THE DYNAMICS OF CONFLICT OF THE KURIA TRIBE AROUND

NORTH MARA MINE

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE

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2015

CERTIFICATION

The undersigned certifies that she has read and hereby recommends for acceptance by The Open University of Tanzania, a dissertation titled *"The Dynamics of Conflict of the Kuria Tribe Around North Mara Mine",* in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Social Work of The Open University of Tanzania.

Dr. Fauzia Mohamed

(Supervisor)

_____

Date

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DECLARATION

I, **Mulikuza, Jacob,** do hereby declare that this dissertation is my original work and that it has not been presented and it will not be presented to any other university for a similar or any other degree award.

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Signature

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Date

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the whole family of Mr. and Mrs. Martin Mulikuza for their continued support, love and affection. This family has been very supportive and inspiring in my growth and carrier. To you I dedicate this piece of work.

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ABSTRACT

This study intended to find out the dynamics of conflicts within the Kuria tribe set up. The objectives of this study were met through enquiries and discussions with the local communities, village leaders, traditional leaders, district government officials and the mining company to air their opinions and experience with regard to conflicts in North Mara Mine. General findings show that, historically, conflicts among the Kuria tribe have been attributed to land which is the most valuable natural resource and family asset. Furthermore, the findings show that even after the coming of mining investor land has continued to be the source of conflicts between the Kuria tribe and the Mining investor (ABG). On the other hand, the local communities involved in this study expressed their lack of trust towards the local and central government on the handling of land compensation issues with the mining investor. It was noted, the local and central government have not been effective in following the Land Act, 1999; and as a consequence the mining company has not fully compensated the Kuria people for the land it acquired. This study recommends that, the Land Act (1999) be reviewed to fit the current situations on the ground. The Land Act (1999) does not provide a deadline for land compensation payments; but rather, it states that compensation should be effected within six month; and if it exceeds six months, then the required payment has to be paid with associated penalties. This Land Act (1999) has been a source of a lot of problems to the local communities, since they feel one day the investor may leave without being paid.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABG   African Barrick Gold

FGD   Focus Group Discussion

GDP   Gross Domestic Product

GNP   Gross National Product

ICMM   International Council on Mining and Metal

LHRC   Legal and Human Rights Centre

NBS   National Bureau of Statistics

NGO   Non Governmental Organization

PLC   Public Limited Company

SPSS   Statistical Package for Social Science

URT   United Republic of Tanzania

VBA   Village Benefit Agreements

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1   Background to the Problem

Mining in Tanzania dates back to the pre-colonial era when Arabs and local traders mined gold, copper, iron, and salt. The value of these produce was used and later provided the room for commodity exchange. In other words, mining products facilitated the barter system (Kozlov, 1977). Around 1890s the Germans colonial administration was the first to mine gold for commercial purpose in the areas surrounding Lake Victoria.

Moreover, the discoveries of gold in the lake zone were through concession systems introduced by German rulers. The system provided private companies with exclusive mining rights over large areas in order to ensure accumulation. However, in 1884 to 1918 during German administration the value for gold and mica was estimated to be between 7 to 10 million Tanzanian shillings (Lemelle, 1986; Kulindwa et al., 2003; Lange, 2006).

Besides, in the last ten years, mining in Tanzania has changed drastically after being dormant for many years. The country continues to produce gold, diamond, gemstones and more currently uranium and nickel. Tanzania is the only producer of Tanzanite in the world. Furthermore, in the production of gold it ranks fourth in Africa after Ghana, South Africa, and Mali. Tanzania remains one of the great producers of diamond in the world rankings (Lange, 2006). In fact, there has been a continuous growth of gold production since 2001 which surpass one million ounces

per annum. The mining sector now accounts for over 40% of the country's exports. Around 75% of its foreign direct investment and the current government tax revenues are at around 3.6% and GDP is at around 3.2% (ICMM, 2007).

More importantly, the abundance of mineral resources has seen the influx of multinational companies in Tanzania. Some of the companies include Resolute Mining Limited, Anglo gold Ashanti, African Barrick Gold (now known as ACACIA Mining PLC), MDN Northern Mining, Tanzania Royal Exploration, Xstrata Nickel, IMX Resources and Mantra Resources to list a few (Lange, 2006). Hence, the influx of these multinational companies necessitated the Government of Tanzania in the early 1990s to create the Investment Promotion Centre under the Investment Promotion Policy. Nevertheless, the government efforts through the promulgation of the Mineral Policy, 1997 and Mineral Act, 1998, aimed at restructuring the mineral sector have been implemented. This was done in order to promote and encourage private sector development initiatives through accumulated geo-data. The intended result was to show Tanzania's diverse mineral resources base and the potential that strengthen the sector significantly (Rugumamu, 2005).

However, the existence of socialist policies led the Government of Tanzanian reform its mining laws from the early 1990s. The intention was to enable both Tanzanian and foreign private sector companies to acquire prospecting and mining licenses. Consequently, the 1997 Tanzanian Mineral Policy engendered the creation gainful secured employment; and thereby providing an alternative source of income, particularly for the rural population and Government, as well as environmental protection and management (URT, 1997).

Furthermore, the policy envisages a large and small scale mining working together while the small scale miners benefit from the expertise of the large scale miners. Also, the emphasis of the policy was to give the indigenous Tanzanians special rights and key roles in small scale mining sector (mine claim holder, broker, and dealer). The large-scale mining was intended for multinational companies which required capital, experience and expertise. The policy further stipulates the harmonization of small and large scale mining operations. This was done through decentralization of the monitoring function of the mineral sector between Ministry Headquarters, zonal and district mines offices. The intention was to streamline the licensing procedures in a transparent and fair manner (URT, 1997).

Nonetheless, during the implementation of 1997 Mineral Policy and the 1998 Mining Act, there were a series of conflicts. These conflicts were reported in the mining sites of North Mara, Buzwagi, Buhemba, Mererani and Geita. It is these conflicts which forced the Tanzanian government to review all mining contracts and legislations (Tambwe, 2008). Hence, the review of the legislation led the government of Tanzania to evaluate the ten years implementation of the 1997 Mineral Policy. The review led to the development of new Mineral Policy of 2009. Consequently, the revised 2010 Mineral Act much of its content was taken from the 1998 Mineral Act.

Following the review of the 1997 Mineral policy, the new Mineral Policy of 2009 focused at integrating the mineral sector with other sectors of the economy; improving economic environment for investment; maximizing benefits from mining; improving the legal environment; strengthening capacity for administration of the mineral sector; developing small scale miners; promoting and facilitating value

addition to minerals; and strengthening environmental management. Besides, the Government is the core regulator and facilitator of the mineral sector; promoter of private sector investment in the mineral sector; and participates in all mining projects deliberately (URT, 2009).

It should be noted that, Tanzania to date is faced with a number of conflicts around the mining areas especially those owned by the multinational companies. The root cause of these conflicts are lack of planning and co-ordination at the national level (including poor maps) as well as misconception among local people regarding the legal rights and land ownership over mining areas (Kulindwa et al., 2003:91-92). Furthermore, the politicians are said to have fuelled the matter by making unrealistic promises to small scale miners (Phillips et al., 2001).

Besides, the dynamics of conflict exemplified in the mining areas between mining companies and local communities in Tanzania are mostly related to informal small scale miners. This in simplest terms it means mining activities conducted illegally on mining companies lease using low technology or poor machinery. On the other hand, conflicts can be identified through concessions which refers to a grant of right over land or property by the government, local author, individuals or any other legal entity (Mwaipopo et al., 2004; Bryceson and Jonsson, 2010).

In addition, the Mineral Policy of 1997 intends for a partnership between investors and small scale miners. This partnership could enable the small scale miners gain technology from the investors that could help in the exploitation of mineral resources. However, some government officials were allegedly to misuse the policy

by pressuring small scale miners to accept and sign vague agreements with large scale miners. Alternatively, the small miners who did not accept the agreements were threatened by the government to be denied their title deeds. As a result, many small scale miners, like the ones in North Mara-Tarime, feel they have been ripped of their property. Also, they don't have the resources to employ the legal system for their cases (Kulindwa et al., 2003).

1.2   Background of the Study

The North Mara Gold Mine is found in the northwestern part of Tanzania in Tarime district of Mara region. Approximately, 100 kilometers east of Lake Victoria and 20 kilometers south of the Kenyan border (ICMM, 2007). The North Mara Gold mine is located at Matongo and Kemambo wards, Tarime district in Mara region.
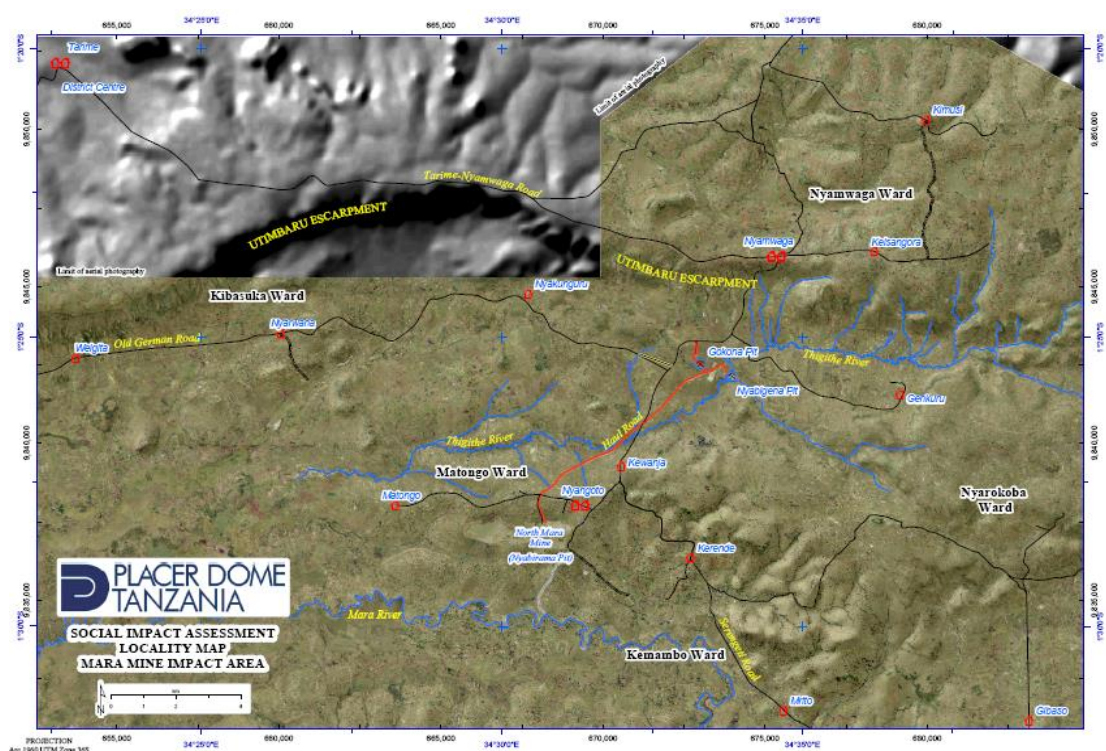
Figure 1.1: Villages and Wards around the Mine

 Source: (ICMM, 2007: 25)

Furthermore, North Mara Gold mine in particular is surrounded by the wards of Matongo, Kemabo, Nyamwaga, Kibasuka and Nyarukoba and all these wards are comprised of seven villages of Nyamwaga, Kewanja, Nyangoto, Matongo, Nyakunguru, Genkuru and Kerende (see Figure 1.1) (LHRC, 2011).

According to the 2012 Tanzania National Census, the population of the Tarime District is 339,693 of which 162,986 are male and 176,707 are female. Approximately 97% of the total population is found in the rural areas. The main economic activities in Tarime are agriculture, livestock keeping, small scale mining and small business activities (LHRC, 2011).

The North Mara Gold mine covers a total area of 600 squares kilometers and consists of three major mining pits of Nyabirama, Nyabigena and Gokona. Currently, underground exploration mining is being conducted at Gokona pit. Nevertheless, the life span of the mine is estimated to be 10 years based on the proven and probable gold reserves of 2.2 million ounces. The North Mara Gold Mine was initially owned by Africa Mashariki Gold Mines.

It was later sold to Placer Dome Tanzania. Currently it is owned by Africa Barick Gold who took over in January 2006. The changes from one mining company to another were largely caused by the unending disputes with the local communities over land compensations. In general, the North Mara processing plant has the capacity to process an average of 8,000 tonnes of ore per day, (that is approximately 2.8 million tonnes of ore per year) (www.africanbarickgold.com).

North Mara mine is located at Nyamongo area which is occupied by the Kuria tribe particularly Kenye clan for many years. The local communities in this area depended on agriculture before the discoveries of gold. Additionally, the local gurus of history in this area claim that the Nyamongo area was occupied by an old man who had two daughters. It was believed that whoever married these daughters would become rich.

Finally, the daughters were married by two men from *Waracha* clan. Eventually, they were rewarded with riches of gold from the grounds by the gods and the spirits of the land. Since, the discoveries of gold the agricultural activities have significantly declined and people now rely heavily on small scale mining. Interestingly, it is believed by the indigenous people that the gold belongs to the spirits and gods of the land. Therefore, the respect to the spirits in the discovery of gold is of great importance compared to the geological surveys (LHRC, 2011).

The population of Nyamongo is 100,000; and before the area was sold to the East Africa Gold Mine, the villagers depended on small scale mining. Currently, people around North Mara mine live in abject poverty, suffer from various diseases and have endless fatal conflicts with the investor. Despite, the presence of a large-scale mine, which is managed by African Barrick Gold employing about 1,084 employees in North Mara mine, from which 986 are Tanzania nationals and 98 are foreign experts. Endless conflict between the investor and the local surrounding communities continue (LHRC, 2011; ABG, 2013).

Moreover, the North Mara area is comprised of the *Wakurya* tribe whose language is widely used despite Kiswahili being the national language. Also, the Kuria tribe

consists of more than 13 clans which have the history of being in conflicts amongst themselves (ICMM, 2007). The major three clans in North Mara area include: - the *Wanyabasi* clansmen are found in Nyakonga, Nyareno and Kibasuka Wards. The *Wairegi* clan is the largest Kurian clan found in Muriba, Nyanungu Nyarukoba Gorong'a and Nyamwaga Wards. Lastly, the *Wanyamongo* clansmen are found in Kemambo and Matongo Wards (LHRC, 2011). On the contrary, wealth among the Kuria tribe around North Mara mine is not evenly distributed. Despite the fact that, existence of Artisanal and small scale mining activities which have taken place for years (ICMM, 2007).

Furthermore, the Kuria tribe around North Mara mine has had conflicts for a very long time even before the presence of the mine. Interestingly, the Kuria tribe perceives conflict as part of their tradition and customs (The African team, 2006). In addition, Tarime District over the years has been involved into inter-ethnic (meaning between tribes like Kuria and Luo) and intra ethnic (meaning within the Kuria tribe amongst the clans) conflicts frequently over land, cattle and superiority (Fleisher, 2000).

For this reason, Hogg and Vaughan (2002) emphasizes that whenever one group, especially of the same ethnicity hates one another to the extent of fighting and killing each other, based on the little differences among themselves; it is clear there is a problem that needs serious attention and studies for the cause. The consequences of inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic conflicts in the region have had devastating effects. These effects extend to the social lives of the individuals, the district and the whole nation (Iddy, 2007).

A further instance of this is observed through the inter-clan conflicts between the Kira and the Nchari in 1992 to 2006 which saw about 300 households abandoned by the Nchari. Also, the conflict during the same time led to death of 17 people leaving 77 injured, 81 acres of land and 130 houses were burnt (Iddy, 2007). In addition, the inter-clan conflicts between the Kira, Nchari and Renchoka lead to the death of at least 6 people each year from 1992 to 2006. Consequently, these clan conflicts have affected the social wellbeing of the people in this region leading to unwillingness of people to interact and restrictions of inter marriages from outside clans (The African team, 2006; Iddy, 2007).

The Kuria tribe is one of the ethnic groups in Tanzania that is highly categorized into ethnic groups. Furthermore, the history shows that the Kuria tribe was divided into twenty groups in form of clans. But, some of the clans vanished as a result of hunger, diseases and majorly the inter clan conflicts that were dominant (Gweso, 1979; Tobisson, 1986). The cause of the intra-clan and inter-ethnic conflicts has different perspective among the people. However, the major reason is the perception of each clan as being an independent tribe and being very different from the major Kuria ethnic group.

Moreover, resources are shared based on the definition of clan groups. Therefore, competition over resources is immense since the Kuria tribe does not consider itself as being one but rather subdivided into clans. Consequently, inter-clan conflicts arise in demand for the resources available (Mahende, 2012). Due to this differentiation the Kuria tribe in each clan consistently formulates and manipulates norms, values and other rules. This is done to fit and distinguish one group from the rest.

Eventually, the agreed values and norms make people behave the way they do to date (Hogg & Reid, 2006).

Moreover, resources among the Kuria tribe have led to several conflicts among the different clans. The following identified available resources were considered very important for the Kurians: land, cattle, water sources, grazing areas, crops and roads. However, the prolonged and immense inter-clan conflicts have notably been expressed over land and cattle resources in North Mara. Since, resources belong to a particular clan and therefore it's a collective responsibility and ownership. Hence, if an individual from one clan is in competition with another individual from the other clan over land then this is no longer an individual conflict but rather an inter-clan conflict. In other words, clans cling into the concepts of them, *'theirs'* and we *'ours'* as a way to distribute their resources. This division manifests into huge clan conflicts that is seen today from the Kuria tribe (Mahende, 2012).

Conflicts around North Mara mine have existed for centuries even before the discoveries of gold. However, with the discoveries of the gold mine and especially the presence of large scale mining by a multi-national company, North Mara mine now faces new dynamics of conflicts associated with extraction of gold. Besides, it has been observed that large scale mining operations in the world and particularly in Africa have had a number of conflicting issues with the local communities. The conflicts include, but not limited to, group marginalization, especially women, human right abuse by police and mining workers, pollution of both water and air through mining operations, employment demands, support of local groups financially

and relocation and compensation of people for mining activities (Kemp et al., 2011; Schueler et al., 2011).

Therefore, conflicts in North Mara mine related to extraction industry are not only related to the aforementioned reasons above. Moreover, the feeling among the local communities that gold is stolen from their lands by the mining company. Consequently, the mining company benefits from gold extraction leaving the local community in extreme poverty (Bebbington et al., 2008; Kemp et al., 2011). However, the Kuria tribe believes gold in North Mara belongs to their spirits and the gods. From this note, the Kuria tribe believes to have the right for extracting gold even on the lease of the mining company. This constantly causes conflict between the Kuria and the mining company.

Moreover, the conflicts in North Mara Mine continue to focus on the corporate social responsibility offered by the mining company. Corporate social responsibilities aim to build trust and good relationship with the local communities. The local communities have continuously claimed the mining company has not done enough in the area of corporate social responsibility compared to the profit the company gets from extraction of gold. This belief among the local communities has denied the mine social license to operate in the community. This leads to continuous conflicts between the local communities and the mining company (Lange, 2006).

Furthermore, lack of knowledge and understanding of the extent to which the mining company is responsible for the corporate social responsibility to the local communities is what escalates conflicts around the North Mara mine (Frank, 2009;

Kemp et al., 2011). Also, North Mara Mine currently experiences intrusion activities from the Kurian youths who enter into mining premises during the day or night to look for gold bearing materials. The continuous mining intrusion has led to constant conflicts between the local communities, the police and the mining company. The mining intrusion activities have resulted to deaths and injuries of both the intruders and the police. For instance, in December 2008, there were a number of intruders who entered the mine with local weapons such as bows, arrows and machetes and destroyed equipments worth $727 million.

As a result of this, one intruder was shot dead by the police who were brought in to remove the groups of intruders who entered the mine (Cooksey & Kelsall, 2011). It is important to note that, the North Mara Mine is located between the seven villages of Kewanja, Matongo, Genkuru, Nyamwaga, Nyakunguru, Nyangoto and Kerende. These villages are surrounded by huge piles of sand damped around the villages. This situation leads unclear boundaries between the villages and the mining company area.

The presence of the mine within the villages contributes to the dynamics of conflicts in the area. Besides, local communities depend on the mine for everything and when things are not done as the community demands conflicts arise from such demands (Mlowe & Olengurumwa, 2011). Therefore, this study aimed to find out the dynamics of conflict of the Kuria tribe around North Mara mine. Furthermore, the study shows the evolution of conflict of the Kuria tribe before and after the discoveries of the gold mine in North Mara.

1.3   Statement of the Problem

North Mara has been famous over the years for constant conflicts amongst the Kuria tribe over cattle rustling, land and clan superiority complexes. However, the conflicts amongst the Kuria tribe have been reported to diminish from the beginning of 2009. This has been attributed to the establishment of a special police zone in Tarime-Rorya by the Government of Tanzania to deal with cattle rustling, land and regular clan conflicts (Tanzania Daily news, 2013). The establishment of the special police zone in Tarime-Rorya aimed at reducing the constant conflicts among the Kuria tribe in order to foster peace and respect within the society. To admit this, two business people at Tarime town said:

> *"This is a new Tarime. Imagine people are trading until midnight. In*
>
> *the past, people closed shops before sunset simply because there was*
>
> *no security,"* (Tanzania Daily news, 2013).

However, since 2006 when African Barick Gold bought the North Mara Mine from the Placer Dome Tanzania (Obulutsa, 2008), there have been both economic and social benefits to the local communities such as job opportunities and government revenue collections. Despite, the social and economic benefits to the local communities', conflicts around the North Mara Mine have escalated amongst the Kuria tribe themselves and between the Kuria tribe and the African Barick Gold the investor in this area.

Moreover, the conflicts around North Mara Mine have had different dynamics including: conflicts between the artisanal-small scale miners and African Barick Gold, lack of community engagement and consultation, disputes over land use and

economic compensations, environmental concerns, over expectations on social and economic benefits, lack of information on mining impacts, un acceptance of large scale mining and clan conflicts over the areas of intrusion at the African Barick Gold lease (Carstens & Hilson, 2009). In addition, these dynamics of conflicts around North Mara Mine have made it difficult to attain a better relationship between African Barick Gold and the Kuria tribe. A peaceful and respectful society has been difficult to attain as envisaged.

The current situation around North Mara Mine replete with conflicts as shown in the dynamics of conflict earlier calls for immediate attention. If the situation is not addressed and remedies identified it may lead to an explosive atmosphere around North Mara Mine. This situation eventually denies government revenues for development, lack of willingness for future investments around North Mara Mine and continuous clan conflict amongst the Kuria tribe. Therefore, this study intended to find out the dynamics of conflict of the Kuria tribe around North Mara mine so as to help the policy and decision makers review and improve the investment and mining policies.

1.4   Research Objectives

1.4.1   General Objective

The general objective of this study was to find out the dynamics of conflict of the Kuria tribe around North Mara mine.

1.4.2   Specific Objectives

The study specifically aimed to:

(i) To identify aggressive behavior of the Kuria tribe around North Mara mine.

(ii) To investigate the dynamics of conflictual relations between African Barick Gold and Kuria tribe around North Mara mine.

(iii) To assess the interventions done by governmental and Non-Governmental actors in addressing the dynamics of conflicts of the Kuria tribe around North Mara mine.

1.5 Research Questions

The study was guided by the following research questions:

(i) What contributes to aggressive behavior of the Kuria tribe around North Mara mine?

(ii) What are the dynamics of conflictual relations between African Barick Gold and Kuria tribe around North Mara mine?

(iii) What interventions are done by governmental and Non-Governmental actors in addressing the dynamics of conflicts of the Kuria tribe around North Mara mine?

1.6 Significance of the Study

Conflict is natural, neutral, and normal for all human beings and it is a dynamic of life that drives individuals into the future. Therefore, no particular individual can claim to be free from conflicts at any given point in time. However, when conflicts escalate and are not resolved constructively there ought to be violent conflicts that may lead to effects such as death, injuries, poor relationships, mistrust and poverty.

Moreover, the existence of different dynamics of conflicts at North Mara Mine leads to many negative effects both socially and economically to the Kuria people and the investor. These effects necessitated the study to understand the cultural contributions to the dynamics of conflicts and the interest behind relationship of conflict between the Kuria tribe and African Barick Gold. Hence, the study intends to help the Kuria tribe around North Mara Mine and African Barick Gold to solve their conflicts constructively.

Generally, the results of this study contributes to the broad body of knowledge and assist the policy and decision makers to improve the strategies and the implementation of the mining and investment policies. Furthermore, this study enables the government (including the police, social welfare, community department, Tarime District and the entire central and local government authorities), Non Governmental actors (Local and International organizations) and the investors to understand the dynamics of conflicts existing around North Mara area so as to improve their working relationships and avoid unnecessary conflicts.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1   Introduction

This chapter reviews appropriate literature relevant to the study. A review intends to evaluate reports of related studies on the selected phenomenon, which aims to describe, summarizes, evaluate and clarify the phenomenon under study. Apart from reviewing the same, the chapter also provides a theoretical framework for the study at hand (Kirby et al., 2006). The chapter covers not only the relevant materials obtained from secondary sources but also the relationship between these materials and the nature and objectives of this study.

2.2   Definition of Terms

2.2.1   Mining

According to the Tanzania Mining Act (2010), means a deliberate action to mine minerals, and includes any operations directly or indirectly necessary therefore or incidental thereto, including such processing of minerals as may be required to produce a first saleable product, and "mining" shall be construed accordingly.

2.2.2   Conflict

Refer to a situation that occurs in a particular society when individual's needs, wants and obligations are not compatible with the rest of the members in a community. Besides, conflict is a result of continuous disagreement which is characterized by the presence of conflict behavior, in which the beings are actively trying to damage one another (Rahim, 2010).

2.2.3   Artisanal and Small Scale Mining

Mwaipopo et al. (2004:20) explain from field observations that the artisanal activities can be identified as being smaller operations involving smaller groups of 2 to 5 people working together in a pit. Small-scale miners, on the other hand, include those that operate in licensed claim holdings through either leasing specific areas to pit owners or developing the pits and employing miners.

2.3   Review of the Empirical Literature

2.3.1   Natural Resources at the Heart of Conflicts

Most developing countries depend on natural resources as part of their income, industry, and identity. Besides, individual livelihoods are dependent on the same natural resources such as agriculture; fisheries, minerals, and forests. These natural resources are projected to be used by half of the world's population leading to the country's ability to modernize its economy (Bannon and Collier, 2003).

It should be noted that, natural resources are classified into how they are used. For instance, resources that are used purposely in the local context have little impact beyond the local context include water and land. Nevertheless, resources like timber, minerals, and oil, have impact beyond the local context and therefore produce revenue for the whole country. In fact, the resources that produce revenue are the ones that lead to many problems in the communities. This situation at times is referred to as the '*resource curse*' a paradox which means the presence of plenty natural resources in a country but have less economic growth compared to the countries that do not have natural resources (Humphreys et al., 2007). However, this

paradox may not be applicable to all the countries since other countries have developed through the use of their natural resources like Botswana whose economy has been built on diamonds mining (Kedikilwe, 2009). Competitions over the natural resources in the society may lead to the increase of conflicts. This situation may result into violence and have huge effects to political, economic, cultural, or religious issues in the society (Conca and Dabelko, 2002).

It is an obvious fact that natural resources have a very close relationship with the existence of conflict in their areas of presence. This fact has been substantiated by scholars who propose theories that clarify the role of natural resources in conflict. One theory shows how scarcity resources can lead into conflicts but the other theory shows how abundance resources can lead into conflicts, both theories are explained below (Dobkowski et al., 2002).

Conflicts initiated through scarcity of resources have been thoroughly explained by the neo-Malthusian theories. Turchin (2006) proposes that resources exhaustion, unequal distribution of resources and environmental degradation are a result of a population increase. This subsequently leads to intensified poverty and income inequality among the community members. It is an obvious fact that the scarcity of resources in any community can lead into grievances, rebellion and societal conflict. Furthermore, a society can experience a range of internal disputes and or ethnic clashes due to such issues like pollution of fresh water by a factory and population migration increase in demand for scarce resources such as timber, water, gold and land (Gausset et al., 2005).

Nevertheless, Murshed (2001) claims that it is resource abundance and not resource scarcity that contributes greatly to conflicts in a society. In addition, the term '*resource curse*' has been used to those countries whose natural resources have not enabled the country to grow economically. But, the presence of natural resources has led to corruption, economic stagnation, and violent conflict over access to revenues.

This can further be exemplified by countries' whose natural resources like timber, diamond and oil have been used to fund and propagate conflicts amongst themselves. Such countries include but not limited to Cambodian government with the rebel group Khmer Rouge and Iraq government with Kurds, Sunni, and Shiites (Klare, 2002). To summarize the explanations of both theories above regardless of the strength of any theory, it is true that conflicts are created in the environment of both scarcity and abundance. Therefore, scarcity and abundance of natural resources can lead to violent conflicts affecting the social wellbeing of the entire community.

2.3.2 The Impact of Conflicts to the Social Welfare of Individuals

Social welfare is an important aspect in human life through which human beings interact with the social circumstances in life. The social circumstances include the way an individual lives and behaves with others in the community, at home and in the working environment. Social welfare aims to reinforce human resources and to capitalize on human potential in dealing with various challenges present in the world of political, social, economic, globalized and cultural change (Kendall, 1961).

However, the presence of constant conflicts in the community leads to unrealized social welfare for the people. Constant conflicts will have adequate effects to social

welfare including poverty, family breakdowns, juvenile delinquency, inequality of opportunity, emotional disturbance, mistrust, poor relations in the community among others (Esping-Andersen, 1996).

2.3.3 Conflicts between Local Communities and Mining Investors

Investors in extractive industry through their extraction activities can transform considerably the environment, communities and economies in the areas they work in. Despite, the positives that may be shown by extractive industries, the transformations made to the environment may lead to conflicts or disputes between the local communities and the mining investors.

Such conflicts may result into denial of social license to operate by the local communities which at the end may be costly to the company, local communities, and the country at large (Bridge, 2004). Additionally, investors in extractive industries experience most conflicts from the local communities especially when developmental changes brought by mining companies in the local communities are not compatible with the interests of the community members (Kemp et al., 2010b).

On the other hand, most mining investors at times are very competent in managing conflicts and disputes in their areas of operations which include employees, consumers, business partners and business to government relations. Moreover, it has been observed that most mining companies are not very competent in understanding the benefits that may be acquired by establishing better working relationships with the local communities (Franks, 2011). With reference from other mining operations

in Tanzania, Lange (2006) demonstrates how Mererani and Geita local communities faced conflicts between small scale miners and foreign investors. These conflicts attributed to poor local governance which opened up a room for corruption where few individuals benefited and eventually affected the local political processes in the local communities.

Unfortunately, mining companies and the government are interested in profits and royalties respectively from the extraction activities. Therefore, this situation has led local communities' interests to be ignored by both the government and the mining companies. Besides, the continuous conflicts between the local communities and the mining investor results from less effort to address the associated conflicts from the local communities which are taken for granted (SID, 2009).

Moreover, conflicts that are observed between the local communities and the mining investors are as a result of many factors from both the communities and the mining company. Therefore, the mining companies led to continuous conflicts with the local communities in the mining regions due to pollution of water sources from mercury and cyanide, dust, mine pits, cracking and the collapse of buildings surrounding the mining areas (LHRC, 2010).

Also, Lugoe (2012) emphasizes that conflicts occur in the phases of mining operations including mining explorations, extractions and marketing. Generally, the conflicts and discontents that involve the local communities and the mining companies are as a result of land access, its acquisition and use, safety in and around mines, environmental and land degradation, value for money in compensation for

loss and damage, mining contracts including the aspects of royalties and taxation, corruption and the rule of law, the process of making and implementation of policies and laws, inadequate social corporate responsibility of mining companies, and the sharing of natural non-mineral resources such water rights and forests that mining activities impinge upon.

Furthermore, conflicts between local communities and the mining companies have been accelerated due to displacements of artisanal and small scale miners. This situation resulted to landless classes, food insecurities, increased poverty and environmental degradation. Moreover, there are continuous social conflicts between small scale miners and the mining companies over the land that has been leased to the mining company but it is yet to be used by the mining company. It is for this reason therefore, many small scale miner have entered into those areas resulting into huge conflicts as seen in the mining areas of Kahama, Mererani and North Mara (Mihayo, 2003).

Generally, it has been argued that for mining companies to make their intended profit they should collaborate with the local communities to improve the environmental and social standards (Lugoe, 2012). Moreover, it is less costly for the mining companies to invest in building relations with the local communities than addressing the outcomes of conflicts. It should be known that, the local communities are not against the development initiatives but rather they oppose being involved to little in the developmental proceedings taking place in their areas (Newenham-Kahindi, 2011).

2.3.4 The Interaction between Local Communities and the Mining Companies

The mining companies in developing countries do not consider the local communities as integral part in their mining activities. The general view among the local communities is that mining companies are purely for economic gains. Therefore, the local communities are worried of not benefiting anyhow from the mine produce.

However, the mining companies invest a lot of money in exploration in order to determine if there is enough deposit to be exploited. It is for this reason the mining company's first priority is not to establish relationship with the local communities until it is certain that extraction will take place (McMahon, 2000). Moreover, it is from lack of communication and understanding the local communities develop fear and mistrust between them and the mining company (Chan, 2004).

The government creates a good working environment for the investors in order to ensure a fair share of profit is attained by the mining companies. However, these government efforts do not provide assurance of a good relationship between mining companies and communities living adjacent to their areas of operation. In most cases, the mining companies tend to realize the social needs of the community surrounding them own their own. It is through continuous interactions between both parties and most times these efforts do not address all the needs at the same time leading to disputes with the local communities.

Furthermore, the government and communities tend to agree that mining companies shall not carry the full burden of alleviating poverty by improving social services.

Rather, the government and communities themselves must have a hand in ensuring that poverty is alleviated. Therefore, a good relationship between the local communities and the mining company will exist if the communities, the mine and the government are aware of their responsibilities and each part act accordingly. Having done this the mining companies will no longer be seen as enemies who have come to take super normal profits and leave the communities in abject poverty (Mfugale, 2013).

2.3.5 Governance in Mining Areas

First and foremost, it is important to understand what governance means in extractive industries since it has widely been used in this area. Governance means the process of making decision depending on who makes the decisions under what basis and generally the manner in which decisions are implemented or not (Lugoe, 2010). Moreover, governance involves the use of policies, institutions, processes and power. But, in the actual sense governance is more about the processes and politics rather than the definite contents of the policies and laws (Grant, 2009).

Governance occurs from the local, national to international levels, involving different actors in the nation, communities, firms and households. In fact, governance at the national level is not limited to governments only but, involves the private sector and civil society organizations. Moreover, governance in the mining sector involves many actors including the government of Tanzania, mining companies, local communities around the mines. These actor at some point owned properties prior to the establishment of the large scale mining. Therefore, these actors have decisions to make in their environment before changes take place for the greater good of all

parties (Lugoe, 2012). The mining sector in Tanzania still faces a number of challenges which necessitated the experts and civil society organization to conduct a number of studies. These studies aimed to report on the mining operations in order to improve on the decision making processes. Again, it is important to note that while discussing governance in extractive industries the focus lies on getting good governance and legislations in this sector.

Therefore, good governance is based on major eight tenets including participatory, agreements, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and is based on the rule of law (Lugoe, 2012). More importantly, the present and future needs of a society around the mining areas can be obtained if good governance ensures corruption is reduced. Additionally, the views of the local communities are considered, and the vulnerable groups in a society are involved in decision making in matters that affect their lives (Lugoe, 2010).

Unquestionably, governance in the areas of GDP/GNI and employment has not met the expectations of most people in the Government, non-Governmental Organizations and the communities where mining activities actually take place. It is for this reason therefore, the local communities have not largely supported mining operations leading to regular conflicts between the local communities and the mining investors (Lugoe, 2012).

Moreover, conflicts between local communities and the mining companies over land use have been observed in almost all the mining sites in Tanzania. The main reasons for these conflicts encompass the displacement of people and the very low

compensations which leave many people dissatisfied and hence, jeopardized security and labor relations at the mining areas. Therefore, good governance should be practiced since the mines are present in the local context of the community members (Lugoe, 2012).

Additionally, Land Act (Cap 113) of 1999 has not defined minerals as part of the land, despite the fact that minerals are obtained beneath the ground. Furthermore, the Land Act (Cap 113) section 4 (4) recognizes a '*mineral land*' only after minerals have been proven to exist in that particular land. Hereafter, all other categories of land will be forsaken except for the lands that have been declared reserved. As a consequence of disharmony between the land and mineral acts a lot of conflicts between the mineral investors and local communities rose in demand for appropriate governance procedures in order to harmonize both acts mentioned above.

Generally, due to various conflicts arising from mining sector from different parts of the world different stakeholders with varying interests lack a general platform to make decisions together. Hence, governance is an area of serious concern in this sector. Furthermore, good governance in the mining sector will maintain peace and reduce conflicts between the local communities and the mining companies. The continuous conflicts have turned the mining sector into a "curse" in many developing countries including Tanzania (Lugoe, 2010).

2.3.6 The Mining Situation in North Mara Mine

For years it has been reported and observed that North Mara Mine has had recurrent conflicts between the local communities, police and the management of the mine. In

fact, since 2006 when African Barrick Gold, a subsidiary of the Canadian mining giant Barrick Gold Corporation took over the mine it has been accused of human rights violations, environmental pollution, violence and sexual abuse to the surrounding local communities (Mlowe & Olengurumwa, 2011).

Despite the fact that, a number of abuse and conflict cases have been reported in North Mara Mine. African Barrick Gold (ABG) has continued to seek a social license to operate from the local communities by adhering to corporate social responsibilities. Some of the implemented projects include a total of 12 schools in the surrounding villages 7 primary and 5 secondary schools have been built, construction and repairs of 15 local hospitals, construction of 65 deep water wells, Vocational Education support for an average of 15 students per year from 2008 and repair of 4.7 kilometer village roads among others (Kahindi, 2011).

On the contrary, the local communities in North Mara Mine are not impressed with the corporate social responsibilities done ABG and believe that the mine has not done enough to assist the local communities to get out of poverty but rather propagate it even more. Interestingly, here is what the Tarime Member of Parliament had to say:

> *"The situation is bad because they're making a lot of money taking minerals from the land while the people of Tarime remain poor,"* he says. *"Right now, there are a few examples of community service, like the school, clinic and water projects. But it isn't enough. The mine often invites me to launch their projects, but I refuse to go until the mine fulfils their commitments on water, health, electricity and education"* (The Citizen, 2014).

2.4 Theoretical Framework

2.4.1 Foundation to Human Ecology Theory

The term ecology as a discipline is originated from the Greeks and from a number of natural historians (Davis and Wagner, 2003). In 1866 the term ecology was coined by Ernst Haeckel to mean the economy of nature. Ernst Haeckel adopted this terminology form Carl Linnaeus and it is from here on the connections of human ecology were brought into light (Odum and Barrett, 2005). Furthermore, Linnaeus through his early ideas he presented the aspects of human ecology by emphasizing on the balance of nature and the importance of ecological functions which in exchange provided humans with basic needs of life. His work went on to influence others scholars including Charles Darwin (Reid, 2009).

Generally, human ecology theory was kept into practice by Paul Sears in 1954 in the areas of population explosion of humanity, global resource limits and pollution. However, Paul Sears in his previous works he noticed that human actions with the environment have adverse effects. Therefore, he noted that:

> *"What is important is the work to be done rather than the label and when we as a profession learn to diagnose the total landscape, not only as the basis of our culture, but as an expression of it, and to share our special knowledge as widely as we can, we need not fear that our work will be ignored or that our efforts will be unappreciated"* (Borden, 2008).

2.4.1.1 Introduction of Human Ecology Theory

Events of the past can be understood and predicted on their outcomes in the future more accurately through human interaction theories. For this reason therefore, the

study will be guided by Human ecology theory which means the way in which human beings interact with their environments in order to make sense of their living ways. Also, this theory takes into consideration of the biological, social, and physical aspects of the organism in a particular environment. Moreover, the environment in this case may be human constructed, natural world and social-cultural settings in which the organism is present (Bubolz and Sontag, 1993).

It should be noted that, human ecology theory consists of three major elements which include: human beings, their environment, and the interactions between them. To start with, human beings are a group of individuals who depend entirely on their environment for survival. On the other hand the natural environment is made up of atmosphere, climate, plants, and microorganisms that support life. Lastly, human constructed environment include such things as roads, machines, shelter, and material goods (Klein and White, 1996). Also, Sontag and Bubolz (1996) emphasize that, both natural and human constructed environments are the social-cultural environment. Such environments include other human beings, cultural constructs such as language, law, and values; and social-economic institutions such as market economy and regulatory systems.

Human ecology theory analysis is based on how human's behavior is affected by the natural and human created environments. In addition, how the environments are influenced by the individuals and families who exploit it (Bubolz and Sontag, 1993). Again, human ecology views how the persons and the environment are connected through mutual influence and change (Liu et al., 2007). Bubolz and Sontag (1993) outline three broad tenets which are best answered by human ecology theory. These

tenets show the areas in which the knowledge base can be contributed to. The tenets include:

(i) Understanding the processes by which families function and adapt, also, the way families ensure survival, improve their quality of life, and sustain their natural resources.

(ii) The way various kinds and levels of environmental changes affect human development and the way the family system adapt to the changes made by the new environment.

(iii) What changes are necessary to improve humans' lives? How can families and family professionals contribute to the process of change?

Indeed, the basic premise of a human ecology theory is stated on the interdependence of the natural resources of the world with the people who compose the earth. In fact, it has been realized that, the health ecological systems of the world is dependent on decisions and actions of the nations, individuals and families. However, human ecological theoretical perspective is important in the analytical phase due to sufficient information that is provided from the complex interactions between humans and their environments. Also, human ecology theory continues to provide clear understandings of the complex realities of the families with their environments (Liu et al., 2007).

2.4.1.2 The Relevance of Human Ecology Theory in this Study

Human ecology theory has been used to address, analyse and describe the human interactions with their environments and the necessary outcomes of such interactions. Despite, the theory not being very popular in recent years, issues such as children

and families, abuse in families especially towards children and ethnic conflicts have been analyzed by human ecology theory.

Considering the arguments of Sontag and Bubolz (1996), they analyze the interactions between farm enterprises and the family. This interaction between the farm and the family cannot be separated from the two because the decisions made by the family have huge influence to what happens on the farm enterprise. However, the farm produce may also affect the decisions of the family members especially when it comes to distribution and ownership of the produce. Therefore, farm produce and the family members may lead to disputes and conflicts if the family members fail to reach agreements.

The study has been validated by addressing two tenets amongst the three developed by human ecology theory. The two tenets that have been addressed in this study include: Firstly, understanding the processes by which families function and adapt, also, the way families ensure survival, improve their quality of life, and sustain their natural resources (*The Kurians and their Environments*). Lastly, the way various kinds and levels of environmental changes affect human development and the way the family system adapt to the changes made by the new environment (*Large Scale Mining in the midst of the Kuria tribe*) (Bubolz and Sontag, 1993).

2.4.1.3 The Kurians and their Environments

The Kuria tribe in North Mara area has long been interacting with their environment and it is from such interactions that families survived. In addition, the human ecology theory stipulates very clearly that individuals interact with their environment

in order to obtain their basic needs. However, the individuals may be categorised into groups that share the same values, norms and traditions that guide them into how they should interact amongst themselves and with their environments (Klein and White, 1996).

In fact, the theory is strongly supported by how the Kuria tribes are divided into clans. But, it is important to note that before the Kurians were divided into clans they once belonged to the same ancestor and ethnic group of the Kuria. The Kurians speak the same language (*Kikuria*), have the same shape and size of the body, have similar values, norms, and beliefs and live in similar environments. But, the Kuria tribe now is divided into clans and each clan has developed its own group norms, values and other prototypes that identify them as a group and enable them to interact with their environment in accordance with their classifications (Hogg & Reid, 2006).

Moreover, human ecology theory highlights that human behavior is influenced by their environment both natural and human created. Besides, human behavior is more vivid when exploiting the resources present in their environments (Bubolz and Sontag, 1993). The observations from this theory are supported by the way Kuria tribe values of land and cattle as the resources that have changed their behavior. More importantly, with the division of the Kuria tribe into clans the need for resources has increased and hence leading to inter-clan conflicts. The conflicting behavior was more stipulated with the clan categorization rooted in cattle rustling amongst rival clans. Interestingly, before the division of the Kuria tribe into clans it was impossible for one to steal cattle from the fellow Kuria as it was considered taking your own property. But, after the division of the Kuria tribe into clans cattle

rustling was a new behavior that was supported by all clans and taken as pride and one clan elder emphasized that:

> *"Cattle theft is part of our culture; however, people are supposed to*
>
> *steal from a hostile clan (Olong'ongo) and not from their own clan"*
>
> (Mahende, 2012).

Besides, human ecology theory explains further on the interactions between individuals in a particular environment. Therefore, these interactions between individuals enable the environment to be exploited to the fullest (Sontag and Bubolz, 1996). Nevertheless, interactions amongst the Kuria tribe have led to conflicts amongst themselves due to clan categorizations. These clan categorizations have made people identify themselves as a particular group with certain values and norms and exclude those who are out of that particular group (Humphreys et al., 2002). It is for this reason therefore, clan superiority came into being. Even without competition for resource amongst the Kuria clans, conflicts would still exist in order to justify the superiority of each clan in all aspects of life (Iddy, 2007). Interestingly, one clan elder said:

> *"Conflicts among the Kuria clans are a normal custom of the people*
>
> *in Tarime district"* (The African team, 2006).

2.4.1.4 Large Scale Mining in the Midst of the Kuria Tribe

Human ecology theory stipulates environment as being both natural and human constructed. Natural environment is composed of atmosphere, climate, plants, and microorganisms that support life and a human constructed environment is composed of such things as roads, machines, shelter, and material goods (Klein and White,

1996). Therefore, this theory is validated by the North Mara Mine which has been a backbone of the Kuria tribe livelihood for approximately 50 years believing gold belongs to the gods and the spirits of the land. Hence, this natural resource has been an important component of the Kuria tribe for survival and all other economic activities. The economic activities such as agriculture and livestock keeping were reduced and gold mining took over as the major economic activity for the local communities around the North Mara Mine (Hall, 2010; Mwikwabe, 2011).

Moreover, the North Mara environment that the Kuria tribe depended for work and life based on small scale extraction of gold was eventually sold to Large Scale Mining Investors from 1990s receiving many mining investors to the land. Therefore, a new environmental change came into North Mara and changed the ways the Kuria tribe interacted with their environment. The changed environment led to issues like poverty, diseases and continuous conflicts among the local communities increased and affected the human developmental aspect as was used before (Mwikwabe, 2011).

However, because the Kuria tribe was used to interact with their environment through small scale mining to sustain their lives. The Kurian ways of interaction with the environment had changed since the areas that the local communities used to conduct small scale mining were occupied by the large scale mining investors. Therefore, the only place small scale mining would take place would be within the perimeters of the large scale mining company through collecting rocks containing ore from the piles of rocks dumped around the surrounding villages. The collected gold ore eventually would be sold to the traders around Lake Victoria who would

ultimately sell gold overseas preferably in the Asian Countries. Hence, a number of conflicts arose between the local community members, the police and the large scale mining company due to intrusion to the company's mining premises by the local communities (Bariyo & Stewart, 2009; Greenen, 2011).

Furthermore, human ecology theory emphasizes on the existence of other systems in the environment that individuals can interact with in order to adapt to changes within their environment (Klein and White, 1996). This theory is substantiated by the fact that large scale mining company as a new system in North Mara has made the Kuria tribe adapt to the changes in their environment through dependence to the mine in order to meet their daily requirement. Additionally, the large scale mining company signed contracts with the local communities in order to provide health facilities, road infrastructure, and water-supply services. Furthermore, a variety of community development programs were initiated from 2010 and from 2012 onwards African Barrick Gold (ABG) signed Village Benefit Agreements (VBAs) with all seven villages surrounding the mine. The Village Benefit Agreements comprised compensation of $100,000 and a total of $8.5millions was invested in the seven villages in order to boost the development of the local communities. All these initiatives were as a result of the existence of a new system in North Mara environment (The Citizen, 2011; Kisanga, 2012).

2.5   Research Gap

Several studies have been conducted in North Mara with regards to ongoing conflicts between the local communities and the mining companies in the area. These studies around conflict range from private individual studies for academic purposes to those

commissioned by the international organizations. All these studies have not clearly shown the actual dynamics of conflicts in North Mara.

The available literatures certainly indicate that, the Kurians have had conflicts amongst themselves in the past but recently, conflicts in North Mara have intensified due to the presence of the mining companies (LHRC, 2011; Mahende, 2012). This study therefore, fills the gap by describing the evolution of conflict of the Kuria tribe before and after the coming of the mining companies. The study further elaborates the way such evolution contributes greatly to the current ongoing conflicts with the mining company in North Mara today.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1   Introduction

Research methodology is a systematic way to solve a problem through describing work, explaining and predicting phenomena (Limb and Dwyer, 2001). The dynamics of conflict among the Kuria tribe in North Mara mine have been understood through qualitative and quantitative research methodology. Both methodologies provided quantified information and the social processes that lead to conflicts. Moreover, descriptive research design provided valid and reliable information to the research questions that aimed to understand the dynamics of conflicts in North Mara Mine.

This chapter covers research design and methodology of the study. Its subsections include: Research approach, research design, area of the study, data collection method and type of data, measurement procedures, population of the study, sample and sampling technique, data analysis procedures, reliability of data, limitation of the study and ethical consideration.

3.2   Research Design

Research design constitutes the blueprint for data that is required, the methods to be used in collecting and analysing data, and the way the research question will be answered (Brewer, 2000). The study used descriptive approach to give accurate information on the characteristics, for instance opinions, behavior, belief, knowledge and abilities of a particular group, individual or situation (Shields and Rangarjan, 2013). Descriptive approach involved both qualitative and quantitative research

methods which were used to understand the research problem more accurately in a single study. Moreover, neither qualitative nor quantitative research method is sufficient in itself to describe the trends and details of a situation such as the dynamics of conflict of Kuria tribe around North Mara Mine. Hence, when qualitative and quantitative research methods were used simultaneously it allowed for a robust and holistic capture and analysis of the events related to the problem in question (Creswell and Clark, 2011).

It is important to note that, quantitative research method relies on numerical data (Charles and Mertler, 2002). The positivists in this research method contend that truth is out there and needs to be studied in order to validate and generalize data objectively (Lincoln and Guba, 2000). Therefore, the researcher in this study has been objective in order to determine the appropriate instruments to that were used to capture the right information.

On the other hand, qualitative research method relies on categorical data (Charles and Mertler, 2002). This is mostly used by the constructionists who believe that truth does not exist anywhere but it is created by people (Lincoln and Guba, 2000). Hence, from this assumption the researcher subjectively looked at the ways participants understand their values in their real world. This enabled the researcher to gather accurate information from multiple factors related to the problem under study in the real world.

This study was, therefore, based on descriptive research design aimed to obtain both quantified information relating to the nature and character of the study sample.

Furthermore, find out rich contextual data by getting information from the sample about the social processes and social relations responsible for the dynamics of conflict of Kuria tribe around North Mara mine.

3.3 Research Methodology

This study used both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies to find out the dynamics of conflict of the Kuria tribe around North Mara mine. In quantitative methodology, questionnaires have been appropriate for a researcher to be able to: get unique information such as attitude and knowledge of the respondents, maintain respondent's privacy and save cost when resources are limited. Besides, the responses obtained from questionnaires can easily be quantified by the researcher, analysed scientifically and objectively, compared and contrasted from other similar studies to measure change and used to create or test the existing theories (Bernard, 1995).

Alternatively, qualitative methodology was explained through open-ended questions which focus to understand a given research problem from the views of the local community that is involved. Furthermore, qualitative research is effective in obtaining specific cultural information on the values, opinions, behaviors, and social contexts of particular populations. In addition, qualitative methods are helpful to portray intangible aspects in the community, such as social norms, socio-economic status, gender roles, ethnicity, and religion (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000).

Pope and Mays (2000) identify the three most common qualitative methods which include participant observation (Enable the researcher to describe existing situations

using the five senses), in-depth interviews (Aim to collect information from a wide range of people who have firsthand knowledge about the community), and focus groups (Provide a platform for a group of people to share their perceptions, opinions, beliefs, and attitudes towards a condition that affect their lives).

The dynamics of conflict of the Kuria tribe around North Mara mine have been found out by the use of close ended questions which aimed to create quantifiable data. Alternatively, the study aimed to use open-ended questions that provided the views of purposeful selected respondents. Through focus group discussion and key informant interview causes and effects have been found out to explain the existing conflicts in North Mara Mine. Hence, the information obtained from close ended questions was supplemented by the open ended information which is very much detailed.

Therefore, this study used both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies to obtain quantified and subjective data from the study. These methodologies found out the underlying cultural, social processes and social relations that are responsible for the dynamics of conflict of Kuria tribe around North Mara mine.

3.4   Area of the Study

This study was conducted at North Mara Mine in Tarime district. This area has been chosen essentially because there have been a variety of conflicts escalating in this area especially with the presence of the mining company known as African Barrick Gold. There have been constant conflicts between the local communities and the mining company but also clan conflicts as a result of mining activities. However, a

number of studies have been undertaken in this areas focusing on the conflicts between the small scale miners and large scale miners, the killings in North Mara mine and the abuse of Human Rights to the local communities surrounding the North Mara mine. Despite, all these studies conflicts have continued to take place. Therefore, this study aimed to find out the dynamics of conflict of Kuria tribe around North Mara mine.

3.4.1 Geographical Characteristics of Tarime District

Tarime District is found in the Lake zone of Tanzania and is among the six districts of the Mara region which covers about 11,137km square of land and water. It lies between latitudes 1^0 0' and $1^0$45', south of the Equator and longitudes $30^0$30'and $35^0$0' east of Greenwich. The geographical location of Tarime is bordered from the north to east by the Kenyan districts of Migori, Trans Mara and Kisii, and to the east by the Maasai Mara Game Reserve. To the south it is bordered across the Mara River by the Musoma Urban, Musoma Rural and Serengeti districts, and to the west by Rorya District (NBS, 2007).

According to the 2012 Tanzania National Census, the population of the Tarime District is 339,693. Moreover, NBS (2007) describes the dominant tribe in Tarime district is Kuria but other tribes exist in the district such as the Luya, the Simbiti, the Ryeli, the Luo, the Kine and the Iregi. Furthermore, almost 85% of the populations of the District Council are dependent on agriculture and animal husbandry for their livelihood. However, other economic activities take place in the region including small scale business activities, small scale mining and mineral extraction. Besides, Tarime district is a world renowned region for precious metals and precious stones

which has attracted some of the biggest industry players in the world, such as Barrick Gold of Canada.

3.5 Population of the Study

Bless et al., (2007) refers population as a set of elements that the research focuses upon and to which the results obtained by testing the samples should be generalized. The population of 18,719 local communities surrounding the North Mara Mine was involved in this study. Additionally, education and socio-economic status and the other stakeholders like village and community leaders, district level authorities and the management of the mine were included.

3.6 Sampling Procedures and Techniques

3.6.1 Sample

A sample is a set of respondents chosen from a larger population for a particular study (Salant and Dillman, 1994). The sample for this study included local communities (the Kurians) surrounding the North Mara Mine who were drawn from three villages of Kewanja, Genkuru Nyakunguru out of the seven villages present around North Mara Mine.

The three villages were selected through simple random sampling because all the seven villages are homogeneous in character. Above all, the Kurians live in accordance to clan categorization, where each clansmen act in compliance to clan requirements. The clan categorization determines the behavior of each clansman hence similar in nature.

3.6.2   Sampling Design

Sampling design is a specific plan for obtaining a sample from a given population, which is usually determined before data are collected (Kothari, 2004). This study based on the research questions that were addressed and nature of different respondents, whose information was extracted from, therefore used both Probability (simple random) sampling for quantitative data and non-probability (purposive) sampling for qualitative data.

For the purpose of quantitative data, Simple random sampling was used as it provides equal opportunities of selection for each element in a population (Thomson, 2012). Quantitative data was collected through questionnaires that got short and precise answers from respondents. The responses obtained was compared (similarities and differences of variables), summarised (presented precisely and shortly), statistically analysed (explained in numbers), tabulated and displayed diagrammatically (explained through tables).

Therefore, participants involved in filling questionnaires were randomly selected from the population of the three villages and each participant had an equal chance of being selected since they all shared the needed characteristics. Moreover, simple random sampling was selected for this study because is an appropriate strategy for generalising the selected sample to a large population. Besides, simple random sampling increases the likelihood of the collected data to represent the whole population of interest (Chaudhuri et al., 1999). Again, the researcher decided to use simple random sampling because bias can be avoided when the elements of the entire targeted population are given equal opportunity of selected (Manku, et al., 1999).

On the other hand, purposeful sampling was used to obtain qualitative data for this study. Bernard (2002) describes purposeful sampling as a deliberate choice of an informant because of the qualities possessed by the informant. Moreover, purposeful sampling does not require guiding theories or a definite number of informants but the researcher simply chooses the people with the knowledge and experience on the problem who are willing to provide the required information. Therefore, in order to obtain qualitative data the study used purposive sampling to select respondents for three Focus Group Discussions comprising ten people in each group making a total of thirty participants. Ten Key Informant Interviews were also selected purposively from the three village and three community leaders, three district official and one African Barrick officials.

Furthermore, key informants were selected because they are the members of the community and have much knowledge and experience about the culture and the problem. The key informants are also able and willing to share their knowledge (Lyon and Hardesty, 2005). The key informants were selected for one major reason that is the length of stay of about five years and above around North Mara Mine. The researcher decided to use purposeful sampling in data collection because he knew exactly the respondents that could provide accurate and reliable information. However, the researcher was aware of the bias that may result from purposeful selection of the respondents.

3.6.3 Sample Size

Fox, et al., (2007) explains the aim of qualitative research is to understand and give meaning to a social phenomenon. Therefore, sample sizes used in qualitative

research are always very small which neither need any specific numbers nor any statistical tests. However, quantitative researches quantify and generalise obtained data to a wider population in order to apply statistical tests. The sample size in this study was obtained for quantitative data only while for qualitative data was obtained through the principle of saturation.

Moreover, this study used the formula developed by Krejcie and Morgan (1970) to determine the quantitative sample size of the small population like that of the North Mara area. The formula follows below:

$$\text{Sample size} = \frac{\chi^2 NP(1-P)}{C^2(N-1) + \chi^2 P(1-P)}$$

Where χ^2 is the chi-square value for 1 degree of freedom at some desired probability level (3.841), N is the population size which is the total of 18,719 population of the three villages of Kewanja, Genkuru and Nyakunguru, according to village population registration books, P is the population parameter of a variable (0.5) and C^2 is the confidence interval (0.01) (Bernard, 1995). Therefore, from the above formula the calculated sample size is 95.54 which were approximated to 100 sample size.

From the selected sample above the researcher chose 60 community members (from the total of 18,719 community members of Kewanja, Nyakunguru and Genkuru). These community members were chosen to administer questionnaires because the community members reside in North Mara and they are very much aware of their villages. On the other hand, to find out the dynamics of conflicts existing in North Mara mine, six community leaders from Kewanja, Nyakunguru and Genkuru (two

chosen from each village), three district officials, and one mine community relations officer were purposively selected for in-depth interviews. The purposive selection of key informants was based on Carter and Beaulieu (1999) who describe key informants as individuals with firsthand knowledge about the community.

The researcher found purposive sampling useful in data collection because, the researcher understood which respondent to see for what interview, despite the danger of bias when selecting informants. More specifically, the researcher conducted three focus group discussions containing ten people in each village making a total of thirty respondents in all the three villages chosen for the study.

3.7   Data Collection Methods

This study used both primary and secondary data in gathering information. Walcott (2005) explains *primary data* are those which are collected afresh and for the first time, and thus happen to be original in character. *Secondary data,* on the other hand, are those which have already been collected by someone else and which have already been passed through the statistical process.

3.7.1   Primary Data Method

3.7.1.1 Focus Group Discussion

Provide a platform for a group of people to share their perceptions, opinions, beliefs, and attitudes towards a condition that affect their lives (Greenbaum, 2000). This study adopted this method because of its flexibility to find out unexpected issues as they arise in the discussion. Also, the results of this method have high validity because the method is widely understood and the findings are realistic. Furthermore,

focus groups are cheap, provide quick results and the sample size can be increased by allowing more people to be interviewed at the same time (Morgan, 1997). Besides, this research method has helped the study understand the nature and character of the Kuria tribe, the existing conflictual relations between the investor and local communities and the interventions used to address the dynamics of conflicts around North Mara Mine.

3.7.1.2 Key Informant Interviews

Aim to collect information from a wide range of people who have firsthand knowledge about the community (Carter and Beaulieu, 1999). The study used this method because the views of the participants on the interested phenomenon are respected (the emic perspective) and not the views of the researcher (the etic perspective). Moreover, this method allows for follow-up and clarification as soon as possible which enables the researcher to further understand the meanings attached by people on daily life practice through observation and interviews (Patton, 2002). Furthermore, this method assisted to gather valid information from different individuals with expertise, authority and experience including three village and three community leaders, three district level authorities and one mine representative. However, these individuals should be handling conflicts that happen in North Mara Mine in one way or the other and have been in their position for a period of five year and above.

3.7.1.3 Questionnaires and Surveys

Refer to research instrument comprised of a series of questions aimed to gather information from respondents in the area under study (Gillham, 2008). The choice

of this method was due to its accuracy, generalizability, and convenience, quantitative data on a certain problem can be obtained and research can be conducted in ethically sensitive areas (Czaja and Blair, 2005). This method has helped the study gather social demographic information such as age, education and economic status. Above all, this method has helped the study gather specific quantitative information on the dynamics of conflict of Kuria tribe around North Mara mine.

3.7.1.4 Observation

Observational research is a social research technique that involves the direct observation of phenomena in their natural setting (Hays, 2000). This method was important since it enabled the research become aware of the background information about the environment where the study was conducted, and to access non-verbal information. Observation enabled the researcher to see the way the local communities live around North Mara mine and the available social services provided to the communities by the mining company. By observing, the researcher confirmed some of the outcomes identified by the Kurian tribe during the in-depth interviews and focus group discussion. The observed phenomena included infrastructure such as roads, schools and health centre(s). By observing the way local communities built their houses very close to the mine it was very clear to the researcher that land compensation is one of the problems between the Kuria tribe and the mining company.

3.7.2 Secondary Data Methods

Baker (2000) points out that, secondary data aims to gather related information relevant to the study so as to enrich the study with appropriate resources related to

dynamics of conflict around North Mara Mine. Besides, this type of data collection constitutes an important source of data which was collected through library research. The library research reviewed and analyzed relevant literature from different government departments and academic institutions including published and unpublished reports, books and journals, and electronically stored materials.

3.8 Data Processing and Analysis

Data processing means editing, coding, classification and tabulation of collected data that are ready to analyse. However, data analysis means hypotheses testing and interpretation of findings through statistical tests of significance to determine the validity in which the conclusions would be based on. In other words analysis of data represents the way of testing hypotheses and supports the approach of achievement of findings and so the conclusions of the research is to be facilitated (Kothari, 2004).

The researcher analyzed the collected data at the end of the research day. This was easy to remember how respondents provided information especially from the focus group discussion and key informant interviews. Moreover, information provided by these two methods was summarized to get key findings, interpreted, explained and giving conclusions basing on the interpreted data which can be able to show information gaps. Quantitatively, the data analysis was done on the variables in order to determine their relationships, causal effects and difference. Besides, this was facilitated by the help of a computer program namely Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS version 15.0), from here statistics were generated and presented in graphs, charts and tables.

3.9   Instrument Reliability and Validity

According to Moskal, et al., (2000) reliability means the degree to which an assessment tool produces stable and consistent results. Therefore, questionnaires used in this study were tested in a small group to assess the validity and effectiveness. The reliability of the questionnaires was further tested through SPSS (Version 15.0) to determine the reliability of 52 (N) items in the questionnaire. Table 3.1 below shows the questionnaire as the research instrument to be reliable for 0.820 > 0.600. Later, the questionnaires were sent to an experienced researcher for evaluation before they were put to actual use.

Table 3.1: Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha(a)	N of Items
.820	52

Source: SPSS (Version 15.0) field tested questionnaire, (2015)

Furthermore, responses from the questionnaires were consistent throughout during data analysis. In this study, reliability was ensured by minimising sources of measurement error like data collector bias. Therefore, data collector bias was minimised by ensuring all questionnaires were administered by the researcher himself. Furthermore, the environment in which data collection was taking place was made comfortable by ensuring privacy, confidentiality and general physical comfort. Additionally, to ensure confidentiality the respondents were asked not to write their names on the questionnaires.

Validity complements reliability in verifying data in order to decrease the degree of errors that may rise from measurement problems in the study. Creswell and Miller

(2000) describe validity as the degree to which a research study measures what it intends to measure. The researcher having tested reliability of the questionnaire the same procedure was used to test validity of the questionnaire by using SPSS (Version 15.0). The questionnaire had 52 items (N) which were all tested and the overall results of Pearson Correlation was 0.615> 0.05 and Significant (2-tailed) was $0.000 < 0.05$ showed the instrument was valid.

On the other hand, validity in this study was established through comparing results from the questionnaires in order to see consistency of the results from the respondents. Besides, focus group discussions were used by the researcher to conduct member checking in order to improve the accuracy, credibility, validity, and transferability of the study (Rubin and Babbie, 2008). The researcher summarized or paraphrased information from the participants and then asked the participants if the interpretation was true and reflected their perspective. This was conducted during both data collection and analysis.

3.10   Limitation of the Study

To find out the dynamics of conflicts of the Kuria tribe around North Mara Mine incurred both time and money in order to exhaust the study fully. Moreover, the local communities around North Mara Mine found it hard to believe if this study was for academic purposes only. The respondents thought the study was conducted by the government or Non Governmental Organization hence they demanded to be paid in order to participate in the research sessions. This limitation was addressed by providing a written letter of authorization from the university to show that this research was purely for academic purposes only.

3.11   Ethical Consideration

Ethical issue refers to rule of conduct, principle or mechanism which guide the researcher prior, during and after their research activities either to do or not to do such things as plagiarism confidentiality and anonymity (Lo, 2009). Therefore, the researcher in this study approached the village, community leaders and mine management to inform them the need of the research. The researcher then sought consent of the leaders to participate in the study and also sought their permission to have respondents from their villages, communities and the mine. Finally, the respondents who were selected purposeful to participate in research their consent were sought before every interview session.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1   Introduction

This chapter presents research findings and discussions of the dynamics of conflict among the Kuria tribe living around North Mara mine. This research was guided by descriptive research design that provided precise and valid information of the collected data (Shields and Rangarjan, 2013). Moreover, the tools that helped to generate these findings included questionnaires, focus group discussions and Key informant interviews. This chapter will therefore address the three key research questions as discussed in chapter one. The research findings of the research questions and the discussions are presented here below.

4.2   Aggressive Behavior of the Kuria Tribe around North Mara Mine

4.2.1   Nature of Conflicts among the Kuria Tribe before Existence of Mining Companies

This question intended to find out the kinds of conflicts that the Kurias were involved before the coming of mining investors. The study revealed that land was the major source of conflicts among the Kurias as shown in Figure 4.1 49.4% of the respondents in this study said that land was the major source of conflicts compared to 33.5% of the respondents who said cattle was the major source of conflicts. Therefore, these findings show that land conflicts that exists to date between the Kuria tribe and the mining investor is not a new phenomenon. It is important to emphasize that land conflicts which exists today between the mining investors and

the Kuria tribe corresponds to the increasing demands of land. The local Kurias are very much in need of land; and so do the mining investors who demand land for different mining activities. This means, even without the presence of the mining investors the Kuria tribes would still be involved over land conflicts amongst themselves.

This statement of affair is similar to what was noted by Mahende (2012) that, land is the resource which Kuria clans frequently compete for and has greatly contributed to inter-clan hostility and prolonged inter-clan conflicts. For many years there have existed inter-clan boundary conflicts between Ng'ereng'ere and Korotambe villages occupied by the Kira and the Nchari clans of the Kuria ethnicity respectively. Besides, inter-clan land problems have been taken as a collective responsibility. For instance, when there is a land problem between two members of different clans, each clan comes forward to help their fellow clan member to fight over that piece of land. This process, therefore, has led to continuous conflicts for many years amongst the Kurias themselves. This statement was supported by this study during the Focus Group Discussion where one participant said:

> "…*We Kurians are divided into three major clans namely Wairegi, Wanyamongo and Wanyabasi. This means if the land of a member of one clan has been invaded or taken by another clan then, the whole clan will rise up to help that member to fight and bring back the land that has been invaded. This can be seen to date, youths from Nyamongo clan cannot go to intrude the mine to the side that belongs to the Nyabasi clan. If this happens I guarantee you, there will be fights between the two clans …*"
> (FGD with local communities at Genkuru Village, June 2015).
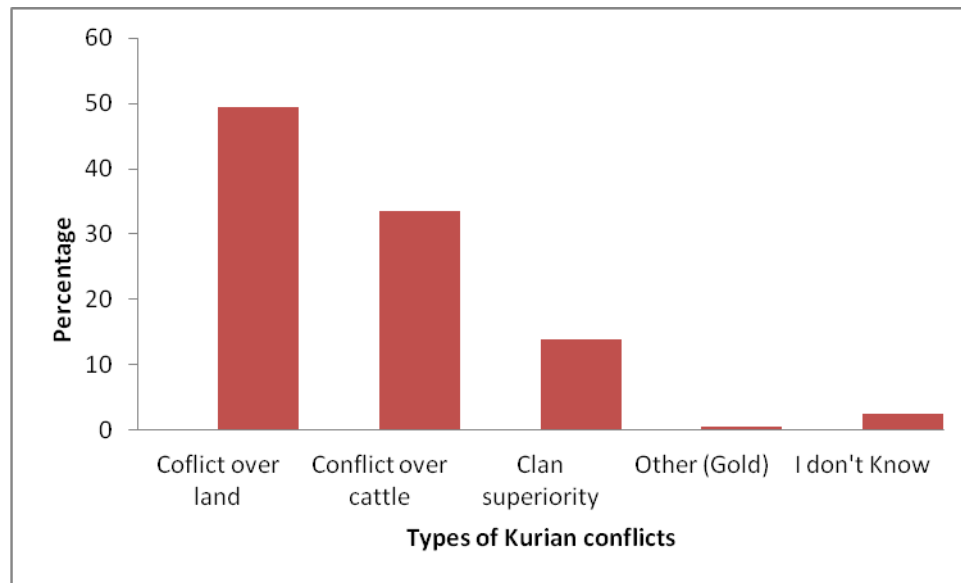
Figure 4.1: Kuria Tribal Conflicts that Existed Prior to Mining Investors
Source: Field Data (2015)

Furthermore, during a key stakeholder's interview with one of the clan leader in North Mara it was noted that land is the source of life to the Kurians. Land becomes much more important to the Kurians since the tribe keeps huge herds of cattle and needs large expanses of land for pasture for the cattle. This statement was substantiated by the Nyamongo clan leader who stated:

> "…*For us Kurias land is the source of life, we use it for cultivation, cattle herding and building houses. Therefore, if a Kuria doesn't have land it means he is as good as dead. That is why we have to fight for our lands that we inherited from our forefathers so that we may live…*" (Clan Leader at Kewanja Village, June 2015).

The findings of this study (Figure 4.1) show the relevance of Human Ecology Theory as discussed in this study. Human ecology theory asserts that human behavior is influenced by the environment both natural and human created. Besides, human

behavior is more vivid when exploiting the resources present in the environments (Bubolz and Sontag, 1993). The findings of this study show that, the Kuria tribe has been involved in land conflicts for many years even before the coming of the mining investors.

Therefore, this means that the Kuria tribe values land as the resource that provides life for their cattle and for themselves by getting grazing lands for the cattle and cultivation areas for themselves. In this case various conflicts have arisen from amongst the Kuria tribe when one's land was taken or invaded. Hence, the findings of this study validate the conflicts that North Mara experiences today over land issues between the mining investor and the Kurian tribe would have existed even if the mining activities were not taking place.

4.2.2   Means Used by the Kuria Tribe to Solve Conflicts in North Mara

The Kuria tribe still embraces strong traditional foundations in addressing conflicts locally laid down in their culture. This study revealed that, different dynamics of conflict that arise among the Kuria tribe are addressed traditionally. 48% of the respondents stated that most conflicts that arise in the community are handled by the clan leaders who are the most trusted and honored entities in the community.

On the other hand, 23% of the respondents claimed that conflicts are handled by the Police and Judiciary departments. Despite the presence of various conflicts amongst the Kuria tribe, this study revealed that, there still exist strong internal controls in the Kuria tribe in the ways that conflict is handled.
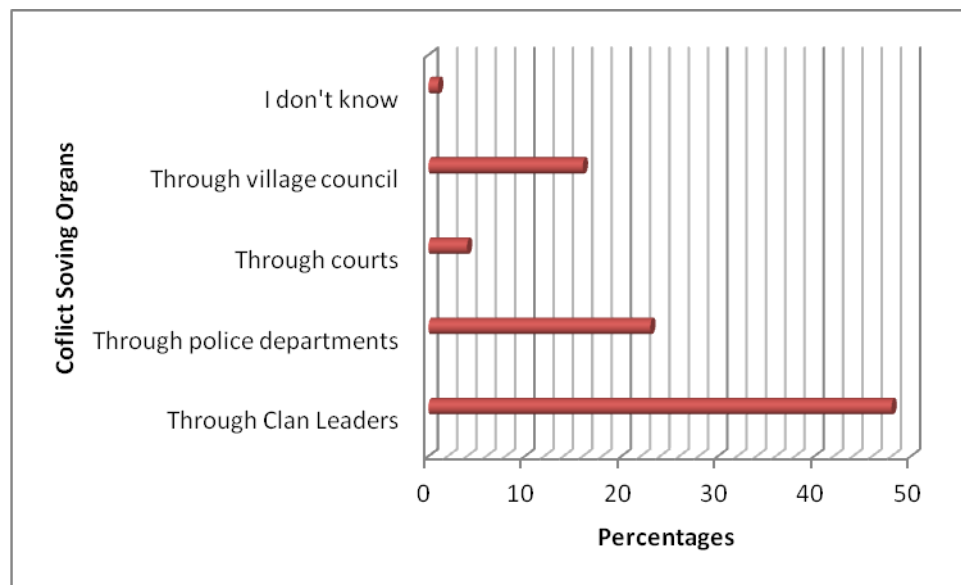
Figure 4.2: Ways used by Kuria Tribe to Solve Conflicts
Source: Field Data (2015)

Moreover, the Focus Group Discussions of this study (Figure 4.2) indicate that, the Kuria tribe still uses the clan leaders to address any conflicts that arise in the community. The respondents explained how different clans leaders solve conflicts; for example, if it is known that clansmen have been fighting over land and one of the persons involved has been hurt to bleed, then the clan leader will summon *Saiga* (the age group that was circumcised on the same day) to go and bring the conflicting parties. During the hearing, the clan leaders will ask the losing side to pay fines in terms of cows or vacate the area of the conflict.

On the other hand, the person who was hurt to bleed will need to be compensated by either slaughtering a cow or a goat in order to compensate for the lost blood. The ways used by the Kurians in resolving conflicts are not very different from the traditional mechanism used in Gorowa community in the Northern part of Tanzania. The study conducted by Emanuel, *et al* (2013) in Gorowa community revealed that,

traditional mechanism for resolving land conflicts varies depending on the nature and the extent of the conflicts. One of the respondents in the field survey narrated that; the kind of conflict found in communal land was related to some individuals who violated the rule that govern the collective ownership of land. Some individuals decided to take the piece of communal land and enclose as a private property. To resolve such a conflict, the elders meeting called '*kwatlmar barise'* was convened led by the experts following the procedure of conflicts resolution called '*bariser kwatlema'* where the accused person and culprit was called and asked about his decision and directed to withdrew his decision. In case, he agreed then the problem was solved.

However, in case some greedy people refused the advice given to them, in such a situation, another step was taken as a punishment, the wife of the concerned individual was asked to go back to her parents, she will be asked to send children to her in laws since in Gorowa tribe children belong to father's clan. Subsequently, collective decision was taken against individual by strictly prohibiting any member of the community to go to the house of such an individual. This action was called '*bayinisa'* in Gorowa's local language. Upon such an action, if a punished individual wants to resume the good relationship with the members of the community, it was his/her sole duty to find out elders and to ask for the meeting in which he was supposed to ask for forgiveness for his misdemeanor.

Depending on the extent of aggressiveness, relationship background to the members of the community, the decision was made to such an individual. In some circumstances, an individual was freely forgiven, or was asked to prepare the local

brew called *'bura'* which was shared by all members of the community who attended the meeting of resolving such conflict. In a circumstance which was serious a culprit was asked to provide a bull (*'awu'*) that was slaughtered and the meat was shared during the meeting, as a token for forgiveness of that person.

The findings of this study have been seconded by the Human Ecology Theory that emphasizes the interaction between the communities and their environment. The Kuria tribe in North Mara has long been interacting with their environment and it is from such interactions that families continue to exist. In addition, the human ecology theory stipulates very clearly that individuals interact with their environment in order to obtain their basic needs.

However, the individuals may be categorized into groups that share the same values, norms and traditions that guide them into how they should interact amongst themselves and with their environments (Klein and White, 1996). The results of this study have shown that, the Kuria tribe still holds to a tradition that conflict is managed within by the clan leaders who are the gate keepers to the community. The balance to this community is being maintained by the clan leaders who harmonize conflicts that arise in the community so that at the end the communities can be able to interact with themselves and their environment at large.

4.2.3   Natural Resources Most Valued by Kuria Tribe in North Mara

In this study (Figure 4.3) revealed that land is the most valuable natural resource followed by gold that is 50% and 42% respectively. As discussed above, most conflicts before the coming of the mining investors were associated with land.

Bearing in mind, land is the natural resource that is most valued by the Kuria tribe. On the other hand, gold is the second natural resource valued by the Kurians. Looking at all these two natural resources, it is evident that most conflicts that surround North Mara are embedded on them.

This finding is supported by Mlowe and Olengurumwa (2011) who noted that the main economic activities conducted by the Kuria tribe include agriculture, pastoralism and mining which are all done on the land. Furthermore, the local communities around the mine have relied on small scale mining for approximately 50 years. Therefore, the coming of the mining investors has seen Kurian's lands been occupied for various mining activities, leading to limited land for domestic uses and small scale mining activities by the Kurians. This situation has lead to frequent conflicts and clashes between the surrounding communities and the mining investors.
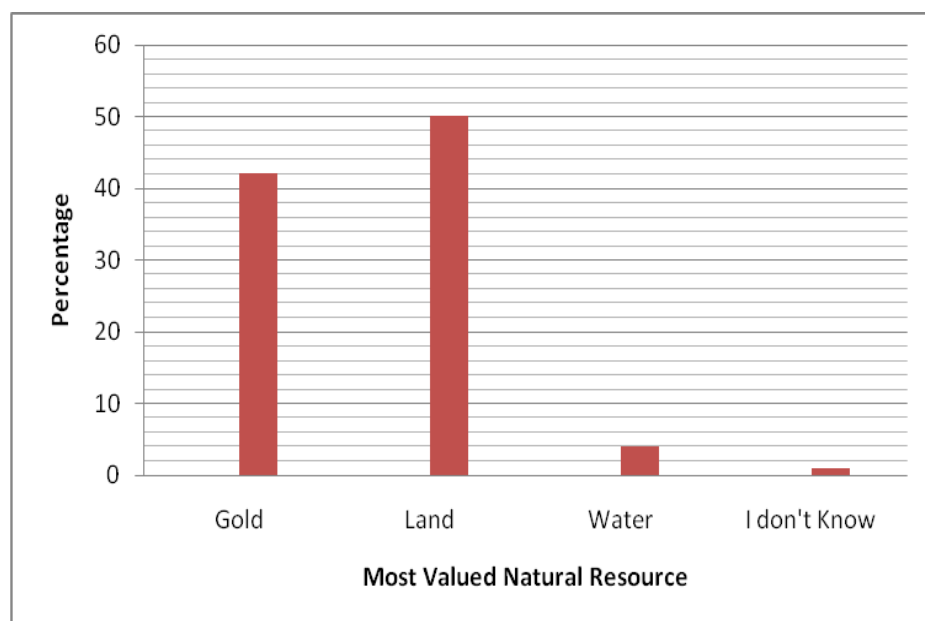
Figure 4.3: Natural Resources Most Valued by the Kuria Tribe

Source: Field Data (2015)

During the Focus Group Discussion, it was noted that, the historical conflicts over land amongst the Kuria tribe on natural resources still exist even today with the mining investor in the midst. One of the participants in the FGD at Nyakunguru village remarked that:

> *"...the land conflicts that are observed today between the local communities and the investors have a historical past; this is because land is the most valuable resource among the Kurians. In the past Kurians would fight against each other over land. This continues to date; but nowadays the land conflicts have immensely been associated with the mining investor..."* (FGD with local communities at Nyakunguru Village, June 2015).

4.2.4   The Most Valuable Asset in the Kurian Family or Clans

The study discovered that the most valuable asset by the Kuria families is land as shown by 48% of the respondents, followed by cattle, children and wives 20% and 19% respectively. Land once again appeared as the most valuable asset among the Kurian families after being mentioned as the most valuable resource in the discussion above.

These findings completely show the dynamics of conflicts that happen amongst the Kuria tribe are based on land and cattle. This is to say that, the Kuria tribe have had conflicts for over centuries and would continue to have conflicts amongst each other even if there were no mining activities taking place. The findings show that its only 7% of the respondents who said Gold is the most valuable assert in their families and therefore, this means that there would be little conflicts over gold.

To support these findings Mahende (2012) noted that, the Kuria clan categorization was implanted in cattle rustling especially between rival clans. In his study he went further to say, initially, before clan categorization became very strong the Kuria had a strong belief that, stealing cattle from a fellow Kuria was as equal as stealing ones property. However, when the Kuria tribe identified themselves very strongly into clan groups this belief changed and now Kurians from different clans officially authorized cattle rustling from other clans. In a FGD that was done by Mahende (2012) one respondent at Nyamuhunda village stated that:

"…Cattle theft is part of our culture; however, people are supposed to steal from hostile clan (*Olong'ongo*) and not from their own clan…"

On the other hand, the findings of this study have been supported by Akiri (2012) who noted that, land is an important asset in the Kuria tribe and land disputes are one of the main causes of conflict in Tarime District. Moreover, the highlands of Tarime are densely populated, and land is becoming scarce each day, this situation therefore leads to frequent conflicts when few individuals invade their neighbors' land.

Referring to Human Ecology Theory which guides this study stipulates that human beings interact with their environment in order to make sense of their living ways (Bubolz and Sontag, 1993). The findings of this study prove that the Kuria tribe has been able to identify land (Figure 4.4) as their most important asset through interactions amongst themselves and their surrounding environments. It is this sense of importance towards land that the Kurians have, which leads to frequent clashes amongst themselves from time to time as it is evident today. Today, it's evident that

land conflicts are very famous amongst the Kuria tribe and between the mining investors since land is the most valuable asset cherished by the Kurians.
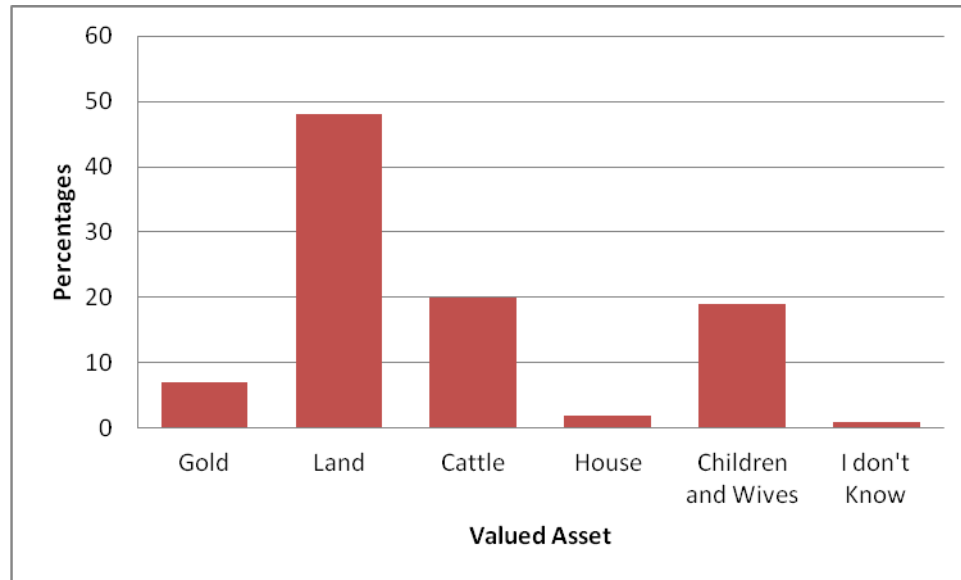
Figure 4.4: Most Valued Asset by the Kuria Families and Clans
Source: Field Data (2015)

4.3 Dynamics of Conflictual Relations between African Barrick Gold and Kuria Tribe Living Around North Mara Mine

4.3.1 Perceptions towards the Existing Private Investor (African Barrick Gold) in North Mara

The intention of this question was to find out the current perceptions that people hold towards the mining investor in North Mara. The study found that 56% of the respondents have good perception towards the mining investor as compared to 16% of the respondents who have very bad perceptions. The remaining 25% of the respondents have better perception towards the private investor (12), bad perception towards the private investor (8) and 5% did not know how their perception was towards the private investor. The findings of this study may have different connotations when it comes to perceptions towards the mining investor.

Moreover, the findings imply that the communities around North Mara now understand who an investor is and what roles the investor has for the communities. On the other hand, the negative perceptions that communities had towards the investor were the ones that led to frequent clashes and conflicts which led to throwing stones and burning of mining vehicles. However, with the current good perceptions held by the community towards the mining investors such acts have been reduced to a great extent.

Furthermore, studies done in the other parts of the world by World Bank (2002) have shown that lack of accurate information often create social conflicts due to incorrect social perceptions. A cited example from Latin America shows that most opposition to mining is often based on the arguments that mining has brought major environmental damage. On the other hand, when researches were done by the World Bank (2002) it was found out that, the claims which people had towards the mine on environmental damage were as a result of poor communication. The poor communication was by the companies and, in some cases, manipulation from the local politicians and communities.

Besides, ICMM (2007) conducted a study to a total of 18 respondents at Nyangoto village in North Mara which included Business men, Business women and District government officials. The overall objective of the study was to capture the perception of the people towards the North Mara mine and its impacts to the community. The results of the study revealed that, the perception of the business men was 7% followed by 4% of the business women and lastly 2% by the district government officials from the total of 8%.

Therefore, this study conducted in 2015 (Eight years later) proofs that there is increased good perception towards the mining investor which entails that to some extent accurate information has been transferred to the communities around North Mara by the government, the mine and other stakeholders including NGOs among others.
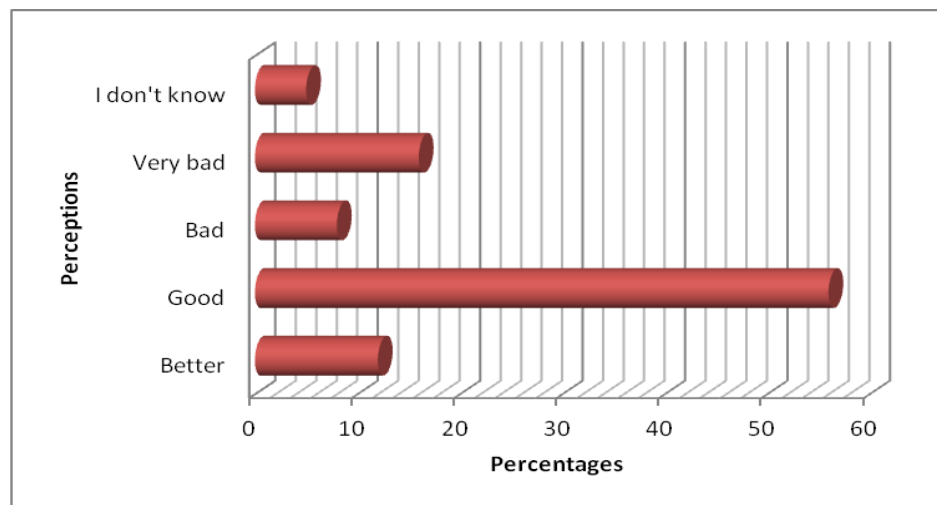
Figure 4.5: Local Communities' Perception towards the Private Investor

Source: Field Data (2015)

4.3.2 Changes brought by the Private Investor (African Barrick Gold) in North Mara

Based on the administered questionnaires, key informant interviews and focus group discussions the study found out that, the respondents mentioned both positive and negative changes brought by the mining investor (Figure 4.5). This means that 22.7% responded that, the private investor increased death incidences amongst the local communities around North Mara Mine. On the other hand, 20.7% responded that the private investor has improved social services to the villages that surround the North Mara Mine. However, 20.2% responded that, the private investor has brought about environmental degradation to the areas surrounding the North Mara Mine. There

have been numerous reports suggesting that, the private investor in North Mara has led to many negative effects to the surrounding local communities. This study therefore, can strongly show that the communities are now aware of the positive contributions that have been made by the private investors towards the improved social services in their communities. It is prudent to note that, the improved social services in North Mara communities have led to the decrease of frequent conflicts between the communities and the mining investor.

Moreover, the above findings are supported by Mugini (2015) who noted that, North Mara Gold mine has had frequent attacks from the local communities famously known as intruders. North Mara Mine decided to sign a 16 Billion Tanzania Shillings agreement in the form of Village Benefits Implementation Agreement (VBIA). VBIA aims at improving the social services in the surrounding villages of North Mine in order to eliminate conflicts between them. Furthermore, the signing of VBIA and other initiatives which include construction of schools, dispensaries, roads and the supply of clean water to the residents on a daily bases free of charge. All these initiatives have helped to a great extent improve the relationship between the local communities and the mine.

Furthermore, during an interview with the Kewanja Village leader a key informant the researcher clearly found out that, the private investor has been able to improve the social services in the communities around the North Mara Mine. To substantiate this further the village leader noted that:

> *"... