 20 kenge miche 214 ya
Nyanya aina ya Magloke ilikuwa na uwezo wa kutia Nyanya kilo
400 sawa na Machebe 22.2.
Ukiantaji wa Nyanya hizi ni asilimia 30% ambazo ni sawa na kilo 120
ambazo ni sawa na Machebe 6.6.
Thamani ya baba Maja (1) ni Shilingi Elfu mne (14000/=)
Kwa hivyo kwa Machebe 6.6 ni sawa na Sh 26,400/= (Shilingi Elfu shirini
na sita na mita mne tu).
Hyo basi thamani haina ya Nyanya na Mimba iliyoharibiwa ni
Sh 26,400/= tu.

Jakobus
JACOB W. JOHANNES
Bwana SHAMBA - KATA YA NJORO

Makata kwa: Afisa Kilimo/Mjuzi (u)
Same.

3/11/99

Photo 7: In this letter the village extension officer for one of the study area responds to a request by the Police in Same to estimate value of the crops destroyed. In this case some 26 USD were awarded to the complaining farmer.

One area which has not been widely studied is the influence of the evictions on the social skirmishes in the villages around the MGR. Many respondents in the six villages reported presence of occasional physical conflicts between pastoralists and cultivators. In some instances this has involved the entire communities. For instance, in Kisiwani village, farmers complained that their farming lands have been lost because some of the pastoralists from the MGR have settled there. This settling of the evicted pastoralists in their former agricultural fields plus the usual seasonal gluts of pastoralists from Hedaru and Ruvu has seriously affected their irrigated farms. On the other hand these farmers reported increased social skirmishes in their village since the pastoralists came. They point out that the government had allocated to them in Handeni (Tanga region, some 250 kms from the village). A homicide was committed in Kisiwani involving a Mr. Mkumbwa in year 2003 over cattle theft. Pastoralists are blamed by the local communities for this homicide and increased cattle theft in the area. Following this homicide, tensions and hostility were such that the District Commissioner for Same had to go to Kisiwani to intervene to enable the two communities co-exist peacefully. Similar incidents have been reported in Mkundi village in Lushoto district as well as Ruvu Jiungeni. In fact in Jiungeni, the village authorities had to sound an

alarm to the district authorities that tensions between the two communities were such that one community had readied itself for war (Photo 8).

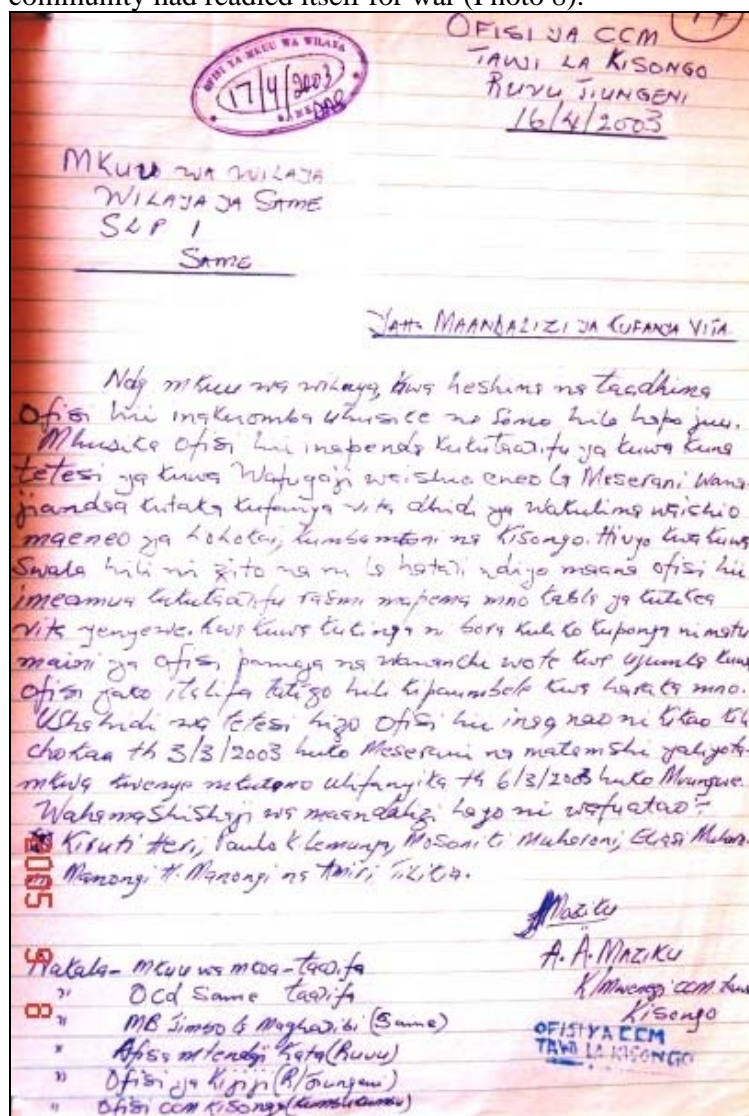


Photo 8: A letter from Ruvu-Jiungeni village in which the village authority informs the District Commissioner of Same about tensions between pastoralists and cultivators such that the Maasai pastoralists were preparing for war. Many of the pastoralists in this village were those evicted from MGR.

Income losses to the villages around the MGR

This was encountered in Kisiwani and Mnazi villages. Before the evictions, there used to be weekly livestock auctions and sales at the village markets. The governments of the two villages used to collect levy from these markets and pastoralists selling their stock. Similarly most of the veterinary drugs used to be availed during these markets. However following the evictions, the seasonal cattle auctions ceased to function. With this collapse came down the entire monetary economy associated with these markets in the two villages. At Kisiwani especially, residents recall how vibrant the village economy was at the time before the evictions. During that time, after the auctions, the pastoralists would purchase goods from their shops, hotel etc before returning home. Now they claim the village is dull. Unfortunately we have not been able to capture this loss in monetary terms.

