

CHALLENGES TO TRADITIONAL LIVELIHOODS AND NEWLY EMERGING EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS OF PASTORALISTS IN TANZANIA

An ILO-INDISCO Study in collaboration with Jobs for Africa (JFA)

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Foreword

Indigenous and tribal peoples (ITPs) in Africa, including both hunter-gatherers and pastoralists, are confronted with deteriorating livelihoods due to a declining resource base, population increase and the impact of economic policies. Although most of the indigenous and tribal communities are among the poorest of the poor, they rarely benefit substantially from the poverty alleviation programmes and employment generation initiatives. This is because of their socio-economic marginalization, which makes them even more vulnerable due to lack of access to credit and other basic services.

Job creation for ITPs and protecting and promoting their traditional jobs, which disappear fast, differ considerably from those initiatives suitable for the mainstream society and require distinct approaches, strategies and culturally-adapted tools. While ITPs in Africa and elsewhere remain a popular target for the development community, there is a considerable need to strengthen approaches of working directly with community-based self-help organizations and cooperatives. National poverty alleviation strategies and country action programs benefit from having a clear strategy for ITPs which recognizes their distinct indigenous knowledge systems and practices. There is a need to strengthen investment policies and allocation practices for ITPs to ensure that they are reached by - as well as being involved in the design of - livelihood and employment extension services.

It was against this background that the ILO-INDISCO programme, in cooperation with the Jobs for Africa Programme, has been concentrating its work on how to incorporate the specific Maasai employment protection and promotion issues within the national employment policy framework in Tanzania. This has been done in connection with its support to the pilot Maasai project in Simanjiro District, Arusha. This study was undertaken as a first step in the process of improving the employment policies in the country. Its objective was to analyse the existing traditional livelihood situation of the Maasai, assess the viability and feasibility of the various types of traditional occupations in terms of job creation, the degree and extent of disappearance of certain traditional practices, possible remedies to revive these practices and recommendations and actions to be taken at community and policy levels to strengthen the absorptive capacity of traditional occupations and their survival.

We hope that this study report will serve the objectives of the ILO initiatives in the country aiming at creating equal employment opportunities for indigenous and tribal peoples and contributing to the design of a favourable policy framework.

Executive Summary

This report is a result of a one-month fieldwork undertaken in Simanjiro district in Arusha region through a community based consultative process. The study is an attempt to analyze and identify ways of strengthening the changing livelihood and employment situations among the pastoral communities in Tanzania. The study observes that the pastoral communities are in major crises today. They are marginalized in many aspects: socially, economically, and politically. This situation is a reflection of inadequate government pastoral development policies, discouragement of the pastoral mode of production, competition in use of the available natural resources, lack of bargaining power and inadequate formal education and training among the pastoral societies.

A team of three researchers, at the request of the ILO-INDISCO program in cooperation with the Jobs for Africa Program, had an opportunity to meet a reasonable cross section of people involved directly or indirectly in “Traditional Occupations” in Simanjiro district. Three villages were selected for an in-depth study in the district. The choice of these villages was based on a number of considerations, but more importantly ILO’s initial involvement in the area through the support extended to pastoralists in establishing a pastoralist co-operative society.

The study employed focused group-interviews approach where the following groups of pastoralists were interviewed: youth, elderly people, and women. Other categories are businessmen, miners, farmers, government officials and technocrats. In addition, coordinators of NGOs based in the region were also involved at one level or another. Furthermore, it also made use of secondary information available in the form of literature and records.

The study observed that the majority of the pastoral communities in Tanzania mainly depend on livestock keeping for their livelihoods. These include the Maasai, Barbaigs, and Datoga communities. Other non-pastoral peoples, who are also considered as the indigenous tribal peoples are Hadzabe, Sandawe, Sonjo and Ndorobos. Most of these tribal pastoral peoples keep a variety of livestock: cattle, goats, sheep, and donkeys. Unfortunately, this initially reliable and sustainable traditional source of livelihood among the pastoral peoples is now under severe strain from both human and natural vagaries. Increase in human population, emerging new activities ranging from farming, mining/quarrying, charcoal making, commercial hunting, etc, is happening in the formerly exclusively livestock keeping environment. On the other hand, frequent droughts, animal diseases, and unreliable market channels have their own negative impact on the livestock economy and, therefore, the livelihood of the pastoral peoples.

Traditional institutional frameworks: customary laws and regulation, administrative machinery and institutions have broken down and replaced by modern administration and state organs. These are yet to be popularly accepted by the tribal peoples, especially among the elderly people who recognize and respect their traditional institutional and administrative set up. As a result of the ongoing transformation processes, much of the traditional knowledge and educational system is disappearing.

The pastoralist sector is increasingly coming under strain as a result of loss of traditional natural resources (land, water, and forestry), break up of traditional governance and institutional set up combined with inappropriate government policies towards the development of a sustainable pastoral development in Tanzania. The study observes that development investments in pastoralism have been rare, often inappropriate and, compared to investments made in other sectors, negligible in terms of size and scale. Pastoralists interest and needs have been largely ignored, overlooked and at times misinterpreted.

As a result of the break up of the traditional occupation that form the basis of the pastoralists livelihoods, most of them are now seeking alternative employment opportunities. The emerging forms of employment among the Maasai people include farming, business (selling of traditional medicine, running of restaurants/shops, buying and selling of minerals, selling milk and milk products by women, embroideries), and wage employment (as security guards/ watchmen, waiters, tourist guides), and few others (who are educated) are engaged in the public and private sectors.

Complex constraints and challenges face the pastoralists. Simanjiro district for example is experiencing a high population growth rate, both natural population increase and through immigration. The land size remain the same, while other economic activities are introduced, some of which are not at all environmentally friendly, as the district has poor soils, unreliable rains, and is always water deficit. Activities like farming, charcoal making, quarrying and mining naturally clear trees and other vegetation, in most cases leading to desertification. This needs to be stopped if further damage is to be avoided.

At the local level, some, if not most of the problems arise out of the lack of formal education. The district is among the least provided with education and training facilities. For instance, it has one Secondary School, and adult illiteracy stands at 85%, perhaps the highest in the country. This implies that, some of the challenges which could have been addressed through formal education and professional qualification, will remain to act as impediments to any meaningful development.

On food security, as long as the livestock population continues to decrease in both quality and quantity, the pastoral Maasai are at high risk in terms of normal

hunger and out right famine. Likewise the degree of malnutrition will increase tremendously. As long as human resource development remains at its rock bottom, employment in the formal sector, outside livestock keeping, will remain a dream.

In order to address the needs of the pastoralists and that of the indigenous tribal peoples in an effective way, the study recommends that:

- (i) the government need to develop a comprehensive national pastoralist policy that would address the pastoral development issues in a holistic way,
- (ii) Regional and district authorities need to work out strategies on land utilization in their respective administrative areas in order to avoid existing or potential land use conflicts. However, land conflict resolutions process need to involve all stakeholders in a participatory manner,
- (iii) Government need to invest more in education among the pastoral peoples so as to uplift their general understanding and acquisition of more knowledge and information on development issues,
- (iv) The pastoral communities need to be educated and informed of their rights as defined under different legislation concerning land
- (v) Investment in infrastructure such as marketing facilities and information, communication, transport, health and watering points is crucial for increased livestock productivity and pastoralist incomes. However, such an investment need to be done in a cost sharing manner so as to create sense of ownership among the pastoral people for sustainability purposes,
- (vi) Encourage pastoralists' advocacy groups/associations, so that they are able to protect their interests and rights to use of natural resources including land.
- (vii) Such studies need to be undertaken to cover other forms of traditional occupations among other non-pastoral tribal peoples as well.

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In the field, special thanks are due to the Simanjiro District Management Team, Village government leaders, leaders and coordinators of various NGOs operating in Arusha region. Special thanks are also due to the Manager of the Nomeuti Multipurpose Cooperative Society Mr. Abrahams Ole Mejooli who provided very useful information. Furthermore, the team of field assistants: Moinget Ole Mejooli, Tulito Laandalama, Saitabau Leina, Letee Sailepo, and Yohana Ole Tiamongoi who were very helpful in generating information and organizing the logistical support.

Finally, we wish to thank in a special way the many pastoralists we met in the three villages for their cooperation in this study.

1. Introduction

1.1. Background information

The pastoral communities are in a major crisis today. They are economically, politically, and socially marginalized. There are misconceptions concerning their lifestyles, their production system, and their culture and traditions. The pastoral development, unfortunately equated to livestock development¹, has not enjoyed public investment that could produce tangible benefits for the pastoral communities (UNSO/UNDP: 94). This is partly explained by the inappropriate national policies, discouragement of the pastoral mode of production, international disillusionment with current modes of pastoral development coupled with the lack of successful alternative models of the pastoral development.

Pastoral tribal communities are among the indigenous and tribal peoples (ITPs) supported by the International Labor Organization. There is, however, no common definition of the ITPs. During the pastoralists' national workshop held in Arusha, it came out clearly that the concept of ITPs is misleading. This is partly explained by the fact that not all indigenous pastoral people are marginalized and backward. Furthermore, in the Tanzanian context dividing people along tribal lines is politically unacceptable. It is because of these reasons that politicians avoid using the word tribal peoples and marginalization, instead preferring the word "backward communities"². Participants to the national workshop were of the opinion that the correct definition is "*Traditional livestock keepers, gatherers and hunters*". Elsewhere attempts to describe the indigenous peoples have been made. United Nations (1986) for example defined ITPs as:

Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems.

From this definition, certain pertinent issues can be identified that best describe the ITPs, and these are: part or whole of ancestral land being under traditional occupation, common ancestry with the original inhabitants, common language and culture, people residing in a certain part of the country, and self identification as indigenous peoples (Saami Council/PINGOS: 1999).

¹ Emphasis is put on prevention of diseases, access to water, settlement of the pastoral people, and marketing of the pastoral communities.

² Discussions with Hon. Fredrick Sumaye, Prime Minister and Member of Parliament for Hanang District

ILO's interest in the indigenous peoples started as far as 1920s when it became so concerned with the welfare of the indigenous workers on sugar estates in South America. Ever since, ILO's support and assistance to such groups has been on the rise. Today, the indigenous and tribal peoples are the most marginalized communities and their traditional occupations face distinct development challenges. So far, two ILO conventions number 107 of 1957 and 169 of 1989 make the only legal instruments concerning the rights of these peoples. After passing convention no. 169, ILO came up with a strategy of supporting the ITPs and their organizations in designing and implementing their own development plans. This strategy is best known as the INDISCO program that includes supporting pilot projects, promoting best practices, and linking grassroots initiatives with the broader policy environment.

In Tanzania the group of traditional livestock keepers, gatherers and hunters include the following communities: Maasai, Barbaigs, Hadzabe, Datoga, Ndorobo, Sonjo, and Sandawe. Livestock keeping is an important source of livelihood among the Maasai, Barbaigs and Datoga communities. Livestock kept include cattle, goats, sheep, donkeys and chicken on small scale. On the other hand Hadzabe, Ndorobo and Sandawe are hunters and gatherers. With the exception of the Sandawe who live in Dodoma region, the rest live in Arusha region.

1.2. Objectives of the study

The aim of the study, as developed by the ILO-INDISCO program in cooperation with the Jobs for Africa Program, is to come up with a methodology of incorporating the specific pastoral livelihood and employment promotion issues within the national employment policy and poverty eradication framework in Tanzania. Specifically, the study objective is to analyze and seek ways of strengthening the changing livelihood and employment situation of pastoral people through:

- (i) Assessing the viability of traditional occupations in terms of job creation, sustainable livelihoods and food security.
- (ii) Identifying challenges, constraints and potential action at community, local government and policy level to strengthen traditional livelihoods and decent forms of employment.
- (iii) Assessing the quality, sustainability and potential of newly emerging livelihood and employment patterns such as urban employment, tourism and agriculture.

1.3. Study methodology

Three villages of Simanjiro District were identified for an in-depth study, namely Naisinyai, Lengasit and Kambi ya Chokaa. In each case, a list of focus groups for interviews were established with the help of selected local people and village leaders. The selection of the three villages was based on the following

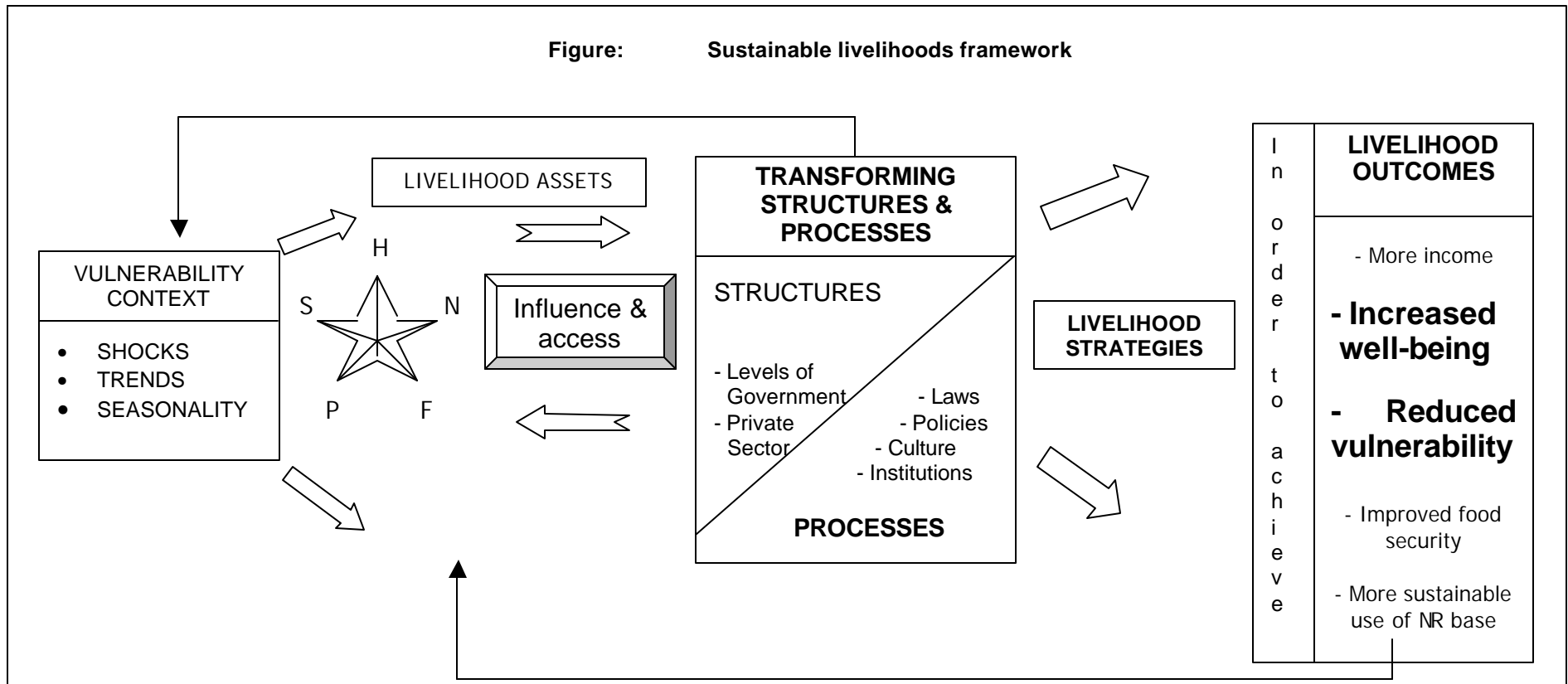
considerations: one, where traditional occupations are practiced together with other economic activities: mineral dealers, farming and trade. Two, this is the area where ILO has an intervention in supporting the establishment of a co-operative society (the Nomeuti Multi-purpose Co-operative Society). Three, cattle keeping is still a major traditional occupation for the community.

The study engaged all major stakeholders in a continuous consultative process organized through interviews, discussions, meetings and seminars. Separate interviews were conducted for different categories of the selected sample frame that comprised of members of the target group; government and government related institutions, NGOs as well as individual experts. In each village, three focus groups were identified with a help from village leaders and local assistants. These were elders, youth, and women. In addition, government leaders at district, regional and ministry levels were also interviewed. Furthermore, technocrats and managers of NGOs operating in the areas were interviewed. Apart from interviews the researchers also employed observation as another technique of collecting information in addition to secondary data available from various literature and records.

The study employed Sustainable Livelihoods (SL) framework³ in data collection and analysis. The SL framework is used to explain factors that enhance or constrain livelihood opportunities, and to show how they relate to each other. SL framework is a new development paradigm that places greater emphasis on the elimination of poverty. It is based on evolving thinking about poverty reduction, analyzing the way the poor people live their lives, and the importance of structural and institutional issues (Ashley and Carney, 1999:4). It must be noted that the model only provides a way of thinking about livelihoods which is more complex. This framework views people as operating in a context of vulnerability. Within this context, they have access to certain assets or poverty reducing factors. These gain their meaning and value through the prevailing social, institutional and organizational environment that influences the livelihood strategies designed to meet own livelihood objectives. This is schematically drawn as given on figure below.

³ SL framework is one of the conceptual frameworks, which take an assets/vulnerability approach to analysis of livelihoods of poor people. According to Chambers and Conway “a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base”.

Figure: Sustainable livelihoods framework



Source: Carney, D. et al (1999:9)

Key:

- H = Human Capital
- N = Natural Capital
- F = Financial Capital
- S = Social Capital
- P = Physical Capital

Based on the above framework, a set of checklist of issues was prepared to guide the collection of data and information. In short, these were categorized as follows:

- ◆ financial resources available (savings, credit access, remittances, grants, etc)
- ◆ Physical resources (transport and communication, shelter, water, and energy, etc)
- ◆ Human resources (skills and knowledge, ability to labour and good health for pursuing different livelihood strategies, etc)
- ◆ social resources (networks, membership of groups, relationship of trust, access to wider institutions of society) upon which people draw in pursuit of livelihoods,
- ◆ Natural resources: the natural resource stocks from which resource flows useful for livelihoods are derived (land, water, wildlife, etc)

1.4. Description of the study area

Simanjiro district is among the ten districts of Arusha region. Others are Kiteto, Monduli, Ngorongo, Hanang, Arumeru, Babati, Karatu, Mbulu, and Arusha itself. In total the region has 44 divisions, 177 wards and 542 villages (Planning Commission/RC: 2000). Arusha Region is located in the northeastern corner of Tanzania. It has a common border with Kenya to the north, to the east it borders with Kilimanjaro and Tanga regions. To the south it shares a border with Dodoma region and to the west with Singida, Shinyanga and Mara regions. The region is composed of the following ethnic groups Iraqw, Waarusha, Maasai, Meru and Barbaig. Others are Sonjo, Fiome, Waasi, Mbugwe, Chagga, Pare, Nguu, Hadzabe and Ndorobo. The total population based on the 1988 census is projected at 2,120,189 by the year 2000 with an estimated growth rate of 3.8% (ibid.).

Simanjiro district is found in the extreme South of Arusha Region. It has an area of 20,591 Sq. km. representing about 22.6% of the total regional land area. The district is comprised of 6 divisions, 12 wards and 43 villages. The major ethnic groups in the district are the Masaai, Arusha, and Ndorobo. Others are Pare, Chagga and Nyaturu.

The district has a population of 150,000 people of which 76,500 are women (DC, 2001). The district is sparsely populated with a population density of 5.4 per sq. km. However, there has been an increase of immigrant households. During the last five years, for instance an estimated number of 4,005 households immigrated in the district (ORGUT, 1995:6). The immigrants' population is high in Ngorika ward (1,510) followed by Mererani (904) and Msitu was Tembo (555). The major reasons for immigration are availability of good agricultural land, pasture, mining, and water.

1.5. Study limitations

The execution of this study has been beset by:

- (i) Poor infrastructure and communication facilities. Roads are in very poor conditions, with only 250 km of gravel, and 991 km of earth roads. With the exception of the District head office, there are no telephone and postal services. The most reliable means of communications are radio calls, and oral messages. Cellular phones are, however, increasingly becoming popular in few pockets like Mererani township,
- (ii) Language barrier. Researchers had to rely on local interpreters,
- (iii) Time constraint. Given the difficult communication and transport as well as the language barrier, the study needed more time,
- (iv) Inadequate quantitative up to date data on the district as up to 1993 the district was part of the Kiteto district, and
- (v) Inadequate financial resources

2. Traditional Occupations among Pastoralists

2.1. Pastoralism as a traditional occupation

Pastoralism is among the important traditional occupations in most of the tribal communities in Tanzania. It is a very demanding occupation that calls for an ability to withstand physical hardships, trekking long distances, and venturing into new lands without fear. Pastoralism as defined by Ole Lengisugi (1997:3) is “an extensive animal production system under the traditional livestock sector”. The pastoral mode of production can, however, be categorized into three groups. The first category is that of nomads who are purely pastoralists and hardly grows anything, but buy their food requirements from nearby farmers or markets. This category includes the Maasai, and Barbaigs who move irregularly with their animals from one area to another in search of water and pasture. The second category is those who have settled and farm, but have high attachments to livestock such as Nyiramba, Iraqw, Sukuma, Gogo, Arusha, and Kuria. This group is essentially sedentary as they keep their animals in a defined area. The third category is that of semi-nomadism or transhumance group⁴. These are those tribes that see themselves as primarily a pastoral community, but can not subsist on their stock alone. This group is mainly found in Kilosa, Handeni and Bagamoyo districts.

According to available official records, traditional livestock sub-sector counts for about 98% of the total national herd estimated at 15.6 million by 1995 (MoAC/SUA/ILRI, 1998:1). Most of the traditional cattle are kept by about 106,000 households of pure pastoralists and 268,000 households of agro-pastoralist that are located in few administrative regions of Tanzania, which include Mwanza (16%), Shinyanga (15%), Singida (12%), Dodoma (10%), and Arusha (9%). These regions count for about 62% of the total traditional livestock kept in the country that are of the shorthorn Zebu type. According to Ole Lengisugi (ibid: 2) the traditional livestock sub-sector contributes about 18% of the GDP and about 30% of the agricultural sector. In addition, it produces about 78% of the total national milk requirements as well as a substantial amount of red meat consumed daily all over the country. Despite these significant contributions in the national economy, the sub-sector is treated as a backward, irrational and environmentally unfriendly undertaking⁵.

Traditional livestock production has been receiving lip services from the government development initiatives since the colonial times. For instance, during 1995/96 out of the total government expenditure in agriculture, about

⁴ This group moves with their livestock over more regular routes, settling for part of the year in one area.

⁵ Refer our discussion with policy makers at the District and Regional levels. The P.M. Hon. Sumaye had also similar thinking when we met him in Dar es Salaam.

10% of the total agricultural sector budget were allocated for livestock sector improvement. Furthermore, majority of the pastoral communities has no access to extension services. In Arusha region, the government implemented a 10 year, 10 million US dollar project called the Maasai Livestock and Range Management Project with the support of the U.S.A. government between 1969 and 1979. The project was designed to improve range and livestock management. Despite this effort, up to date only about 12% of the pastoralists have access to extension services (MoAC, 1995:59).

2.2. The Maasai traditional occupation and livelihoods

2.2.1. The Maasai traditional economic activities

The Maasai people are part of the East African nomadic Maa-speaking people, an Eastern Nilotic language. It is believed that Maasai's preceded the arrival of the Bantu people in East Africa. Umar (2000:55) contends that the Cushitic people (also known as Hamites) and the Nilotic people interacted frequently and their mixture resulted into the creation of the Nilo-Hamitic people that include the current Maasai people. The Maa-speaking people can be categorized into about 17 groups (Kimesera, n.d.: 1)⁶. In some literature these are reduced to only two groups: the pastoralists Maasai or *Iloikop* or people of the hard teeth who eat roots and grains or *Ilogoolaala* (Umar, ibid.: 55). Each Maa group lives in its own area, but they resemble one another in many ways. Perhaps, a distinctive factor is their economic base. Whereas four groups out of these are sedentary pastoralists the remaining thirteen are pure nomads who depend on livestock only for their living.

The Maasai people herded their cattle freely across the Great Rift Valley of East Africa prior to European colonization of Africa. It is said that by 1800, the Maasai people occupied a large territory that ran from central Tanzania to Lake Turkana in northern Kenya. They first encountered Europeans in the 1840s. During the 1880s and 1890s, the Maasai experienced severe droughts, famine, and disease, including smallpox. The Maasai cattle herds were decimated by rinderpest, a highly infectious febrile disease. The colonization of East Africa by the Europeans imposed boundaries that separated the Maasailand right through the middle into Kenya and Tanzania respectively (Umar, 2000:56).

The pastoral peoples, such as the Maasai, are among the Indigenous Tribal Peoples that practice indigenous livelihoods in Tanzania. The Maasai people,

⁶ These groups include Il -Akipiak; Il-Arusha; Il-Damat; Il'Kaputei; Il'-Keek-Onyokie; Il-Kisongo; Il-Matapato; Il-Motanik; Il-Oodo-Kilani; Il-Loitai; Il-Purko; I-Sikirari; I-Siria; Il-Wuasin-Nkishu; Il-Parakuyo; Il-Pusi-Kineji (Samburu); and Il-Tiamus (Njemps).

as pointed out earlier, depend significantly on livestock. They move from one place to another in search of pastures and water for their cattle. Cattle are the center of the Maasai life, providing their food (milk, blood, and meat), their by-products (skin for clothes and dung to plaster their houses), and their only recognized form of wealth. Each family marks its own cattle with a unique brand and ear slit to identify them.

The Maasai are predominantly traditional livestock keepers. They keep cattle (traditional short-horned zebu), goats, sheep, and donkeys (for transport). Livestock to the pastoral communities have great value, in terms of economic, cultural and social aspects. Pastoralists use livestock for subsistence, cash income, store of wealth, and security. Livestock are also important assets in marriage and rituals as well as for paying fines. All these cement social bonds and ties. Of great importance, livestock are used as a prestige, for instance one commands high respect in the community if he owns many cattle than any one in the area. The Maasai are regarded as poor when they own below 100 cattle or medium when one owns between 100 and 500 cattle. Those owning more than 500 cattle are regarded as rich.

Simanjiro is the leading district in Arusha region with the largest population of livestock. The importance of livestock keeping is explained by the fact that out of the 18,857-km square, only 75,000 ha. is under cultivation the remaining is a pastoral land. Table 1 below summarizes livestock population in the district. The district has an estimated total population of 805, 090 livestock, composed of cattle, goats, sheep and donkeys.

Table 1: Livestock population in Simanjiro district, 2001

Type of Livestock	Number
Cattle	500,000
Cattle(hybrid)	50
Goats	250,000
Sheep	15,000
Donkeys	40,000
Camels	40
TOTAL	805,090

Source: Simanjiro LGRP (2001)

In addition, there are few camels and improved cattle breeds. The improved cattle breeds are mostly found at Orkesmet, the district headquarters and they are owned by non-natives. Camels are not indigenous animals, and are kept by new comers in the district.

Traditionally, Maasai have a tradition of supporting each other. The livelihood of the poor household is supported through a culturally determined coping

mechanism locally known as *ewoloto*. This is a socially designed subsistence strategy based on a mutual support system. Under this system, poor families are granted cattle, or paid in kind after having herded cattle of other households. There are also instances where such families are given cattle to look after and use their milk. With the ensuing economic, social and political changes, this practice is, however, fading away.

2.2.2. Traditional food and food security

Traditionally, the Maasai eat protein rich food composed of meat, milk and blood. As such their food source depend squarely on livestock. Each family has to have livestock in order to survive. These are acquired through inheritance, purchase (cash or barter), dowry (in case of a girl is married), and “rustling”. In the event that one does not have cattle, he is given some by the relatives to look after and use them for milk and blood. Alternatively, one has to work at someone’s *boma* by herding cattle and is rewarded out of that work.

The Maasai have socially determined eating habit based on age and sex. These groups include old men, warriors (*moran*), women and children. When an animal is slaughtered, meat is divided into parts. Separate groups take different parts that are culturally determined and each group eats separately. According to the Maasai culture *morans* can not eat in the presence of women. This is considered to be a great eating taboo. Women may serve the food and leave before a *moran* eats.

Women, after giving birth are provided with a special diet. Usually a goat is slaughtered and meat, soup, fats and blood is served. This may be repeated several times as the situation allows. A similar practice is also carried when one of the family members falls sick. In the case of men, especially elderly people and morans, they practice a ceremony called *orpul* in Maasai language. Under this practice, elders decide to go into the bush and a cow or several is/are slaughtered. The group stays in the bush for sometime until the function is over. This could last for one week to several months. During this period women and children are not allowed to visit the place of ceremony, but are given animal intestines to eat.

The Maasai are knowledgeable on traditional food preservation techniques. Food is preserved to meet family needs in the future. In most cases meat is dried and at times preserved in animal fat. In addition, blood is also dried and stored.

The decline in the number of livestock has forced the Maasai to change their diet. Instead of the traditional food, they now consume carbohydrate mainly maize meal with vegetables. Maasai households now have to produce their “new food” requirements or buy from farmers and nearby markets. An

interviewee narrated a story on how the changes in the Maasai diet was predicted by one traditional leader as shown in the box below.

Forecast in changes in food consumption pattern among the Maasai

One old man at Legasit village narrated a story that one of the Olaibooni (spiritual leader) during the 1800s predicted that the Maasai will have to eat maize meal due to changes in weather conditions. Because of this, he advised the Maasai to start cultivating maize. However, it is said many resisted his idea because the Maasai regarded other types of food as inferior.

The change in Maasai diet threatens the food security situation. The decline in the livestock population among the Maasai does not only affect the food situation, but also the households' incomes. As a result, households are not able to purchase their food needs. On the other hand, own food production is not sustainable due to poor climatic and soil conditions of the pastoral lands. Furthermore, their nutritional status is equally affected as they now eat less protein and more of carbohydrates.

2.2.3. The housing conditions of the pastoral Maasai people

Traditionally, the Maasai live in small clusters of huts known as kraals or *bomas*, made of sticks sealed together with cow dung. These kraals also include enclosures for the cattle. Houses are built in a systematic manner inside the *boma*, and are usually arranged in a circle following the shape of the kraal itself. Each wife has her own house inside the *boma*, with the first wife's house on the right as one enters the *boma* whereas the second wife's house is located on the left. Additional wives construct their houses following the same pattern. *Morans* have their own huts too inside the *boma*.

It is the duty of women to construct houses sometimes assisted by girls and boys (*aiyoni*). Women from other *bomas* also assist each other during the construction. These are not permanent houses. The Maasai are very selective and conscious in the use of natural resources. In construction, for instance not all tree species are used. There are special species for construction that can even be removed and carried away when the family moves to another area.

2.2.4. Traditional governance, social organization and division of labor

The organization of the Maasai community does not follow the conventional government system. It is said that the Maasai community administration goes as far as Kenya. There are 27 *Laigwanan* administrations in the whole of the Maasai land. This traditional administration goes far beyond the modern political administrative order of the contemporary government structures and administrative boundaries introduced by the colonial governments.

Traditionally, the Maasai have no centrally organized administrative structure. The traditional Maasai leadership is based on the age group⁷, where each group has its own leader called “*Laigwanan*”. The Maasai males are rigidly separated into five age groups: child, junior warrior, senior warrior, junior elder, and senior elder. The leaders of these groups, save the children, are proposed and appointed by a Council of Elders (*Baraza la Wazee*) which is a supreme body. Each age group has its own advisor, drawn from among the higher male elderly groups. In addition there is also a spiritual leader known as “*Olaibooni*” usually appointed from the *Ngidongi* clan. Traditionally, this clan is known for its supernatural powers. The Maasai worship in a supreme god, “*Engai*”, who is believed to bless them to have more children and cattle. The traditional Maasai leadership is male dominated. Men are regarded as the heads of the household or “*boma*”, owners of livestock and traditional wells, and are responsible for security and provision of medical care to livestock.

Each leadership oversees that their members observe socially accepted cultural values and norms. The non-observance of these cultural values and norms are enforced through paying fines, lashings or ex-communication. Customary laws are contained in the community’s customs and traditions that are overseen by a Council of Elders. Leaders of the respective age group and the Elders Council manage disciplinary actions. Some of these laws include laws of inheritance, settlements of disputes, marriage, bride wealth, nature conservation, and land use.

The Maasai have a tradition of circumcision, where both boys and girls undergo circumcision that initiates them into adulthood. The ceremony usually takes place after a period of about 5 years. There may be some obstacles that may lead to postponement of the ceremony to the following year as a result of any of the following: death of the *Olaibooni*, quarantine between the Kenya and Tanzania borders, conflict on land use at the area where circumcision will take place. The entire Maasai community in Tanzania and Kenya participate in this ceremony.

The Maasai community follows a strict division of labour that is organized and based on age group and gender lines. The Maasai elders are a group of those

⁷ This practice is also called the “age-grade organization style”

who have graduated⁸ from the Moran group and are above 50 years of age. The main tasks of the elders are: to advise, maintain discipline and order, teach and educate the younger generations, determine use of common resources especially grazing land, and maintain good relations with neighboring communities.

The second group is that of *moran*. This is the group of young people, whose main duty is to provide security for the community and to educate the young ones on matters related with animal husbandry, resource use and good manners. In addition, they also move with livestock to better grazing land during drought and perform dances for entertainment. *Moran* are also warriors, and in old days do cattle rustling from the neighboring livestock keeping communities of the Wairaqw, Barbaig and Fiome. Normally, one becomes a *Moran* after undergoing circumcision and hence graduating from *layoni* stage. Usually *Morans* are eligible for marriage when the age allows.

The third category is that of *Layoni/Engayoni*. These are young boys who are yet to be circumcised. Their task is to assist their mothers in all female related works. In addition, they graze sheep, goats, and calves near their *bomas*. This work is also shared with girls.

Like men, women are also categorized in age groups, but not as strict as those of males are. About four groups can be identified and these are *ndoiye*, *ndito*, *sangiki*, *yeyo/koko*, in the order of age (for details refer appendix IV). Traditionally women, depending on their age, perform the following duties: drawing water and collecting firewood, milking and milk processing, cooking and preparing food, taking care of calves, small livestock, young/sick animals, making decorations/ornaments (embroideries), and construction of traditional houses. Other specialized women duties are traditional birth attendants (few elderly and *sangikis*) and advisors of younger generations.

The female Maasai do not have permanent leaders like the males. They only have leaders when there is a special issue whereby a special task force is formed. These leaders are selected among the elderly women and they are known as the *Engarokeni*. The *Engarokeni* leads the task force to the *Olaibooni* to discuss the issue. The *Engarokeni* comes to an end after the task has been accomplished. Nonetheless, the introduction of world religions, especially Christianity, has brought a wave of change though at small scale. Christianity has led to the emergence of women leaders in the community. The women have their own leader in the church. Fellow female leaders from each area assist each other. This practice is posing a threat to the male dominated leadership.

⁸ For one to graduate he must have attended the Maasai ceremony at Oldonyo Moro.

Apart from the age group leadership, there is an emerging clan leadership. This, however, does not replace the age-grade leadership system. This is an emerging form of leadership that has been introduced in the last four years, in order to achieve sustainable development. The leaders selected usually deal with community development issues. These leaders are the ones who have the capacity to discuss matters related to community development with government leaders. The clan leaders are selected from the two major clans of the Maasai called *Odomong* (red cow) and *Orokitek* (black cow). These leaders are drawn from among the elderly people.

During the colonial period, the British administration introduced the Chieftdom system under their indirect rule. This system introduced the Maasai council that was known as “*orikiame*” with its seat at Monduli or Kibaya. The council consisted of Maasai elders who were elected by the community. The council was responsible for selecting the chief. The chief had to be educated, so that he could be able to discuss/deal easily with the colonial administration. The chieftdom system came to an end after independence in 1961, when the independent government led by the late Julius Nyerere formerly abolished it.

2.2.5. Natural resources management and use

Arusha region is divided into three main Agro-ecological zones based on climatic conditions, type of soils and physical features. Each zone is ideal for certain economic activities, and has certain vegetation growth advantages. Table 2 below contains the summary of agro-ecological zones, dominant vegetation, and main economic activities. From the table it is evident that pastoralism is a dominant economic activity in the rift valley highlands and the Maasai steppe. These zones are characterized by mountain ranges, open grasslands, bush and wooded grassland due to poor soils and low rainfall. As such these areas are not suitable for farming activities.

Table 2: Agro-ecological zones and dominant vegetation, Arusha Region

ZONES	RAINFALL (mm/annum)	DISTRICT	POPULATION DENSITY	FARMING SYSTEMS	VEGETATION
Banana and coffee	Over 1000	Arumeru, Arusha	Very high	Coffee, banana, flowers, dairy farming	Mainly farms, but with parts of bush and wooded grasslands
Rift valley highlands	800-1000	Mbulu, Karatu, Babati, Hanang, Ngorongoro	Moderate	Maize, wheat, coffee, barley, legumes, dairy and traditional livestock	Bush and wooded grasslands
Maasai steppes	Below 800mm	Monduli, Simanjiro, Kiteto, Ngorongoro	Very low	Maize, legumes, traditional livestock	Open grasslands, bush and wooded grassland

Source: Panning Commission/RC Arusha (2000)

Apart from livestock keeping, other economic activities in the region include farming, mining, tourism, charcoal making, quarrying, hunting and gathering. Much of these activities depend partly on the land carrying capacity.

2.2.5.1. Land use in Simanjiro district

1. Livestock keeping

Livestock keeping is one of the most important economic activities in Arusha region that ranks fifth after Mwanza, Shinyanga, Singida, and Dodoma in that order. Simanjiro district, which until 1993 was part of Kiteto district, have the largest combined number of livestock than any other district in Arusha region.

The pastoral activity, like other traditional occupations, depends on land, particularly in relation to the availability of grass and water. The uses of land among the pastoral communities are well defined within their cultural framework. For instance, land may be used on a seasonal basis, as a resource for bad years, for grazing different types of animals, for rituals, for medicinal plants, for hunting and gathering fruits. This traditional land use is often overlooked in modern development plans where such lands are termed as idle land. As a result there are conflicts in traditional land ownership rights resulting from government laws. In most cases the traditional patterns of land use and inheritance is superceded by government laws, where agriculture and mining is given high priority without examining the environmental impact it has, leave alone the livelihoods of the pastoral communities.

Many pastoral communities do not see the point of acquiring land for permanent use, as in the past there has been abundant land for grazing and watering. As a result they could freely move in areas of sparse population. Moreover, Maasai also move because of desire for independence from interference by the government and the need for freedom from cattle raiding, avoidance of disease-infected areas, and the never-ending quest for new pastures. Of late there have been an increase in land conflicts between pastoralists and sedentary communities partly resulting from land encroachment by mainly the later.

While livestock keeping among the pastoral communities constitute an important source of livelihood, the relevance of communal land tenure system has been widely debated especially in terms of land carrying capacity, land degradation and subsequent desertification. According to many interviewees, pastoral communities are good land users in that movement of livestock to new pastures balances maximum sustainable stocking level for a given area of land. This practice allows re-generation of vegetation and grass. Thus, the theory of maximum land carrying capacity is fundamentally flawed under the traditional communal land ownership and use, as there was abundant land. However, under the current situation whereby pastoral communal land is shrinking due to

other uses while the livestock population remains the same or at times increasing, the actual land carrying capacity is under very severe strain.

2. Farming

According to the District Commissioner's report (DC: 2001:4) the district has a total arable land of 600,000 ha. Out of these only 123,400 ha. are under cultivation of different crops. According to regional report (RC/Planning Commission: 2000: 219) irrigable land is about 5,095 ha. of which only 1,145 ha. is under irrigation. During the year 2001 crops produced included maize (31,915 tones) beans (42,557 tones), rice (12,500 tones), and vegetables (1,000 tones). Both small-scale producers as well as few large-scale farmers grow these crops.

Farming is practiced by both agro-pastoralist and immigrants. According to interviewees in Naberera and Kambi ya Chokaa areas immigrants are occupying more land than that legally allocated to them by the village authorities. Furthermore, shifting cultivation, which is practiced by non-pastoralist small farmers, is contributing to land degradation.

Land conflicts are reported in places like Naberera, Kambi ya Chokaa, and Msitu wa Tembo, where immigrant farmers are cultivating more than legally authorized land by village and district authorities. These unresolved conflicts between the pastoralist and farmers is based on the belief that all vegetation including farm crops are for livestock grazing.

3. Mining

According to the district officials Simanjiro district is rich in minerals, especially non-metallic and ferrous minerals such as tanzanite, ruby, garnet, green tourmalin, and rodlite. So far about 24 villages have mining activities out of which 15 villages reported that mining activities have some environmental problems, such as land degradation, indiscriminate disposal of solid waste, and water pollution.

Mining is mostly practiced in small scale by mostly non-indigenous people. However, few of the Maasai own mining plots. These are now wealthy people with mobile phones, motor vehicles and modern houses. The change is not solely attributed to mining but rather the external contact and exposure.

Large scale mining at Mererani, the famous town of tanzanite, are owned by a foreign company known as AFGEM, which is constantly in conflict with the small scale miners and the pastoralists. There have been incidences of fighting, killings, and mistreatments of the indigenous by these foreign miners.

The mining conflicts have led to the ordering of a new survey by the northern mining zonal manager, but small miners have refused to cooperate. The mining authorities have indicated to go ahead with their plans with or without the cooperation of the small miners.

4. Hunting and gathering

Hunting and gathering is an important occupation among the Ndorobo and Sonjo people. In this group, the Hadzabe people who are descendants of bushmanoid that are also known, as Tindiga living in the semi-arid areas surrounding Lake Eyasi are included. These people are basically hunters and gathers of wild fruits, tubers, roots and honey. However, among the Maasai hunting and gathering is insignificant, save for medicinal plants.

The shrinking of forestry area and restriction of wild life into the game reserves and national parks has increasingly brought food insecurity among the hunter-gatherers group. With the increase in large-scale farming and mining coupled with an increase in population, traditional hunting is declining.

2.2.5.2. Water

Simanjiro district population experience critical water shortage. The community depends on unprotected water sources mainly earth dams, *charcos*, bore holes, and water holes in swampy areas. This shows that the Maasai depend mainly on ground water, which is saline and unsafe.

Women collect the water for domestic purposes and calves. They use donkeys to facilitate carrying of the water containers that might be the traditional gourds or plastic containers. It takes a whole day to collect water. For example in Naberera village a woman has to walk for 20 kms to collect water. Therefore, she has to take about 13 hours to fetch water. According to the district officials during the wet season the distance varies between 0.2 km. and 4 km. whereas during the dry season, the distance to water points varies between 1.5 km. to 20 km.

Most of the Maasai men are polygamous and as such women form a very important labour force for the household in water collection. Women in the same *boma* divide different household activities among themselves. One of the most important being that of fetching water. Recently, few well do households buy water for domestic use from tractors and pick up vehicle owners at a rate of Tshs. 500/= per 20 liters bucket.

The recommended water consumption per person for Arusha region is 20 to 30 liters per day. Due to water scarcity, distance involved in water collection and time taken, the consumption of water per person per day varies between 4 and 30 liters.

Traditionally, water for livestock among the Maasai is obtained from ponds, wells, dams and rivers. There was a practice whereby each clan maintains a water dam attended by Morans. These are locally known as “*Njoro*”.

District authorities report that water sources are prone to pollution due to overgrazing, cattle trekking, concentration of animals, human activities, and wild animals. Most of the water sources constructed mainly through external funding are either silted or dried up.

2.2.5.3. Forest and forest products

Forest and forest products constitute an important natural resource in the Maasai community life. The forest benefits in the Maasai community is seen in the huge use of trees and bushes for the construction of both their homes and cattle bomas as defense against wild predators such as lions, hyenas, leopards, etc. Forests are equally important because they provide source of energy for domestic use, medicine, honey, wax, raw materials for handcrafts etc.

Due to these diverse uses of forest and forest products, the Maasai community respect trees. For example, an individual is not allowed to cut down trees unless he/she has requested the ancestors. Trees that have medicinal values had conditions for cutting the roots or removing the barks. They were allowed to remove only part of the roots and barks so that the tree could continue growing. For proper supervision of the trees, each age group and sex are allowed to use certain species only. Most of the traditional rituals and ceremonies are performed in forest and under special trees.

From our interviews in both Lengasti and Naisinyai villages, there are three tree species, which must be preserved for their fruits that form the most important part of livestock feed during the dry season. The common “*mgunga*” – a species of acacia – known as “*Oldepes*” in Maasai, is a favorite feed for cattle, goats and sheep during the dry season. There are trees and bush species, which either for ritual and herbal significance, cannot be touched by either men or women – depending – leave alone to be destroyed or felled for whatsoever purposes. Some trees/shrubs are even talked to when passing by, just to pay respect for their presence.

Interviewees in the studied villages indicated that the forest has been depleting at a higher rate in the past few years. As a result, many places are now experiencing deforestation. Deforestation is mainly a result of the increased demand for forest products and other economic activities on land, such as farming, and mining. The increased demands of land for farming, charcoal making for commercial purposes and mining have resulted into uncontrolled fires and further depletion of forests.

2.3. Indigenous knowledge systems

The Maasai people used their indigenous knowledge based on their long-term experiences to manage the rangeland resources. According to interviewees knowledge is traditionally transferred through an age-set system and sex. *Layonis* (young boys) learn from village elders until they are initiated, after which they are sent to *Orpul*, an isolated place where they together with *moranis* (young men) to undergo an intensive course on Maasai education and culture. This information also tallies with what has been observed by Minja, *et.al. al.* (2001:12) that the Maasai education include:

- ❖ Traditional approaches in treatment of animals,
- ❖ Traditional approaches in treatment of humans,
- ❖ Herbal knowledge for motivating human *libido*, courage, etc.,
- ❖ Handling of animals,
- ❖ Basic animal anatomy incision,
- ❖ Traditional ethics, and
- ❖ General animal care including knowledge of animal behavior

In the case of women mothers, senior wives, and husbands manage traditional education. According to a group of women interviewees, mothers are responsible for educating the girls after circumcision on various aspects of household responsibilities, midwifery, and the use of herbs for treatment of livestock and human beings. Husbands educate their newly married wives on how to treat animals, whereas senior wives in a *boma* teach new wives the uses of herbs and how to mix these for various treatments of livestock and human beings.

Traditional education is a continuous process under the guidance of the Maasai elders. Like the knowledge systems of many other indigenous communities, it is based on harmony between the community and the immediate environment. Importance is placed on respect for community pride in and maintenance of the integrity of the natural resource base upon which they derive their livelihood.

However, there are conflicting perceptions among scholars about natural resource management among the Maasai. Some regard the Maasai as being among the best environmental management people in the areas they occupy. Others regard them as mindless and killers of nature. Grzimek, a German scholar and an ardent crusader of the conservation of nature, while conducting research in the Serengeti, highly admired the Maasai as far as their relation with wildlife is concerned. He writes:

The Maasai will only eat the meat of their cattle, sheep and goats, which is why people who are crazy about wild animals ----- like myself, prefer them to any other native tribes. They abhor the flesh of all wild life as well as birds and fish ---- If you must have natives inside the Park, the Maasai are the least of all evils (Grzimek 1960.255).

There is a very close relationship between the pastoral activities and nature. Umar (2001:48-49) for example takes pains to explain this relationship. According to him, pastoralist use of rangeland is based on elaborate traditional knowledge of the environmental variables, such as rainfall patterns, soil systems, animal characteristics and breeds, and types of vegetation and their potential in different seasons. The pastoral communities bring this knowledge to bear on their herding and animal husbandry. In the studied villages, for instance during the dry months of July/August to February/March, the dry herds are moved to better grazing and water points like Hai, Msitu wa Tembo and other mountainous areas. The livestock is herded back home during the season of plenty grass and water which starts in March to June. Using their indigenous knowledge, Maasai were able to predict weather changes. It is partly due to this forecasts that they move from one area to another to avoid losing their animals through drought, and diseases.

2.4. Sustainability of traditional occupations

Sustainability has many dimensions that involve environmental, institutional, economic, and social aspects. According to Foster, *et al.* (2001:40) environmental sustainability is possible when the productivity of life supporting natural resources is conserved for future use. In economics terms sustainability is achieved when a certain level of expenditure can be maintained over time. Social sustainability is possible when social inequality is minimized, and institutional sustainability is attainable when the obtaining structures that are in place have the capacity to continue to perform their duties for a longer period.

Traditional occupations of the indigenous tribal peoples today face distinct development challenges. The world today is experiencing accelerated process of globalization, which has brought about series of activities that marginalized the pastoral communities through destruction of environment and reinforcement of poverty. While it is a truism that marginalization and poverty are not an exclusive feature of the pastoralists, and nor does it affect all pastoralists in the same manner, it is important to appreciate how the Maasai livelihood is threatened. Policy makers and development planners have never understood pastoral mode of production. Government interventions have mainly focused on modernizing the pastoral societies. Such interventions have always proven costly and unsustainable due to lack grassroots participation.

The indigenous pastoral people have traditionally occupied areas endowed with adequate natural resources to sustain traditional occupation of livestock keeping that supported their livelihood on a sustainable basis. Over years, however, pastoralists were systematically alienated from natural resource base. This process led into shrinkage of their pastoral land and hence reduction of livestock holdings. Pastoralist land alienation resulted from the demand for land for other uses. One is the demand for farming, particularly by the immigrants. Farming by both large scale and small scale has equally reduced the resource

base for the pastoralists resulting into land use conflicts. On the other hand there were deliberate government development programs and policies that had far reaching effects on the pastoral rangelands. For instance, the establishment of wildlife protected areas such as Tarangire, Manyara, Serengeti, and Ngorongoro Conservation area denied pastoralists traditional grazing rights.

Today, pastoral communities occupy arid and semi-arid rangelands that receive poor rainfall (in most cases below 400mm). As a result water and forage are insufficient for grazing areas resulting into pastoralists migration from one place to another.

Reduction in resource base has increasingly brought about vulnerability and poverty among the pastoral communities. With the ongoing resource shrinkage and further marginalization, pastoralist ability to manage ecological uncertainty and the spread of risks have been reduced significantly. There is a decrease in the mobility of herds and change in patterns of resource utilization. This has in turn increased livestock losses, and intensified food insecurity.

Apart from loss of natural resource base, the Maasai have also lost their indigenous knowledge, cultural values as well as pride. Most of the young men have migrated to urban and growth centers to seek for alternative employment opportunities.

It can be concluded that the traditional occupation of the pastoral peoples is not sustainable under the current economic, political, social and institutional set-ups. It is affected by a number of factors as summarized below:

- (i) loss of control over the traditional resource base, the land, which make it difficult for the pastoral people to continue relying on livestock as they are used to. In addition, livestock population has also declined due to diseases, inadequate grazing land, forced de-stocking, and prolonged drought,
- (ii) loss of the traditional governance systems and customary laws as a result of introduction of modern state administration associated repressive organs of police, army and courts. This implies that there is also loss of control over the means and context of traditional education for the reproduction of their cultures,
- (iii) loss of participation in decision making that affects their lives which is associated with a loss of traditional knowledge of how to manage specific eco-systems and skills and social institutions required for protecting and preserving natural resources

3. Emerging Occupational Patterns

3.1. Emerging alternative forms of employment

The Maasai pastoralists own cattle, goats, sheep, and donkeys that are used for subsistence and cultural functions. Apart from livestock being a major source of subsistence, it is the major income generator and also cement social bonds such as marriage and bond-friendship.

The current social, economic, and political changes are increasingly marginalizing the pastoral communities. Although the process of marginalization is not an exclusive phenomenon to pastoral communities, pastoralists suffer disproportionately than other communities due to shrinking natural resource base and inadequate formal education. As a result, today pastoralism is under strain forcing some pastoralists to seek alternative employment. The study observed that some pastoralists are involved in farming, mining business, wage employment and tourism.

The newly emerging occupational patterns could broadly be attributed to three main factors. Firstly, the increase in human population over the same area of land which is not capable of sustaining the pastoral activity, hence need for alternative sources of livelihoods. Population increase, as earlier mentioned, is a result of both natural growth and immigration into Maasai land from other parts of the country. According to district official records, the district population, which was estimated at 63,680 people in 1978, is now projected to be 150,000 people (District Annual Report 2001). This is an increase of about 136% over the period of less than 15 years (1988 – 2001). This implies that, in order for this increase in the number of human population to be sustained through livestock keeping, the livestock herds should have increased in corresponding or above the increase in human population.

Secondly, there is decrease in livestock population. According to many interviewees, livestock population, on which livelihood depended, have in recent years been adversely affected by diseases such as the East Coast Fever and other tick-borne diseases as well as persistent droughts. During the 1980's through the 1990's, the district experienced severe droughts in which large herds of cattle have been decimated rendering many pastoralists destitute. As a result, livestock keeping became unsustainable source of livelihood for some households and hence forcing them to seek for alternative employment opportunities in towns and urban centers.

Thirdly, the grazing land size itself has been decreasing over the years due to other forms of land tenure systems in the district. Simanjiro district is now home to large-scale wheat, beans and maize farmers as the government has allowed large commercial farmers to operate. This is in addition to the Wildlife Protected Areas (part of Tarangire National Park) and the mining concessions given to

mining companies that include foreign companies like the AFGEM Ltd. which have secured mining licenses around Mererani township.

3.1.1. Farming

Most households are now engaged in small scale farming mainly for subsistence. Major crops cultivated include beans, maize, paddy, onions and vegetables. There are few large-scale farmers, who grow mainly beans for trade. Whereas large-scale farmers use tractors, small producers depend on hand hoes. Small-scale farmers hardly use any fertilizers and chemicals.

Small producers practice shifting cultivation, whereby they clear the bush and burn in order to get good yields. In the following year they move to another area practicing the same. As a result deforestation has been increasing rapidly in areas where shifting cultivation is practiced. This kind of farming is environmentally unfriendly.

Farming depends mostly on rainfall and as such it is seasonal. Table 3 below indicates yield per acre. From the table it is evident that crop yields per acre is very low for the two main crops cultivated in Moipo and Naberera divisions. Maize and beans yields per acre in Naberera division are better compared to Moipo. This can partly be explained by differences in annual precipitation and soil fertility.

Table 3: Crop production in selected divisions (Bags/acre)

Division	Maize			Beans		
	Low	Average	High	Low	Average	High
Naberera	1.0	1.3	7.0	1.0	1.3	7.0
Moipo	2.0	3.1	5.0	0.5	3.7	10.0
Average	1.5	2.2	6.0	0.75	2.5	8.5

Source: ORGUT, (1995:8)

Due to the low crop yield, the interviewed households indicated that they are not self sufficient in food requirements. As such they purchase most of their food needs from the market.

3.1.2. “Landiis”: Business entrepreneurs

Increasingly the Maasai are being involved in mining as middlemen, retail and wholesale business, restaurant operators, trading livestock and livestock products, and selling of veterinary drugs and vaccines. This group, which is mainly composed of young men, is locally known as *Landis*. Both men and women are involved in one way or another in business undertakings. Women are engaged in selling traditional medicines and herbs mostly in urban centers.

Traditionally, such services were offered free among the members of the Maasai community, but now it is an emerging source of income for women.

Mining seems to be a much more income earning alternative emerging occupation especially in the Mererani area. The Maasai are involved in mining either as middlemen or owners of mining plots. Mining business is carried on small scale by both Maasai and non-Maasai people. Interestingly, mining business is not confined to men alone. There are some women who are engaged in selling minerals obtained from sifting minerals from gravel and soil from large-scale mines. Those who are involved in the mining business as middlemen obtain their capital through sale of whatever they could, including livestock. Through this they have become small millionaires with business in shops, restaurants, transport and even vegetables and fruits vending in different villages. Their involvement in vegetables and fruit selling is viewed as indirect compensation of the loss of traditionally provided diet from livestock.

Most business interviewees were of the opinion that livestock keeping is no longer a sustainable occupation especially after the government subsidy withdrawal on dipping and vaccination assistance that hitherto had been the cornerstone of livestock survival in the district. They also see this unsustainability of livestock keeping economy on understanding that livestock grazing land in Simanjiro is continuing to shrink due to other alien emerging land tenure systems.

These young businessmen are involved in construction of durable houses in places/villages like Mirerani, Terat, Lendana, Sukuro, Emborat, and Loiborsiret. Some of them have also constructed boreholes for the surrounding villagers and have equally contributed towards schools construction.

Furthermore, these young “*Landiis*” are encouraging education among their people and they get married to those better educated women locally known as “*Ormekii*”. *Ormekii* are schooled women who provoke negative attitude in the Community. In turn, they are settled with their husbands conducting their own independent business like involvement in food stuffs vending, making and selling beads, tobacco, and milk especially in growing towns and market centers. The *landiis* and *Ormekiis* are involved in bringing changes in power structure and authority in their communities.

3.1.3. Wage employment

With the decline in natural resource base and livestock population, Maasai now flock into towns and urban areas to seek wage employment mostly as security guards and watchmen. While in urban centers, Maasai also perform other minor activities such as building tents, look after livestock and plaiting *rasta*-hair style. In few cases some Maasai girls also seek employment as housemaids in urban

areas. There are also other few Maasai working in butcheries, and restaurants as waiters.

3.1.4. Tourism

This new occupation is not very popular in Simanjiro, but it is a common practice on tourism routes between Arusha town and the northern tourist circuit that includes Lake Manyara, Ngorongoro crater, Tarangire, and Serengeti National Park.

In this category, there are those who sell handcrafts like spears, beads, assortment of ornaments including traditional garbs. There are also another group of tourist guides, hunter-guides, drivers, cooks, and campsite guards. Maasai are also involved in cultural and ecological tourism around bomas, where young people perform traditional dances for the tourists. Groups of women have established cultural *bomas* where they sell a variety of articles and hand made local craft.

3.1.5. Other new occupations

According to interviewees some of the enlightened Maasai are involved in illegal activities that earn them a living. These activities include land brokerage, prostitution, sell of illicit drugs.

3.2. Factors leading to the emergence of the alternative employment

The emergence of the alternative employment is attributed to a number of factors. According to many interviewees they include persistent drought, encroachment, and livestock diseases, just to mention a few.

3.2.1. Drought and livestock diseases

The persistent drought in Maasai land has adverse effect on livestock keeping. It has reduced both quality and quantity of livestock forcing the Maasai to change their traditional occupation and livelihood. The frequency of drought for the past 60 years in Simanjiro district is summarized in table 5 below. From the table it can be noted that, the drought intervals range from 12 years in the 1930s to 6 years in the 1960s and 1970s and to 4 years in the 1980s and 1990s.

Table 4: Observed drought periods in Simanjiro District, 1933-1994

Period	Duration (years)	Interval in years
1933-1935	3	12
1953-1956	3	8
1964-1967	4	6
1973-1976	4	6
1983-1987	5	4
1991-1994	4	

Source: Discussions with Ole Lengisugi, Arusha

Apart from the persistent droughts, various livestock diseases also reduce livestock population. According to interviewees there is a prevalence of East Coast Fever, Rift Valley fever, and other tick-borne diseases. The increase of livestock diseases has led to a high mortality rate of livestock. The reasons behind this increase include: the use of traditional medicines that are sometimes ineffective to some chronic diseases; the reluctance by some pastoralists to use modern medicines/vaccines; modern medicines/vaccines being expensive and hence unaffordable and finally stock routes have also led to spread of some of the diseases.

As a result of droughts and livestock diseases, pastoralists are now engaged in other non-pastoral activities like mining, farming, urban employment (both self employed as sellers of traditional medicine, or wage employment such as security guards).

3.2.2. Land encroachment

The Maasai rangeland has been invaded by other non-pastoral communities like the Warangi and Waarusha, who previously used to practice shifting cultivation on small-scale farms. These small-scale farmers had no conflicts with the Maasai because they used to shift from one place to another but had far reaching impact on the environment. As the population continued to increase, due to both natural growth and immigration, available rangeland continued to decrease.

Furthermore, large-scale farms have increased in recent years. At present, for example there are 23 large-scale farmers who own a total of 60,000 acres of land cultivating different types of crops mainly for commercial purposes. Some of these are licensed investors by the district council. Introduction of large-scale farming has deprived livestock keepers part of their best traditional grazing land.

Equally important is the upgrading of open game areas into controlled game reserves and the national park, for example the establishment of the Tarangire National Park. This is in addition to the introduction of hunting blocks in the district.

As a result of shrinking of the natural resource base, especially the grazing land, pastoralists are forced to move away from their traditional rangeland or engage themselves in other occupations.

3.2.3. Lack of education

Most of the Maasai do not have formal education, for example in Simanjiro there are 34 primary schools in 2000 that serve the whole district with a low enrollment rate. It is estimated that currently the district enrolls only 35% of total children eligible for standard one (LGR, 2001). Furthermore, there is only one public secondary school at Orkesmet with low enrolment capacity. The low rate of enrolment is partly explained by the fact that pastoralists are less inclined to send their children to school as they provide an important source of labour in livestock keeping.

Lack of Education and Political Leverage

Lack of formal education has led to the residents of Simanjiro to get political leaders and technicians from other areas. For example the first MP for Kiteto (which included Simanjiro) in 1975 was from Loliondo. The second one was from the Nguu tribe, followed by another from Waarusha. It was only during 1995 that the MP was a Maasai from the area. The village chairpersons and village secretaries at the beginning were not from the district until in the 1990's. Such leaders from other areas encouraged their own people to own land, reside and practice economic activities such as farming in the district hence displacing the native pastoralists.

Due to the low levels of formal education among the pastoral Maasai a very insignificant number of them is employed in public service. As a result non-pastoral outsiders do most of the decisions at district level.

3.2.4. Government policies

The government policies that have been imposed after independence have affected the pastoral livelihood in varied ways. The government policy to discourage customary land tenure system by replacing it with communal ownership system controlled by the state resulted into the disintegration of the traditional pastoral institutions and rangeland resource management (Ole-Lengisugi, 1997). The implementation of the Arusha Declaration resulted into the nationalization of all the land, whereby farmers were provided with private user rights while the grazing land became the property of all.

Furthermore, the 1975 Villagilization and Ujamaa Villages Act further obliterated the pastoral land range because they were forced to move to "planned villages". This move attracted individuals, parastatal and private operators to acquire prime land for cultivation in the former open rangeland.

In 1990 the Arusha Regional Administration declared Simanjiro district as an expansion area for surplus people from the densely populated Arumeru District. This resulted into an influx of peasant farmers from Arusha and Meru who applied for a total of 27,000 ha for cultivation (Ole-Lengisugi 1997). This move also interfered with the existing rotational grazing systems as pastoralists were forced to graze their livestock on marginal areas or migrate to other areas.

The implementation of the Structural Adjustment Programme since 1982 has affected the pastoralist way of life. One of the objectives of the programme was to effect economic reforms including trade liberalization. This led to an influx of small-scale miners in the district from different areas within and outside the country. According to geological information, the whole of Simanjiro area is rich in minerals (LAMP, 1995). People were not only interested in mining, but also in other activities such as farming, quarrying, charcoal making and hunting.

This move provided an opening to the Maasai, whereby the *Moran* joined the mining business mostly as middlemen. Women moved to mining centers like Mererani to do small business such as foodstuff vending, restaurants operations, guesthouses business, etc. Other women moved to urban centers to sell traditional medicine where they could earn a living.

3.3. The impact of occupational changes on pastoralists

The emerging occupational patterns among the pastoralist have affected the social, economic, cultural, and traditional institutional set ups in various ways. Changes in the traditional occupation have brought social differentiation and break away of the traditional community coping mechanism. While in the past the community had collective responsibilities in many aspects of their livelihood, increasingly now individual interests and needs are dominating and community ties seem to be breaking down. The emerging *landiis* group is an example. The Landiis have acquired a new life style that distinguishes them from other ordinary Maasai. Most of these own modern houses, motor vehicles and cellular phones especially those who are engaged in mining businesses around Mererani.

Those who move into towns seeking for employment are the most marginalized section of the Maasai. They earn low income and live in misery. In most cases these are *Morans* with families that are left behind and cared by elderly people in the villages. Recently, a local Newspaper (Nipashe October 2001) reported that, a number of Maasai Women, have lodged there complains with their constituency Member of Parliament about the absentee husbands who leave them behind at home for towns to seek employment. In some cases such women are also forced to look for means for survival that include selling of traditional medicine, selling milk, etc. This behavior increases uncertainty and risks to the families.

Changes in traditional occupations have contributed to the breakup of pastoralists' institutional set up leading into change in customary norms, beliefs and values. These changes are partly attributed to introduction of western value systems e.g. religion and education. In addition, the NGOs activities have equal impact.

Christianity has been introduced in the Maasailand since 1950s, with predominantly two denominations Lutheran and the Roman Catholic churches. Lutheran church occupies mostly the eastern part of the district while the Catholic Church occupies the western part. Religion brought in modernity that disturbed the culture of the Maasai. The Lutheran and Roman Catholic missionaries were interested in spreading the religion and introducing formal education without disturbing the culture. However, in the 1990's the Pentecostal Church emerged that affected the culture rapidly. This church advocates monogamy and as a result they brought about a new concept of divorce that was not known in the Maasai Culture. The divorced women were, thus, forced to move to trading centers. In these centers, women are engaged in selling traditional medicines, others become housemaids while some end up in prostitution.

The Pentecostal church also conducted religious rallies that could take more than one day. Women, children and the youth that are susceptible to changes attend these meetings. As a result they leave the old men at home to look after the livestock. These old men are not able to move for long distances searching for good pasture.

NGOs have also had a negative impact on the Maasai culture. Some of the NGOs have been spreading the gospel of "gender equality" and human rights. Some of the Maasai who have followed this move have changed their culture, believing that what they were doing is bad or inhuman. The problem with these NGOs is that they are bringing their own ideas that they want to impose on the people and get rapid results without involving the communities.

With the introduction of formal education, the role played by religion and NGOs, Maasai women are increasingly being empowered. As a result their traditional roles in the communities are now changing.

The breakdown of the traditional value systems of the pastoral community has made pastoralists more susceptible to communicable diseases such as sexually transmitted diseases, and HIV/AIDS.

Together with all these changes, there are certain aspects, which have not changed. For example the Maasai have retained some of their distinctive

elements of culture: the traditional attire and the role of traditional birth attendants. Moreover, they still respect and observe the traditional age-group leadership system.

3.4. Sustainability of the emerging forms of employment

The sustainability of the emerging forms of employment among the pastoral Maasai community is questionable. Most of the emerging occupations seem: not to be resilient to external shocks and stresses; not able to be supported by the existing structures and capital needs; not able to maintain long term productivity of natural resources; and encourages social inequalities and marginalization.

Both small and large-scale farmers practice farming. Both Maasai and immigrants from different parts of the country are involved in farming. However, the number of the pastoral Maasai that are involved in farming is still insignificant. Farming largely depends on rainfall, but Simanjiro district is prone to persistent drought hence making farming a viable undertaking by investing heavily. Since farming is not a traditional occupation of the Maasai, the majority are not prepared to invest in farming. Simanjiro district has poor soil fertility. Thus the maintenance of soil fertility calls for capital investment. For farming to be run profitably one has to have capital to invest in machines, use modern technology and inputs, something that the majority of the pastoralist can not afford or are not prepared. Pastoralists as pointed out earlier would always wish to buy additional cattle despite the fact that there is no adequate grazing land.

Given this kind of scenario, small-scale farming is an unsustainable venture in Simanjiro district.

Mining and mining business is another emerging occupation. Dealing in minerals is not sustainable either. First, most of the Maasai involved in mining do not own mining plots, but buy and sell minerals. Those few who are involved in mining need to invest in heavy and sophisticated technology. However, these miners have no capacities to acquire such technology. As such they, as other small miners, depend on crude technology which can not take them very far. Again tanzanite is an exhaustible natural resource; hence the sustainability of mineral-based occupations is very limited.

Another emerging occupation is wage employment in urban centers. It is a good idea for the idle surplus labor in the rural areas to be engaged productively elsewhere. Nonetheless, wage employment demands certain levels of education, skills and experiences, which most of the pastoralists do not possess because of the historical legacy. Because of this, Most Maasai are employed in less paying jobs that are socially and economically not sustainable. In the case of security guards, for example, private securities companies are emerging

which employ better educated people. Such a practice will discriminate most of the Maasai job seekers as security guards and other urban based employment.

Socially, this form of employment is not desirable as most of those who go to towns leave behind their families to be looked after by other members of the families. Since there is a general decrease in income and an increase in poverty, sustaining large families will be a difficult task if not impossible. Women will then likely engage themselves in socially undesirable activities such as prostitution.

Commercialization of livestock keeping may be a viable occupation in the future, but this depends entirely on the change of the behavior and attitude of the pastoralists by destocking and improving of the animal breeds.

In the field of tourism and hunting the job openings are very limited. Much of this depends on largely external factors like the number of tourists and hotels.

4. Challenges, Constraints and Potentials at Different Levels

4.1. Challenges, constraints and potential at national level

The main challenge to the government of Tanzania is how best to improve the pastoralists livelihood in a sustainable way. Important issues for considerations includes: appropriate pastoralist legislation and policies; land related conflicts; provision of social amenities to the pastoralists; access to market and market information; improved food security; and rationalization of institutional framework for the livestock support services.

A range of factors besets the development of the pastoral sector. At national level, the main constraints are those related to policy matters and legislation on land and pastoralism. Others include national resource allocation in terms of public expenditure on livestock sector, inadequate sectoral infrastructure and social services. There are, for instance various legislation, policies and programs, which are not in favor of pastoral development. Some of these include the Range Development and Management Act, 1964; Villagization Act, 1975; Local Councils act 1982; Land Act Number 4 and 5 of 1999; and Grazing Ordinance cap. 155. In addition, attempts to sedentarize nomadic herders in Tanzania have been largely unsuccessful, partly as a result of difficulties in restricting movement of cattle in permanent search of water and new pastures.

Dependence on donor funding of programs and projects hinder the development of the pastoralism. For example during the early 1960s the government initiated a 10-year, 10 million-dollar Maasai Livestock and Range Management Project with support from the USA government through USAID. The project covered the present Maasai districts of Monduli, Kiteto, Ngorongoro and Simanjiro. The project aimed at reorganizing the pastoral resources (pastures, livestock, people and water); control of livestock diseases; ensure land tenure security; and train livestock specialists. It also developed strategies for the development of pastoral societies through the establishment of livestock development centers, digging of bore holes, charco dams (*malambo*) and availed drilling equipment and workshops as well as support for infrastructures such as marketing facilities.

The Maasai livestock and range management project was not successful. Some of the reasons are: unrealistic project design and over ambitious in scope; there were inadequate leadership and personnel orientation; and policy differences between the two countries.

With the enactment of Village and *Ujamaa* village Act, the Range Act becomes redundant though not repealed. The Village Act introduced village boundaries that enforced the administrative system which contradict with the communal range management under the Range Management Act that recognize range association as *dejure* managing body of the pastoral land based on customary

laws. The current Land Act passed in 1999 recognizes land as a basic natural resource used for different purposes but it is silent on pastoral land rights. There are specific legislation on forestry, fishery, agriculture, residential area, and wildlife, but none on pastoralism. Pastoralism is among such human activities that depend on land, but there is no legislation, which recognizes pastoral activities.

During the early 1980s the government transformed the former Maasai range and livestock project into a special unit called Range Management Unit (RMU). The RMU was planned to manage six zonal range offices (North, Eastern, Central, Lake, Southern and West). With the retrenchment of civil servants and reorganization of government ministries after the 2000 general elections the unit was left with very few staff. Currently, there are only 3 staff at the head office and only one zone that functions (North) probably because of the initial activity in the Maasai area.

Under the *Ujamaa* and Village development program, some attempts were also made to introduce village ranching scheme to improve the pastoral livestock production. In Mpwapwa, for example exotic bulls were distributed in addition to planned improvement in extension services and range management. Unfortunately, the scheme did not work mainly due to non-involvement of the villagers; the pastoralists and more importantly, villagers targeted lacked common cultural ties as they were forced to live together in villages.

There are certain potentials that if the pastoral communities grab might be of their advantages. One, the current government is quite aware of their plight. At a government level a special Ministry directly concerned with livestock development has been established to oversee pastoral issues. In addition, there is an ILO support for the indigenous peoples with an employed person to deal with policy issues. The ILO conventions on human rights itself is an eye opener for the marginalized peoples. Support provided by donors and both local government as well as the central government in primary education is an opportunity to grab on.

4.2. Challenges, constraints and potential at regional/district level

Given the national scenario discussed above, the major challenge facing both the region and districts is how to translate the national policies and legislation into appropriate workable solutions through the involvement of the stakeholders. Another challenge concerns the dissemination of information to the pastoralists and coordination of various efforts by NGOs, donors, government and the private sector.

At the district level the main pastoral constraint is the availability of grazing land. The former Maasai District, now split into Monduli, Simanjiro, Kiteto, and Ngorongoro, is in principle a pastoralist district in the region. Hanang district at

its inception was also meant for pastoralism, though large-scale farming had already taken place. Today, with the displacement of the Barbaigs pastoralists, Hanang district is no longer a pastoral one.

Simanjiro District was established in 1993 with its headquarters at Orkesmet. The district, like Hanang District, has attracted many large-scale farmers. Today, there is high influx of farmers, both local from neighboring regions and foreigners. The once community owned pastureland is being turned into farms at high rate, thus, displacing cattle keepers. As a result today Maasai are moving southwards through the Mikumi National Parks, Kilosa, Morogoro and Mbeya. Already there are increasing records of conflicts between farmers and pastoralists mainly of the Maasai origin in these new areas.

The regional authorities are also seen as compounding the problem of land shortage among the pastoralists by encouraging other people to move into pastoral areas. Since Simanjiro district is sparsely populated, the Regional Authorities is said to have declared it as an area for expansion for the surplus people from the densely populated district of Arumeru in 1990. This move compounded the land availability problem for pastoralists as farmers were already moving in (Lengisugi, op. cit: 8).

The impact of other government decisions can also be noted in Ngorongoro and Hanang districts. In Ngorongoro there are two vivid actions. One is that of the Tanzania Breweries Limited being given huge track of land to grow barley. Fine, production of barley is economically sound, but what about the livelihood of the pastoral peoples! Foreign investment in hunting has also a further impact on land alienation on the Maasai in Ngorongoro. In 1993 a foreign firm from the UAE was allocated a hunting block in this district, thus denying the indigenous a right to graze on it.

In another area in Hanang district, the NAFCO and individual investors in wheat farming displaced the Barbaigs from the Hanang plains. Although a new district was established to overcome Barbaigs land problems, the process did not help to curb the situation but instead compounded it. Creation of a new district as was the case in Simanjiro attracted more investors. The Barbaigs had to vacate their ancestral land for foreign land.

Another constrain is how to monitor the movement of livestock from one area to another especially during the eruption of communicable livestock diseases.

There are certain potentials that pastoralist need to utilize to improve their livelihoods. The ongoing decentralization of the decision making process being implemented under the local government reforms provide an opportunity for the pastoralists to participate in the decision making process. Arusha region still possesses some drilling equipment acquired under the Maasai and Range

Management project. These may be repaired and used for the benefits of the pastoralists.

4.3. Challenges, constraints and potential at the community level

The major challenge facing the pastoral communities is how to improve their livelihoods under the given changing environment and the shrinking natural resource base.

Pastoral communities are experiencing host of problems that originate from policies, legislation, government interventions, lack of education and information. The collapse of local institutions and governance has influenced changes in the traditional beliefs, norms and values. Both the colonial and independent government contributed in changing the Maasai traditional governance. It was the policy of the British colonial government to establish Chieftainship where it did not traditionally exist as in the case of the Maasai. As a result a Council of Elders was introduced under a salaried Chairman who acted as link between the central government through the District Commissioner on one hand and the Maasai on the other. Likewise, the independent government introduced its own system and structures down to the grassroots level while retaining the office of the District Commissioner.

The post independence government established administrative structures and posts at village, ward and division levels below the district. The village, ward and division secretaries became the chief executives over their respective areas of jurisdiction. Since these divisions did not follow any recognized Maasai traditional (age set) leadership, more often than not what they did were a source of misunderstandings and conflicts in the day to day operations. The Maasai system of leadership is centered on “*aigwanani*” who is carefully and meticulously selected, appointed and installed in a symbolic ceremony. Below him are two assistants who are also carefully chosen.

The newly emerging occupations, though still very limited, have their own constraints. For example, the emerging “ ” are very few and far apart to show impact on substantial change. The source of “*landiis*” capital is the sale of livestock, but the cattle markets are limited in number – only at Weruweru and Kikatiti. The cattle, which the young Maasai inherit right from their birth, are decreasing in number. One interviewee had a sad story to tell; that in the 1960’s his family owned between 200 – 300 cattle; by 1970’s and 1980’s the number has shrunk to 160 cattle and by 1990s, they owned between 20 and 40 cattle⁹. His major occupation now is to look for Tanzanite markets in places like Dar es Salaam for gem merchants who cannot do that on their own. The limited cattle markets also imply very poor or unfavorable cattle prices to livestock keepers.

⁹Interview with Yohana Ole Tiamongoe 10th October, 2001

This is exacerbated by the poor cattle quality due to frequent droughts and diseases.

Another set back to business development in the area, as a new source of livelihood, is inadequate and unstable source of capital and lack of entrepreneurial skills. Tanzanite business has a lot of uncertainties including external policies, and depletion.

Other new job openings are in farming where both small and large-scale farming in Simanjiro District is practiced. However, any sustainable farming needs large capital outlay, which the youth do not have and even then the climate is not conducive due to frequent droughts and poor soils.

The pastoralist attachment to livestock encourages them to own large herds of cattle that could not be sustained by the available land.

The major constraint is lack of formal education and training. Adult illiteracy is among the highest in the country. According to the District Commissioner for Simanjiro, Mr. Samwel Kamote, adult illiteracy stands at 85%. There are very few primary schools with low enrolment and there is only one secondary school at present.

It is common today for many urban-based firms and business to hire the Maasai as “*Osinga*,” the night security guards. However, this has not yielded expected rewards as most of them lack education and training and as such, the pay is low. In addition, some of these “*Osingas*” have been framed for losses or theft by unscrupulous employers, who may wish to dodge paying the guards dues/salaries.

There are certain potentials for the pastoralist development. One of these is the existence of NGOs with external financing. These include World Vision, Pastoral based NGOs, and Community based organizations such as the Nomeuti Multipurpose Co-operative Society (NMC) that was registered in 1999.

The NMCS was established with the support of the ILO INDISCOs program and it had the following objectives: provision of better livestock development services, establishment of savings and credit facilities; environmental management; youth and women development.

The society has experienced quite a number of problems. One, mobilization of members has been received with mixed feelings. Some villagers see it as wastage of time, compared to if they go to Mererani and deal in minerals. Two, Maasai pastoralists are more inclined to use traditional medicines rather than expensive modern drugs and vaccines. Thus, providing modern medicines and vaccines as one of the NMCS objectives is rather misguided in the short run.

Three, the geographical spread of its members makes members difficult to meet as required. In addition, lack of transport facility for the society complicates the functioning of the manager. Four, current poor image of cooperatives in the country coupled with lack of a successful story of livestock cooperatives in Tanzania, make livestock cooperative not appealing Fifth, inadequate cooperative education and training among the members and the general community.

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1. Conclusions

Pastoralism is still the most important source of livelihood among the pastoral Maasai. Nationally, traditional livestock keeping has a significant contribution to the GDP. From what has been gathered in this study it is indicative that traditional livestock keeping is in crisis due to a number of factors. These include persistent droughts, encroachment of pastoral lands by other economic activities, livestock diseases, and lack of a favorable livestock development policy.

With the decline in livestock keeping against the increasing human population, many pastoralists are now getting engaged in other occupations, ranging from small scale farming to urban wage employment. Few of them are involved in mining business and petty trade.

Equally important, the traditional Maasai culture and its institutional framework is gradually eroding and being replaced by new forms of institutions. However, there are other equally positive impacts as a result of these transformations for instance women are gradually being empowered.

Both traditional occupation and the newly emerging patterns of employment seem to be unsustainable. Traditional occupations are not sustainable due to the changes influenced by external forces. On the other hand the newly emerging occupational patterns are not sustainable because of inadequate formal education, depletion of natural resources, and lack of capital.

5.2. Recommendations

This study recommends the following:

- (i) There is a need for comprehensive national land policy and legislation that takes into account the needs and interests of the pastoral people. The current policy and legislation do not give pastoralism its due attention. Hence the need to review these so that pastoralists rights are observed like other communities, with equal opportunities in access and use of natural resources, especially land and water.
- (ii) To avoid land use conflicts, district councils should carry out a detailed land survey that would document the major uses of land, the users, and seasonal/ temporary and subsidiary uses of land in the district. This calls for the involvement of different land users.
- (iii) Maasai, like other pastoral groups move because of certain reasons that largely center along their livelihoods. District plans should address these carefully as they also have rights to enjoy the natural resources.

Purposeful investment in technological and managerial improvements in animal husbandry is crucial.

- (ii) Establishment of the national body for the indigenous tribal peoples. This has worked elsewhere. In Nigeria, for example due to increasing pastoralists land conflict with sedentary land holders, nomads formed The Miyetti Allah Association in 1970, but later changed to The National Livestock Rearers Association to give it a national outlook and remove the religious bias (Ezeomah, 1985:8-9). This association mainly aimed at the recognition of the Fulani people who are nomadic-pastoralist, and spearhead their demands for equal opportunities for education, health services, land for grazing and representation in the local government. Furthermore, there is a need to establish pastoralist network for the purpose of promoting pastoral related development.
- (iii) Pastoralists biased investment in education should be promoted. Education is an important ingredient in development initiatives. For the pastoralists to transform themselves an externally induced initiative is required. This can only happen if they are receptive to such an initiation.
- (iv) Support to pastoralists based initiatives in extension delivery system, veterinary services, marketing and market information, traditional birth attendants, traditional medicines etc. is necessary. NGOs operating in the pastoral areas in collaboration with local governments must take the lead.
- (v) Improvement of infrastructure and social amenities such as schools, health centers, postal services, telephones, roads, clean water, market facilities, etc. is a necessity for induced development initiative among the pastoralists.
- (vi) It is important to involve traditional leadership in all development issues and programmes that affect the pastoralists' livelihood.
- (vii) There is a need to extend similar study to cover other indigenous tribal peoples with a different cultures and different traditional occupations. In particular the Barbaigs (pure pastoralists), Hadzabe (pure gathers and Hunters) and Sandawe (mixed: hunting, farming, livestock keeping)

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APPENDIX I:

Terms Of Reference

An Assessment of Challenges to Traditional Livelihoods and Newly Emerging Employment Patterns of Pastoralists in Tanzania.

Background

The ILO-INDISCO program, in cooperation with the Jobs for Africa Program, has developed an initiative on how to incorporate the specific pastoral livelihood and employment promotion issues within the national employment policy and poverty eradication framework in Tanzania. Critical livelihood and job-creation issues among indigenous and tribal peoples (ITPs) in Africa, including the pastoral communities, involve the following:

- Many ITPS in Africa including both hunter-gatherers and pastoralists are confronted with deteriorating livelihoods due to a declining resource base, population increase and the impact of economic policies.
- While ITPs belong to the poorest of the poor, they rarely benefit substantially from the poverty alleviation programs and employment generation initiatives. This is because of their socio-economic marginalization, which makes them vulnerable due to lack of access to credit and other basis services.
- Job creation for ITPs and protecting and promoting their traditional livelihoods and jobs, differ considerably from those initiatives suitable for the mainstream society and require distinct approaches, strategies and culturally-adapted tools.
- While ITPS in Africa and elsewhere remain a popular target for the development community, there is a considerable need to strengthen approaches of working directly with community-based self-help organizations and cooperatives.
- National poverty alleviation strategies and country action programs benefit from having a clear strategy for ITPs, which recognizes their distinct indigenous knowledge systems and practices.
- There is need to strengthen investment policies and allocation practices for ITPs to ensure that they are reached by – as well as being involved in the design of – livelihood and employment extension services.

Objective

The objective of this study is to analyze and seek ways of strengthening the changing livelihood and employment situation of pastoralist through:

- assessing the viability and feasibility of traditional occupations in terms of job creation, sustainable livelihoods and food security
- identifying challenges, constraints and potential action at community, local government and policy level to strengthen traditional livelihoods and decent forms of employment

- assessing the quality, sustainability and potential of newly emerging livelihood and employment patterns such as urban employment, tourism and agriculture.

Job Description for the Consultant

Based on the job description below the consultant will develop a realistic work plan to be approved by the ILO. The final report will be presented at a national workshop, where government agencies, pastoral organizations and other partners will provide inputs and discuss the results for further action and follow-up.

The ILO Consultant will have the following duties and responsibilities:

1. Collect data and information about the most common traditional and emerging occupations and practices of the Maasai with a view to assessing their viability and feasibility to boost employment. Such practices would include
 - livestock production
 - farming systems
 - urban migration and employment
 - trade
 - tourism related employment
 - traditional medicine and health care
 - mining practices
 - traditional handicrafts
 - other forms of wage employment¹⁰

It is expected that particular concern be paid to livelihood and employment patterns of pastoralist women.

2. Provide a review of different approaches taken in projects and policies to strengthen pastoral livelihoods.
3. Provide an analysis of key information related to the emerging challenges of boosting traditional pastoral livelihoods and employment as well as opportunities to strengthen their sustainability.
4. Provide a critical analysis of newly emerging forms of employment and livelihoods in terms of their quality, sustainability and appropriateness in terms of “decent work”.

¹⁰ These are just examples; the consultant will be expected to develop an appropriate list and categorization of livelihood and employment types.

5. Undertake community consultations with pastoral elders, women and youth in selected areas to discuss needs & opportunities for strengthening traditional livelihoods and consolidating new forms of employment.
6. Undertake discussions with pastoral organizations the Ministry of Water of Livestock and other partners of identify and assess the impact of external influences, interventions and investments of the viability and sustainability of traditional livelihoods. The discussions should seed to identify potential approaches to counter negative impacts and move towards a proper environment.
7. Identify areas and the relevant national and international partners, where further technical cooperation may be needed to assist pastoral communities in strengthening the sustainability of traditional livelihoods and new forms of employment.
8. Prepare a survey report which will include recommendations and key follow-up action required to revive and strengthen the most common traditional livelihoods of the pastoral communities in Tanzania, including the policy-level interventions.
9. Present the report at the national workshop and incorporate the comments made during this workshop, finalize the report and submit it to the ILO.

Backstopping and Coordination

The ILO Office in Dar-es-Salaam will provide the administrative backstopping. The COOPNET/COOPREFORM Regional Coordinator in Moshi and the Jobs for Africa Coordinator in ILO Office, Dar-es-Salaam will be responsible or technical backstopping. The Africa Regional Coordinator of the Project to Promote ILO Policy on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples (DeS) and the INDISCO Project Manager (Simanjiro District, Arch) will assist the Consultant with data gathering and technical assessment. The overall coordination will be under the responsibility of the INDISCO Programs.

Duration

The survey will be completed in two months. Before it is presented in a national workshop in Dar-es-Salaam, before the end of 2001, the first draft will be sent to the ILO for comments form INDISCO, JfA and the Project to Promote ILO Policy on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples. The final versions of the survey will be delivered to the ILO two weeks after the said national workshop.

APPENDIX II:

The Study Itinerary

24-25 September, 2001	Orkesmet The District HQ (Met District officials)
26 September, 2001	Naisinyai Village
27 September, 2001	Lengasit/Naepo Village
28 September, 2001	Kambi ya Chokaa
29 September, 2001	Dr. Ole Kuney/Ole Tiamongoi
01 October, 2001	Ole Tiamongoi
02-05 October, 2001	Ministry Water and Livestock Development, DSM; ILO, any other relevant institutions/individuals
05-06 October, 2001	Arusha , NGOs, Regional Authorities
08-20 October, 2001	Continue with the consultative process: District's INDISCOS Manager, villagers and other experts
26-31 October, 2001	REPORT WRITING
01-02 November, 2001	Consultations with ILO COOPNET/COOPREFORM and District's INDISCOS Manager
05 November, 2001	SUBMISSION OF DRAFT REPORT
05-23 November, 2001	Conduct three local workshops
04-05 December, 2001	National Workshop

APPENDIX III:

List Of People Met/Institutions Visited

Evans Mbogo	District Agricultural and Livestock Officer
Athumani Sofiane	Ag. DED and District education Officer
Kanaeli Kaaya	District Community development Officer
Zablon Lyatuu	District Water Engineer
Nelson Msangi	District Cooperative Development Officer
Francis Priscus	Personnel Officer
Masangula Ntemo	Local Administrator, LAMP
Issack Issae	Principal Livestock Officer, Range Management Unit
Lydon Morongu	Assistant Director, Range Management and Extension
Dickson Kogan	Land Use Unit, Livestock sector
Tino Adolf Gondya	Registrar of Societies, Ministry of Home Affairs
Yohana Ole Tiamongoi	Majengo Mineral Development Organization
Lengai Mako	
Marko Sangeji	
Jackson Muro	
Martin Saming'o	
Mary Losioki Labdaky	
Martha Paulo Katau	
Nathan Ole Lengisugi	VETAID
James Qwari	North Zone Range Management Unit
Ngigwana	Regional Livestock Advisor, Arusha

Field Assistants

Tulito Laandalama	Lengasiti Village
Saitabau Leina	Naisinyai Village
Letee Sailepo	Kambi ya Chokaa Village
Tiplit Kihil,	Naepo Village
Dr. Moinge Ole Kuney	Kambi ya Chokaa and Member, Nomeuti Multipurpose Cooperative Society

Group of Men: Naisinyai Village

Somoini Kuya
Nowa Ole Laizer
Tito Ole Kitwana
Nekaleya Lengorkor
Moinget Maningo
Meshak Alamayani
Ngoyei Lengitambi
Nakudana Peshut

Group of Women: Naisinyai Village

Serea Seremoni Laizer
Ngai Kiroia
Maria Mtero

Village Government Leaders: Naisinyai Village

Moses Ole Laizer Village Executive officer
Saitabau Leina Chairperson Naisinyai Village

Group of Elderly People: Naisinyai

Lembusel Sanduku
Yohana Ole Tiamongoi
Kisota Lengitambi
Simon Lembanas
Tipilit Kishili
Yohana Ole Ndarpoi
Oltetia Kimasi
Lorgos Lorkuna

Elderly Men: Legasit Village

Maingia Lembese
Athumani Saetwa

Group of Men: Lengasit

Letema Lembese
Setobik Nondolan
Kipambi Loshie

Youth Group: Lengasit

Thomas Lengala
Melita Thomas
Neylolay Paulo
Moses Maija

Women Group: Lengasit Village

Napokeki Leshio
Anna Thomas
Eva Labara
Elizabeth Sanyai
Nengi la Ngeti
Membrisi Labara
Rosa Sandiko
Leah Michael

Youth Group: Kambi ya Chokaa

John Laizer
Lucas Marini
Kilembe Marpet
Morson Marine
Kirike Sindela
Parit Kipala
Letee Sailepu

Group of Men: Kambi ya Chokaa

Elias Kishaffia
Issack Lazaro Kimaat
Matayo Sailepu Meijo
Olorubare Esesian Robert
Lomayani Kaipai
Lucas Petro

Women Group: Kambi ya Chokaa

Grace Selai
Maria Stefano
Rehema Yohana
Sabina Thomas

APPENDIX IV:

The Maasai Age Groups (Male and Female)

The age group they belong to differentiates both men and women.

MEN AGE-GROUPS

<u>Group</u>	<u>Age</u>		
1. Ingera	0	-	10
2. Irkolu	11	-	18
3. Ilayiok	18	-	20
4. Isipalio	20	-	39 (Undergo Circumcision)
5. Irbarnot	39	-	49
6. Irmuran Kitwak	49	-	59
7. Irmorwak	50	-	59

From No. 4 to 8 there has the same age, which might be due to same reasons, that may be late circumcision.

WOMEN AGE GROUPS

<u>Group</u>	<u>Age</u>		
1. Ingera	0	-	10
2. Imbachacha	10	-	15
3. Indoye - Iselengen	15	-	20
4. Isipalio	18	-	20
5. Isiangikin	20	-	39
6. Indasati Ingitwaak	40	-	60
7 Indasati Morwak	70	-	100

APPENDIX V:

National Workshop on Poverty Reduction for the Pastoralists and Hunter – Gathering Communities through Employment Creation and Appropriate Development Policies.

1. Background

The ILO-INDISCO program, in co-operation with the Jobs for Africa Program, has developed an initiative on how to incorporate the specific pastoral livelihood and employment promotion issues within the national employment policy and poverty eradication framework. The two ILO projects commissioned two studies that were undertaken in Simanjiro District. These are:

- 1) Assessment of Challenges to Traditional Livelihoods and Newly Emerging Employment Patterns of Pastoralists in Tanzania. This study was undertaken by a team of three under the leadership of Mr. Faustine K. bee. Other team members are Mr. Mathew L. N. Diyamett and Ms. Esther N. Towo.
- 2) The Needs and Opportunity Assessment to Strengthen the Policy Environment for the Creation of Sustainable Livelihoods and Decent work for Pastoralists' by Loserian Sangale.

2. Workshop Objectives

The aim of the National Workshop is to provide an opportunity to present and discuss the findings of the two survey reports on the, "Challenges to Traditional Livelihoods and Newly Emerging Employment Patterns", and the Needs and Opportunity Assessment to Strengthen the Policy Environment for the Creation of Sustainable Livelihoods and Decent work for Pastoralists. Specifically, the workshop objectives are:

- (i) to bring together researchers, pastoralists, policy makers and other stakeholders to discuss issues of livelihoods, employment and policy among the pastoral communities in the country,
- (ii) to discuss survey draft reports and provide an opportunity for improving the final outputs, and
- (iii) to provide an opportunity for future networking among the pastoralists and other stakeholders.

This national workshop has been preceded by three local workshops organized by ILO-INDISCOs in collaboration with the Nomeuti Multi-purpose Co-operative Society. There are: Pastoral Livelihood and Employment Challenges: Youth, Women, Livestock and Economic Growth; Addressing Land and Water Challenges Related to Pastoral Livelihoods; and Communication, Education, and Capacity Building Approaches Among Pastoral Communities to Strengthen Livelihoods.

Participants for these workshops came from the local pastoral communities, NGOs and CBOs in the area. Both women and men participated.

3. Workshop participants

The Workshop Participants are drawn from the following groups:

- (i) Pastoralists representatives.
- (ii) Central and regional government representatives.
- (iii) Local government representatives, and
- (iv) NGOs, Co-operative Society, and Associations.

4. Workshop program and methods

5. Workshop program

- 1. Official opening
- 2. Getting to know each other: Personal Introductions
- 3. Workshop Organization and defining participants Expectations
- 4. Introduction of the ILO principles of Convention No. 169 and functions of the INDISCO/ITPs program
- 5. Survey Report on the Assessment of Challenges to Traditional livelihoods and Newly Emerging Employment Patterns of Pastoralists in Tanzania
- 6. Survey Report on the Needs and opportunity Assessment to Strengthen the Policy Environment for the Creation of Sustainable Livelihoods and Decent work for Pastoralists.
- 7. PINGOS preparatory workshop on the effect of National Policies to Pastoralists and Hunter-Gatherers
- 8. Synthesis and wrap-up.
- 9. Evaluation and Closing

6. Workshop Facilitation

The facilitation of the workshop will be participatory one, where it will involve group works, plenary, presentations and discussions.

7. Workshop Organization and Timing

This workshop is organized by ILO-INDISCOs program in collaboration with the Nomeuti Multi-purpose Cooperative Society. It will run for two days from December 4th – 5th, 2001 at Hotel Seventy-Seven, Arusha.

APPENDIX VI:

Opening Speech for the National Workshop on Poverty Reduction for the Pastoralist and Hunter – Gathering Communities through Employment Creation and Appropriate Development Policies. by Bertha Mende Dc Arusha Municipal.

Pastoralism is one of the economic activities undertaken by part of the Tanzania population particularly the pastoral communities as a way of living and sourcing their livelihoods.

Tanzania is a third country in Sub-Saharan Africa with the biggest livestock population and yet is said that the contribution of livestock to the national economy is only 20%. Tanzania does not import meat. If so it is only to a very limited extent. With the number of livestock in the country Tanzania should have been a big exporter of livestock products like Botswana. Due to the fact that not much emphasis has been put in to develop this sector its management and commercialization has been left to the pastoralists themselves. Lately the government has privatized and liberalized many services. This situation has met the pastoralists unaware after the services rendered to livestock, like the supply of drugs, dipping, vaccination, free treatment, and extension services have been withdrawn. It was hoped that the private sector would take up those activities formerly run by the government. Unfortunately this has not been the case in many pastoral areas because those who were expected to render the service have favored to work in urban areas where the business environment though competitive is friendlier and has less harsh.

The wealth and welfare of the pastoralists generally depends on their livestock despite the few changing patterns of late. Due to several factors the pastoral communities have found themselves in an increased poverty situation due to an increased number of animal deaths arising from poor feeding and grazing, lack of adequate water, increased tick-borne diseases and reduced grazing lands and persistent drought.

Increase in the general population in Tanzania has forced intrusion into pastoral areas, leading to reduce grazing lands, which are put into other productive activities, which are basically non-pastoral. Such intrusion has led to conflicts, sometimes fatal, among the pastoralists and tillers of the land. These problems can only be solved by a good land use policy, which recognizes the rights of every community to utilize the land to the benefit to himself/herself, and to the general Tanzania Community as a whole.

The poor quality of the livestock owned by the pastoral communities leads to poor quality carcasses, poor milk production, slow growth rate and poor attainment to slaughter age.

The product from these animals, milk, meat, and others become of poor quality and therefore fetch a low price in the market leading to increased poverty. Some have lost livestock due to diseases or due to increased human population thereby making the number of animals available to every individual to become few leading to exposure to increased poverty.

Difficult environmental conditions and poor infrastructure puts the pastoralists in a disadvantaged situation particularly where there are no roads or poor roads to travel during the rainy season; lack of or shortage of water, lack of adequate services like health and education further complicates the lives of the pastoral communities creating a vicious cycle with the resultant effect of increasing poverty.

Difficult environment for pastoralist livestock with regards to grazing, water and diseases makes them (pastoralists) to move from place to place – migration. This leaves their lands without care-takership. Unfortunately lands suitable for grazing are the same lands suitable for crop cultivation. There is a notion that good grassland if not put to the plough is idle land or wasted land. We need to correct this erroneous notion. Good grassland is good land for livestock. This needs to be highly appreciated and respected.

Current changes in the way of the population income generating activities in general have not left the pastoral communities unaffected. The Maasai for instance have found their young men the *Morans* moving into urban areas to look and do jobs like watchmen and security guards. Job which were not the norm in Maasai culture and tradition. This situation exposes them to HIV/AIDS as well increasing the influx of the population into urban areas whose consequence is less employment available for all and inability for the urban centers to provide essential services for an ever-increasing population. Worse still as the jobs in the urban areas will eventually need educated people those with little or no education will find them displaced.

Pastoral communities particularly the Maasai, due to little education find themselves highly vulnerable to the current changing situations, which take them unawares. Some of these pastoral communities are not fully aware of the state land laws and therefore often find them being deprived of their lands due to their not knowing their rights.

Little education among these communities makes them even more vulnerable. The mode and way of delivery of education to these communities due to the difficult environment they live in need to have a special approach and modality. Could mobile schools be one way out? This is an issue, which needs serious in-depth consideration to uplift the educational status of the pastoral communities to match up with the general Tanzania society. They are part and parcel of the whole society.

It is therefore important to look into problems facing the pastoral communities with the aim of creating employment thereby reducing poverty through education, employment development programs and appropriate developmental policies.

ILO/INDSCO has recognized the plight and problems of the pastoral communities as enshrined in ILO Convention No. 169 and envisions that the pastoral community is given more attention than it has had up to now. Through such efforts it has initiated the formation of Nomeuti Multipurpose Cooperative Society in Simanjoro district. This cooperative covers five villages – Nomeuti/Kambi ya Chokaa, Naisinyai, Lengasiti, Mikocheni and Magadini. The aim is to reduce poverty among the communities in the villages concerned.

ILO/INDISCO has also commissioned two consultancies on “Challenges to Traditional Livelihoods and Newly Emerging Employment Patterns” and the other on “The Needs and Opportunity Assessment to strengthen the policy Environment for the Creation of sustainable Livelihoods and decent work for Pastoralists”.

I am further informed that another three workshops have been done to address problems and issues contributing to poverty among pastoralists and how to solve them.

The reports of these consultancies are going to be tabled for discussion in this workshop. ILO/INDISCO has kindly gone a step further and financed these workshops so that the participants can have an opportunity to interact and discuss in great length the factors affecting the pastoral communities and come up with resolutions and recommendation which shall be put to practice so as to reduce poverty among the pastoral communities.

It is my sincere hope that this workshop will seriously discuss pastoral issues raised up in the consultancies and any other relevant matters. I believe they shall be passed on to all the responsible parties and authorities with the hope that they shall be implemented for the welfare of the pastoralists to improve their welfare, livelihoods and reduce poverty. Do not hesitate to address the issues, problems and possible solutions openly. Our government believes in openness and facts.

I wish to declare this workshop open and wish you all successes in your deliberations.