Fragmentation of the pastoral communities

There is adequate proof that the Maasai pastoralists especially have suffered considerable fragmentation in their communities. Following the evictions, most settled around the MGR where socio-ecological factors were not as conducive as in the MGR for livestock keeping. However the gradual loss of their livestock has invited immense poverty among them. Having lost cattle some especially the youth have taken to doing all sort of jobs which were once unthinkable to the Maasai. Some youth have taken to be watchmen in the towns while some have taken to the hair dressing of women in the beauty and hair salon across many towns in Tanzania. Yet some have taken to selling traditional medicines (Photo 9 through 11) Perhaps, one of the famous story about family fragmentation is probably that of the family of Mzee Ley Faru in Same. This famous Maasai pastoralist had 1200 cattle. When he was evicted from the MGR, he settled his family close to Kisiwani village. However the family began loosing cattle. From the 1200 heads now the family has 11. Unfortunately for Mzee Faru, his two wives deserted him. They have long settled in Same where they took to Christianity and are selling Maasai traditional medicines. Mzee Faru, in his 80's now is poor, frustrated and bitter.



Photo 9. The two Maasai pastoralists, Ole Parkwa with red garment and Ole Kamunyu were evicted from the MGR. Kamunyu is now selling traditional medicines in Mnazi village. They both have lost all stock they had from the MGR.



Photo 10. This is Yohana Kelembo Ole Senago. A famous hair dresser in Same. He is son of a Maasai family evicted from the MGR in 1988. His family lost all the cattle. He then took to Dar-es-Salaam where he adopted commercial hair dressing (rasta). He eventually returned to Same where together with another Maasai (Noah Oloti Ndigai) they are doing part time hair dressing in one of the beauty parlours. When we met Yohana he reported to be doing well in this new “carrier”



Photo 11. A Youth from the Maasai family enjoying a pool table game near Mombo in Tanga. A lifestyle once unthinkable among the Maasai

3. Operational strategies of MGR in managing the new conflicts

In this study operational strategies refer to approaches which the MGR administration uses in carrying out its responsibilities with respect to the MGR and its immediate communities.



Photo 12: A sign board towards the headquarters of the MGR in Same District

In 1997, the Wildlife Division, probably concerned about the negative perception which the communities that surround the MGR had, organised a workshop in which different stakeholders, including communities around it were invited. According to Manongi (1997 pg 13-15) that workshop recognised 20 areas of grievances between the communities and the MGR. The areas include:

- 1) Property damage by wildlife.
- 2) Perceived threats of being attacked by wildlife and poachers around the MGR
- 3) Poaching i.e. illegal hunting of wildlife inside the reserve.
- 4) Perception that Field Director of the Tanzania Wildlife Trust Fund (TWPTF) does not fully cooperate with the local people.
- 5) Claim from local residents of traditional ownership of parts of MGR
- 6) Shortage of water for both livestock and irrigation.
- 7) Boundaries not acceptable by the local people of Maore and Kisiwani.
- 8) Wild fires in farmlands.
- 9) Poor communications between MGR management and communities.
- 10) Perceptions about the contributions of MGR.
- 11) Livestock invasion on farmlands.
- 12) Lack of access of MGR to pastoralists and fuel wood collectors.
- 13) Failure to involve local people in MGR Management Programmes.
- 14) Inadequate Conservation Awareness.

- 15) Poor relationship between local communities and MGR management.
- 16) Encroachments for grazing, settlements, fuel wood collection, mining, and farming.
- 17) Wild fires within MGR.
- 18) Wildlife-livestock disease interactions.
- 19) Water shortage inside the MGR.
- 20) Inadequate management information and statistics.

That workshop came out with 11 areas of improvement or recommendations (Manongi, 1997, pg 21) for the MGR administration which would have contributed to gradual improvement of relationships between the MGR and the surrounding communities. The areas include:

- encourage participation of women and disadvantaged groups in MGR management
- resolve existing boundary conflicts between MGR and adjacent communities
- limit wildlife damage to local community property
- co-operate with local communities to reduce water shortage for livestock and irrigation
- ensure that conservation awareness in local communities is raised
- co –operate with local government and contribute to rural development.
- ensure that local communities are involves in MGR management process.
- co-operate with local communities in resolving grazing land conflicts
- co-operate with local communities in reducing the problem of wildfires in farmlands and livestock grazing areas.
- improve relationship between MGR managers, local communities and local government
- co-operate with local communities in order to minimize threats from wildlife and poachers.

When we visited the MGR headquarters in Same we learned that the MGR has since been implementing some of these recommendations. For instance the MGR has facilitated construction of water dams at Maore and servicing of the Dindira dam. In addition the MGR has facilitated construction of schools, provided schools with desks. In the pressure points the MGR has adjusted its border with the adjacent villages. The MGR also remits some 25% of its profits to the local government administering these villages. There is also a plan for an educative engagement with the surrounding villages. The MGR is surrounded with 42 villages.

However, the fact that seven years after this workshop still 53% of the respondents for this study reported a negative perception towards the MGR leaves a lot to be done. In fact the majority still associate the MGR with arrests (see Table 10).

Table 10: Perception on how the MGR handles trespasses

	Percent (%)
Arresting offenders	51.6
Allowing the activities	1.1
Setting dialogue with villages	0.7
Not aware	46.6
Total	100.0

Paradoxically, despite these arrests nearly half (45%) admitted to still be undertaking the forbidden activities in the MGR (Table 11). Our observation is that the villages which immediately share a border with the MGR like Kivingo, Mnazi, Kisiwani and Mkundi have the highest number of trespassing incidents. Most of the trespassers reported to find the ban on activities like beekeeping, collection of firewood and collection of domestic water from the reserve almost impossible to obey. In fact for pastoralists, the practice of sending livestock into the MGR during periods of scarce grazing resources is still continuing. Despite knowing that on being caught they will attract a heavy fine of Tanzanian Shillings 300,000 (USD 300) many still get prepared to pay these fines than risk the loss of their livestock due to unavailability of grazing resources.

Table 11: Pattern of trespassing for activities forbidden to be undertaken in the MGR

Activity undertaken	Percent (%)
Knowledge on prohibition of trespass	55.5
Grazing	35.2
Hunting	26.0
Beekeeping	6.0
Cultivation	17.1
Residing	10.7
domestic water	11.4

This correlates well with what our host at the MGR headquarters (Mr. Nasser Fadhili) reported. That most of pastoralists trespassing into the MGR found the fines to be affordable and are often prepared to meet them. This fact also indicates part of this conflict to be socio-economic. In Kenya, the KWS (2002) reported that there are many socio-economic problems associated with human-wildlife conflicts. These include; increase in human population, demand for resources, local attitudes of people against gazetted of protected areas, losses attributed to wildlife, crop damage, livestock-wildlife problems, disturbance of schools and family life and social changes. One area which is on plan but has not been fully exploited by the MGR is the potential of engaging the communities through educative and other participatory engagements. This was recommended in the MGR workshop (Manongi, 1997). But it seems not much has been done to implement it other than relying on community fears. In Kivingo village for example farmers recalled an incident in which one boy was brutally beaten by Game Warders on being found close to the border with MGR while wearing a catapult around his neck. The Warders must have concluded that the catapult was for killing the birds from the reserve. Farmers on the other hand say the boy was using the catapult to protect a nearby rice field from the birds. Such is the mistrust between the two parties. There is very little dialogue between the MGR and the communities on the matters associated with such conflicts. An area which may hamper the MGR from opening dialogue with the pastoralists is the shifting nature of the pastoral communities. Generally this makes it difficult for the MGR administration to engage them as most of them seem to trespass into the MGR on an individual basis and not as a community. Another area which adds to the negative perception of the surrounding communities towards the MGR strategies is the lack of transparency on some of its operations. For some of the respondents, the negative impression they have is contributed by lack of transparency about steps to be undertaken once one is caught trespassing into the MGR. Some of these communities have gone as far as lodging formal complaints with Government Authorities on the maltreatment meted out to them by

the MGR Game Warders (Photo 13). In some instances the communities have complained about paying the fines for trespassing but without being issued the necessary receipts acknowledging that payments have been made (Photo 14).



Photo 13. Letter from the District Commissioners Office in Same in which the complaints about MGR staff against communities are lodged

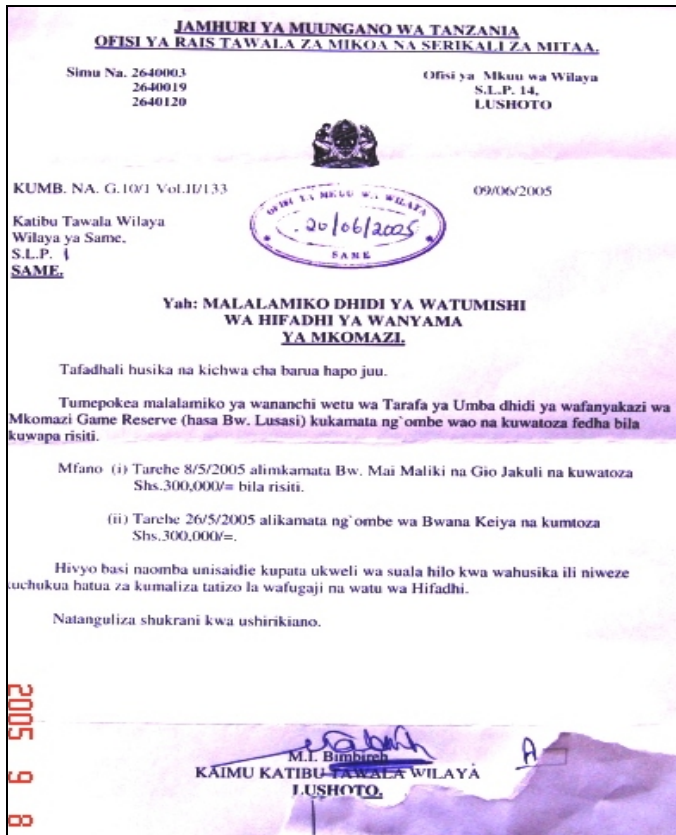


Photo 14. Complaints from Lushoto District Commissioner's office about people being fined and not being issued a receipt acknowledging payments by the MGR authorities

In Kenya a similar situation was reported. Fiery complaints were reported from the local communities of the rangers who had shot or whipped suspected poachers who were not resisting arrest or attempting to escape (KWS, 2002). Similar complaints about use of brutal force was reported in the past evictions of Mkomazi. In that eviction, the Maasai, complained about their livestock being killed, maimed, community members beaten and their houses burnt (Juma, 2002). In Ngorongoro, the Shivji's Land Commission Report (URT, 1997) reports that the Ngorongoro Crater Conservation Authority (NCCA) in an anti-cultivation operation in 1987 arrested over 600 pastoralists in clear violation of its authority.

In this MGR case, many years after the Wildlife Division had organised a participatory workshop with the villages around the MGR, one wonders why should people around it still complain about the brutality of the Game Warders for as little an offence as wearing a catapult around ones neck but close to the MGR border. It is unclear to what extent has the MGR and indeed the Wildlife Division invested into bringing attitude change among its own staff as part of a wider effort of reaching out to the surrounding communities in a more positive note. The need for an educative and participatory approach towards the surrounding communities is clearly mentioned in the MGR management plan (MGR, 1997). It is unfortunate that not much has been done towards its implementation especially towards engaging the communities around it as part of a conflict management strategy.

4. Role of traditional institutions to manage the new conflicts

Ostrom (1992) defines institutions as "the set of rules used by a set of individuals to organize repetitive activities that produce outcomes affecting those individuals and potentially affecting others. In the six villages, we found evidence that the communities handle the emanating conflicts through two types of institutions, the Council of Elders and the Village Governments. For the Maasai pastoralists in Mnazi, Kivindo, Mkundi and Ruvu Mferejini, the council of elders commands a lot of respect. This council consists of elderly members of the Maasai pastoralists. Their ruling is confined to the Maasai community and is normally final. It can not be appealed to any other institution outside the tribe. This correlates with Jacobs (1980) who pointed out that the Maasai regularly use this council for social rebuke and avoidance of the individual who fails to adhere to good resource management practices.

In Kivingo and Mnazi, the village governments work closely with these councils to solve skirmishes between cultivators and Maasai pastoralists. In Mkundi, Ruvu Mferejini and Muungano villages some members of Council of Elders are also members to the village government. In many instances this has helped ease out tensions. For the cultivators there is no such Council. This is probably because of their mixed tribal affiliations. Their tendency is therefore to work mostly through the Village Government. A village government is a formally structured institution whose function is to oversee all matters in the village. Its implementation is under a Village Executive Officer (VEO). This VEO is an employee of the Central Government. Generally the VEOs report to a chain of command which goes all the way to the District Commissioner (DC). Each village government has a council with an elected chairman.

We could not find evidence among the study villages that the MGR administration has engaged the Council of Elders of the Maasai to implement its agenda. It is true that the MGR is surrounded by many villages and tribes. However, current practice is to only engage the Governments of these villages and not the council of elders. The Village Governments

operate within established procedures stipulated by the Central Government. In many cases these Village Governments can not punish offenders as does the council of elders of specific tribes. For example tribal councils can ban tribesmen from associating with the offending household. This can not be done by the Village Governments. The MGR can actually make use of both the tribal and village government institutions to its advantage. In fact Kajembe (2002) argues that most of resource based conflicts can be solved by “mixed” institutions. This includes traditional as well as externally sponsored local ones. Kajembe reports that traditional institutions are important in natural resource management and they play a greater role in regulating access and utilization of various types of natural resources. Similar views were reported by Maganga, (2000), Mbwambo (2000) and Mbwilo (2002). Normally traditional institutions, which originate from local cultures, have firm roots in the past and reflect knowledge and experience of the local people. So far in the villages surrounding the MGR this opportunity has not been exploited. It may be wise to study which traditional institutions in the study villages justify being engaged just as Kajembe (2002) cautions that some traditional institutions have their own problems. Kajembe cautions that some may have lost their local authority and legitimacy as a result of an emergent democratic order. Despite this risk it will be in favour of the MGR to recognise potential of these institutions. In fact, Swift (1995) argues that, recognising the limitations of traditional institutions should not lead to their being marginalized. Rather those elements that are appropriate in contemporary circumstances should be retained, strengthened and given legal recognition

It is encouraging to note that the Wildlife Policy of Tanzania (URT, 1998) recognises potential role of different institutions and stakeholders in effecting a sustainable conservation of wildlife and other protected areas. But, the institutions and stakeholders mentioned in the policy document are those which are local or externally sponsored. The policy document does not mention potential role of traditional institutions within the surrounding communities in the protected areas. These institutions are very important in case of traditional societies like Maasai.

5. Key areas for policy/legal review

There is little doubt that improper policy or law can lead to sustained conflicts in any system. Nobody doubts the fact that wildlife is one of Africa’s greatest natural assets. For many years now a number of African governments (e.g. Tanzania, Kenya, South Africa, Uganda etc.) due to adoption of conservation policies, have been setting aside huge tracts of land in order to establish protected wildlife areas popularly called National Parks and or Game Reserves. The intentions of these protected areas are to protect wildlife as well as attract tourists.

But as Rutten (2002) argues, while wildlife viewing and hunting are the main reasons why tourists visit Africa, in many countries, interests and livelihoods of the local people around these protected areas receive very little attention. In fact most of the profit generated from these Parks and or Reserves hardly benefit them. Worse many local communities have lost access to land and other natural resources often without any long-term compensation. A study conducted by the Kenya Wildlife Services-KWS (2002) revealed that Human-Wildlife conflicts can be categorised under four causes; Policy and law; Operational strategies by conservation services; Socio-economics and Ecological reasons. The KWS (2002) established that areas that required immediate attention for minimising conflicts between humans and wildlife conservation areas included; land tenure, land use and compensation against wildlife damage

(i) Land tenure

In all the four villages that share the border with MGR we found pastoralists grazing in the village lands that have been delineated for livestock keepers. However this did not mean that they legally own these lands. A similar scenario was observed in the villages of Muungano and Jiungeni. Generally it can be summed that the source of conflict around MGR and indeed between the MGR, pastoralists and other community members rotates around land tenure. For the case between pastoralists evicted from the MGR, the conflict dates back to 1951 when the then colonial authority in Tanganyika under Government Notice No. 265/275 gazetted an area approximately 3,276 square kilometres to be officially called the Mkomazi Game Reserve –MGR. At that time many pastoralists were allowed to exploit MGR's pastures and other range resources despite its gazetted status. This is because, in the Charter that provided for its establishment, Mkomazi pastoralists' rights were recognised and were to be preserved (Tenga, 1998, Brockington, 1999).

It would seem at this point that the Tanganyika Government despite gazetting the area also recognised that the pastoral communities had a stake in the area as customary land owners. The major flaw in this recognition is that it was not legally binding. In fact what followed later up to the evictions has been described by Juma (2002) as a legal conflict on the recognition of customary land right to the Maasai pastoralists residing in the MGR even before its establishment and the Government which actually treats the customary lands as a reserve to be drawn into the main stream of economic activity depending on the need (Juma 2002). It is understood that the nomadic way of life for the pastoralists makes them more vulnerable to this risk and actually denies them of guaranteed security land tenure and appropriate mechanism for land acquisition.

The new National Land Policy of 1995 (URT, 1995) contains decision aimed at correcting the shortfalls pertaining to land tenure, land management and administration in Tanzania. The aim of this new land policy are to improve access to land by all sections of society; ensure that existing rights in land especially customary rights of smallholder (i.e. peasant and herdsman) are recognised clarified and secured in law, to promote equity in land holding and increase efficiency in land administration in the country.

It will be remembered that most people in villages own land under customary tenure. Due to that the policy states that the government shall streamline procedures for getting legal rights of occupancy with the aim of shortening it (URT, 1995). Among the major issues mentioned in the New National Land Policy we find; demarcation of grazing lands for pastoralists; poor rangelands management, use and conservation; lack of guaranteed security land tenure in pastoral rangelands; lack of innovative options for meeting the needs of mobile and sedentary pastoralists mentioned as areas to be tackled by the responsible Ministry. However it is not mentioned how this will be achieved nor the time frame. In fact in the policy statements not much light is shed on how this will be achieved. In the Tanzania Agricultural and Livestock Policy (URT, 1997) we find the following policy statements, that;

- 1) Security of tenure for pastoralists in pastoral lands areas will be guaranteed by appropriate measures including gazetting to protect grazing land from encroachment.
- 2) Certificates of village land will be issued to protect common property regimes.
- 3) Underutilized or neglected former pastureland will be reclaimed and restored to pastoralists, when not in conflict with national interests.

- 4) The government will endeavour to bring about the understanding of the goals and objectives of the pastoral communities and integrate them in the national goals and objectives;
- 5) All acts and regulations pertaining to pastoral land use and tenure will be reviewed to bring them in line with the National Land Policy of 1995.
- 6) The government will promote community based natural resources management and control among livestock keepers and farmers through participatory land use planning;

In the six villages covered by this study we could not find any implementation of either the spirit contained in the New Land Policy (URT, 1995) nor in this later policy on agriculture and livestock (URT, 1997). Currently the pastoral communities are grazing their livestock on lands which are only set aside by the village. The villages have never been issued these certificates. Consequently ownership of these lands is unclear to both pastoralists and the villages and hence they can not even develop them. At Mkundi village we found some drinking and dipping facilities which date back to colonial period (pre 1961) and have ceased to function many years ago. Otherwise the other five villages have no such facilities. Land tenure conflict between cultivators and the MGR for those villages sharing a border with MGR is manifest in the form of conflicts associated with their common border. People have been cultivating in lands that later become declared as being in the game reserve despite having cultivated them for many years. The MGR administration has in some instances been adjusting its border in the “pressure points” to allow the surrounding communities more land for cultivation and livelihood. However while this gesture is welcome, it does not mean the people in such spots automatically become the legal owners of such released lands. In fact as things stand at present these lands can be distributed by the village governments as they see fit. The whole issue of land tenure therefore needs redress because it is one of the major factors that actually promote the current conflicts in the area around the MGR.

(ii) Land use

At close range it would seem that inefficient land use practices are actually among the major contributing factors to the conflict in the MGR and the communities that surround it. In all the six villages, the surrounding communities still practice inefficient resource utilisation practices like agriculture, firewood collecting, honey harvesting etc. Because of this they tend to require much more resources from the MGR for producing very little. For example, there is little effort in practicing beekeeping among them other than trespassing into the MGR for the same. Similarly no efforts are evident among them to plant trees which could provide them with firewood as one finds in the highlands of Usambara. Yet they could and have adequate resources for which they can profitably undertake such practices like bee keeping right in their villages. As for the Maasai and other pastoralists, the practice is to have large herds of cattle which are extensively grazed. No efforts are made to improve the range from which they graze. Yet, the Tanzania Agricultural and Livestock Policy (URT, 1997) on improvement of pastoral communities has among many, the following Policy Statements;

- (i) The Government will recognize and respect the rights of pastoral communities to their traditional grazing lands and will promote communal initiatives for better management and integrated exploitation of rangelands resources.
- (ii) The free movement of pastoralists with their cattle from overstocked-to under stocked land areas if it is not regulated will bring about land ownership and land-use conflicts with settled communities. It can also cause land degradation in areas through which they pass. The policy is that although the government encourages livestock owners in overgrazed areas to move to lower stocked areas it will

facilitate and coordinate discussions with the local communities in the under stocked areas so as to agree on modalities of the new settlements which will involve government support in land use planning, grazing and water rights, establishment of necessary basic infrastructures in the new areas including construction or rehabilitation of livestock marketing facilities. The government will support setting aside for rehabilitation and land conservation of severely degraded areas whereby all agricultural activities including livestock grazing are excluded for a number of years. The Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives will support de-stocking of heavily eroded and degraded areas and their rehabilitation through soil conservation measures including encouraging tree planting and promotion of investment in biogas production.

In other words the days of nomadic movements of pastoralists across the country looking for open grazing lands are numbered. To co-exist with this policy outlook the pastoralists MUST change their land use practices. Compared with the National Land Policy of 1995, the Agriculture and Livestock Policy of 1997 is a significant improvement in promoting sound land use measures for the pastoral communities. The policy recognises growing social conflicts, environmental concerns and land use conflicts due to haphazard alienation of rangelands for large-scale agriculture. The document has policy statements which acknowledge that the extensive alienations frequently disown pastoralists of their grazing lands.

The major limitation confronting both the New Land Policy of 1995 and the Agriculture and Livestock Development Policy of 1997 is that the bulk of their goals have never been implemented. Otherwise the two documents contain good statements which show that the government is aware of the plight of pastoralists. This therefore leaves the situation in the villages we have studied and indeed in most others across the country without any improvement. In addition the Agriculture and Livestock Policy of 1997 has the following statements that relate to the necessity of land use change

- When any activities other than pastoralists cease in rangelands (e.g. abandoned ranch) that land will revert to its original land use.
- Shifting agriculture and nomadism will be discouraged.
- Incentive to proper pastoral land stewardship, including the provision of infrastructure like water supply and cattle dips through cost sharing schemes will be provided and modern trans-humant pastoralism will be encouraged. Cattle movement will be regulated *through* coordinated planning and the provision of stock routes and other mechanisms.
- Pastoralists and Agriculturalists/peasants will be educated on good land management and utilization.

These policy statements clearly indicate that with time the government will not support the nomadic way of cattle keeping currently adopted by the pastoralists like those evicted from the MGR. In view of this, it is imperative that the pastoral community must adopt to the current times and change their land and resource use practices. In Mnazi, Ruvu, Kivingo and Mferejini villages there are signs of change among the former pastoralists. Some have become agro-pastoralists while some have gone ahead and dug own water points to feed their livestock while some taken to politics. In Kivingo village the elected Ward Counsellor (Mh. Ole Moreto) hails from the Maasai evicted from MGR.



Photo 15. Mzee Juma Hansi from Mnazi village. Before the eviction from MGR in 1987 he had 3000 heads of cattle. Now he has 180. Here he poses before his watering pond. The pond when fully operational can water his cattle for 9 months.

Addressing issues related to land use change, the Wildlife Policy of Tanzania 1998 has the following policy statements which aim at community development and promotion of community participation in wildlife benefits;

- Providing technical advice to village natural resources committees and training village scouts to ensure the success of community based conservation
- Encouraging rural communities to establish Wildlife Management Areas in such areas of critical habitat, with the aim of ensuring that wildlife can compete with other form of land use that may jeopardise wildlife populations and movements
- Conferring user rights of wildlife to land holder to allow rural communities and private landholders to manage wildlife



Photo 16. The Wildlife Policy 1998 aims at encouraging communities that surround Game Reserves or National parks establish Community Based Conservation Programmes as form of land use to allow them benefit from tourist activities as well as small scale hunting

- Influencing policies such that land of marginal value to agriculture and livestock development (tsetse infested areas) is set aside for wildlife conservation to the best interest of rural communities as primary form of land use
- Establish mechanism to facilitate public awareness and understanding of wildlife conservation
- Facilitating establishment of Community Based Conservation Programmes in Wildlife Management Areas by helping the rural communities to have secure ownership/long term use rights of their land and enabling them to use the wildlife and natural resources on that land
- Giving due consideration to collection of natural products inside Game Reserves provided the collection is managed on a sustainable basis with minimal environmental damage and without conflicting with the primary aims of managing game reserves
- Permitting small-scale cropping by rural communities practising CBC, ranchers and farmers operating on privately owned or leased land

These policy statements are noble and well intended. They clearly show that even at the Government level, the need for a change of land use practices is evident. The problem as earlier noted in the policy documents of New Land policy of 1995 and Agriculture and Livestock Development Policy of 1997 is that there has been little implementation if any of these intentions.

(iii) Compensation of damaged property

Compensation of property damaged by wildlife or loss of life is an area which is not mentioned in all the three policy documents. In the planning workshop organised by the Wildlife Division in 1997 at Same, Manongi (1997) reports that stakeholders in that workshop recognised the need of the Government of Tanzania addressing the matter of compensation in case of loss of life or property damage by wildlife from the protected areas against communities that surround the areas. No reason has been provided for this silence. The KWS (2002) reports presence of this law which compensates communities against the losses of this nature in neighbouring Kenya. On the other hand there is adequate coverage of compensation against property damage when it comes to loss of crops by livestock damage. In Same District for example, there are numerous case of crops damaged and compensation worked out. Many of these cases are in the areas where some of the evicted pastoralists settled. The normal procedure is that once a complaint has been received the involved parties will either settle the matter amicably or compensate each other in a manner they see fit. If this fails, the aggrieved party reports to the Police. The Police then sends a request to the District Agricultural technicians for damage valuations (Photo 17), the value of the damage is then made.

OFISI YA BAPA - NJORO,
IDARA YA KILIMO,
RAIS YA NJORO.
20.9.1999.

53

Kumb. No. KAC/200/2:
Kituo cha Polisi,
Same.

TAJWA: TUMASA YA MAMA YA NJORO MATAA MTENGETI

Thamani ya mimea ya ndugu hayo niliyetaja hapa juu
mnamo mwezi ya kupata barua tota kituo cha Polisi Same.
Mimefika shambaani kwa ndugu Baraka Mtengeti tarehe
19.9.99. na kufanya tathmini kufuatayo:-

1. Migoomba mashina 7 kila shina linalitajwa ilive na
migoomba 3 yenye kuzaa kikamilifu, katika mima hii
(kwa shuni) ya migoomba - kila skungu thamani yake ni
sh. 700/- Jumla ya thamani ni sh. 14,700/- (shilingi
elfu kumi na nne na mia saba).

2. Migoomba iliyosidiki:

Shina A - Migoomba 2	kila skungu	sh. 500/-	=	1000/-
Shina B - Migoomba 3	kila skungu	sh. 500/-	=	1500/-
" C - Migoomba 1	"	sh. 500/-	=	500/-
" D - Migoomba 3	"	sh. 500/-	=	1500/-
" E - Migoomba 2	"	sh. 500/-	=	1000/-
" F - Migoomba 1	"	sh. 500/-	=	500/-
Jumla - shs.				7500/-

Piwa yote ina thamani ya sh. 22,200/- Gharama na
kumpelaka bwana shamba (igihira) na utayarishaji wa tathmini ni
sh. 6,000/- (shilingi elfu nane tu).

Gharama zote kwa ujumla ni sh. 30,200/-

2005 9 8

J. S. Johannes
B/MORO - BAPA YA NJORO

Makala kwa- Africa Kilimo/Wifugo (W).

Signature

Photo 17. A letter informing the Police in Same about value of the crops damaged in one of the cases

According to the District Agricultural offices in Same and Lushoto, the current rates for compensation from crop damage by stray animals was last reviewed in 1992/93 financial year. In many crops, the rates have gone up by 600% (Photo 18). In Same we actually came across a case in which pastoralists were complaining that some farmers, knowing they were likely to face crop failure due to frequent droughts in the area would intentionally set up their fields for stray animals so that upon damage, they will be compensated. In this case the value of the compensation is estimated to be better than what they would have otherwise obtained under the harsh climatic conditions. Elsewhere in the villages we studied most of the crop damage cases were settled on mutual agreements between cultivators and pastoralists. Only few cases went all the way to the police. Considering that currently most agriculture is

undertaken as a commercial activity, there may be need of reviewing adequacy of the rates of compensation to go hand in hand with current socio-economic realities.

FIDIA KWA MAZAO YA WEIMU		
MAZAO	Fidia ya Sasa Sh/Hekta	Fidia mpya (1992/93) Sh/Hekta
1. <u>Nafaka</u>		
Mahindi	5,775.00	33,000.00
Mpunga - Bondeni	12,000.00	47,100.00
- Kilimani	5,600.00	23,550.00
Mtama	3,000.00	11,250.00
Ngano	6,000.00	38,400.00
Ulezi	4,180.00	13,125.00
Uwele	3,000.00	9,000.00
2. <u>Mbegu za Mafuta</u>		
Alizeti - Nyeusi	8,400.00	35,100.00
- Jupiter	7,400.00	35,100.00
- Mchanganyiko	6,700.00	35,100.00
Karanga	10,740.00	45,000.00
Nyonyo (Castor)	2,700.00	18,000.00
Ufuta	6,250.00	29,750.00
3. <u>Aina ya Maharage</u>		
Choroko	7,740.00	45,150.00
Maharage	6,000.00	35,000.00
Mbaazi	3,360.00	19,600.00
Mikunde	4,740.00	27,600.00
Njugumawe	6,420.00	37,450.00
4. <u>Aina ya Mirizi</u>		
Magimbi	3,735.00	18,800.00
Mihogo - Jumla	4,500.00	22,660.00
- (Kila shina)	(1.25)	(20.00)
Viazi vitamu	3,195.00	16,090.00
Viazi vikuu	7,065.00	35,580.00
Viazi mviringo	-	42,000.00
5. <u>Mboga</u>		
Bamia	15,000.00	58,583.00
Bilinganya	20,000.00	78,000.00
Kabichi	20,000.00	78,000.00
Mchicha	8,000.00	31,245.00
Mnyanya	50,000.00	195,000.00
Mitunguu	40,000.00	156,000.00
Moroti	20,000.00	78,000.00
Maboga	22,500.00	87,800.00
Matikitimaji	24,000.00	93,700.00
Mlipili hoho	-	93,700.00
6. <u>Meng'etheyo</u>		
Tamba	6,500.00	35,000.00
Tumbaku - Mvuke	28,425.00	171,500.00
- Moto	15,145.00	109,200.00
- Burley	9,034.00	43,165.00

Photo 18. New rates of compensation being used to valuate damage by stray animals in different crop fields

The least the Government could do in damages of crop fields from Wildlife in areas surrounding Game Reserves was to offer a similar package of compensation where there is adequate proof of damage from such animals

CONCLUSIONS

We wish to conclude the following

1. Despite the eviction of pastoralists in Mkomazi Game Reserve in 1988, the communities around it and the MGR are still locked up in conflicts. The conflicts rotate around water, grazing resources, agricultural lands and wildlife. We have observed that both cultivators and pastoralists around the MGR currently practice inefficient resource use methods. These poor methods in resource utilization need much resource for little output. Given the resource conditions around the MGR these poor practices contribute to the current conflicts. Also the current social-economic and cultural changes in the MGR and the villages around it does not support the current nomadic lifestyle of the Maasai community
2. In the villages where the pastoralists settled after the evictions there are now new conflicts between them and cultivators. These conflicts have led to loss of lives and serious clashes between the two communities. The villagers have lost standing crops in their fields from livestock damage. On the other hand the villages which received the evicted pastoralists have only small areas available for the pastoralists to graze their livestock. This has caused overstocking, degradation of grazing and water resources and actual loss of cattle. Most the pastoralists have lost 70-100% of the stock they had at the time of the eviction due to diminished forages, inadequate water and up surge of diseases.
3. At community level, the pastoral communities evicted from the MGR (especially the Maasai) have suffered considerable level of fragmentation. Their youth have taken to different non pastoral activities like employment in towns as security guards and hairdressers due to the loss of family wealth and capital. In the villages, there are few cultural tensions between the Maasai pastoralists and the other villagers. The few tensions relate to different cultural outlooks, livestock thefts and other social related matters.
4. There is evidence that the MGR administration and the Wildlife Division have plans of engaging the surrounding communities positively. However the MGR currently lacks the resources that would enable it reach all the villages for this agenda. Meanwhile the communities around the MGR complain about conduct of the MGR staff which they find to be negative and threatening to the communities contrary to MGR intentions towards engaging same communities positively. For many communities the strategy of the MGR in adjusting its borders with some villages and not doing it with others seems to leave them in the dark as to its justification and its transparency
5. In the study villages there are two types of local institutions which can be used for conflict resolution. The first is the Village Government which caters for all villagers. Its operational is governmental and follows laid down procedures from the Central Government and the District Councils. Each registered village has such government. The second is the Council of Elders. This is for the Maasai pastoralists only. Current practice is for the MGR to consult the village Government. The Council of Elders has not featured in the conflict resolutions strategies by the MGR. The Village Governments though have been consulting with the Council of Elders for resolution of conflicts between the two communities with success.

6. The policy areas which relate to the conflicts around the MGR are land tenure, compensation from wildlife damage and benefit from local tourism. Despite favourable statements about eventual recognition of traditional land tenure by the Government in the New Land Policy of 1995 and the Agriculture and Livestock Development Policy of 1997, these have remained statements which have neither been implemented nor enacted into a binding law. For this reason the pastoral communities still lack security on the land they graze their livestock on and can not develop it at will. The limitation here is therefore not about absence of policy but rather the political will of implementing the policy statements contained in the two policy documents. As for the compensation from wildlife damage, the current policy documents like the Wildlife Policy of 1998 have remained silent on the matter. Currently the MGR is engaged in remitting some of its revenues to the local Governments and providing assistance to some villages around it. This move is positive and helpful for the communities to see value in tourism. There are plans of engaging communities in establishing Wildlife Management Areas (WMA) which will involve them in management and benefit. However no implementation schedule is attached to these intentions and as such they currently remain on paper.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend that

- A targeted programme is put in place to provide reliable water supply in the villages which have the pastoralists evicted from the MGR. The two communities should also be exposed to efficient resource use practices in order to reduce their dependency on the MGR for resources which could be harvested with ease without trespassing into the reserve. For example, honey hunting does not need infringing the MGR because the communities can be exposed to modern bee keeping thus enable them harvest honey while outside the MGR. Similarly, tree planting around their homesteads and farms should ease them the need of going into the MGR for building poles. We strongly recommend that pastoralists construct water dams away from the villages to ease scramble for water. Parallel to this they must keep livestock according to the carrying capacity of their respective places. Considering that time and space do not support the nomadic way of life for the Maasai community, efforts should be spent to encourage them change their way of life to suit the current realities
- For reduction of potential conflicts, grazing lands should be separated from cultivators fields and vice versa. For those villages which can afford it, more land should be allocated to grazing so as to reduce the current stocking pressure which also encourages fast transmission of diseases among livestock. Elders of pastoral communities must ensure that the youth given the task of herding cattle respect fields and property of cultivators by putting in place mechanisms which will monitor the youth while doing this. We also recommend collective action in the establishment and use of dipping and other veterinary facilities in all the villages with pastoralists in order to reduce further loss of cattle.
- We strongly encourage the Maasai pastoralists to widen their mode of production to take on board other agricultural activities like farming etc. There are some Maasai community members who have become agro-pastoralists. Similarly in Muungano and Jiungeni villages some have taken to horticulture and cultivation of mucuna and lab

lab. Progressively in the villages where people do this, the government should introduce programmes aimed at capacity building of these new farmers in order to intensify and diversify their agricultural base

- Despite inadequate resources which hamper the MGR to positively reach its surrounding villages, we believe the appropriate place to start with should be in changing the current operational attitude of its staff with respect to the surrounding communities. There is no way the MGR can win the hearts and minds of the surrounding villages if wearing a catapult around one's neck close to the MGR border is punishable by beatings. We also recommend that the MGR must be transparent as to the measures required for different offences, their penalties and their documentation. In view of the fact getting funds for engaging all the 42 villages around the MGR may prove difficult we recommend the MGR solicit funds to engage the leadership of these villages first under one roof so as to clear ambiguities related to operations, borders, remittances of revenues and similar matters. Getting the leadership together under such forum will also help the MGR and the respective villages establish a forum which will follow up on various points aggrieving the two parties
- We recommend for the MGR to consider engaging the Council of Elders (Maasai) from the respective villages and work out a way of reducing the current level of conflicts and infringement into the MGR. Currently the MGR mostly deal with the Village Government of the respective villages. Adding the Council of Elders to its contact list may act as a further leverage from which the MGR can get additional support for its agenda in wildlife resource protection
- On the policy side we find the current policy documents to have positive statements on land tenure and need of the pastoral communities to change their production mode. However the policies have never been implemented. We call upon the Government of Tanzania to implement the policy statements that refer to recognition of traditional land ownership (New Land Policy 1995), promoting the pastoral communities to own land they currently use for grazing and provision of veterinary services in pastoral areas (Agriculture and Livestock development policy of 1997). In the same light the document on Wildlife Policy of 1998 is silent on compensation upon damage or loss of life by Wildlife. In Kenya there is such compensation. We recommend a review in this area because currently it absolves the Government of its obligation in protecting its citizens.

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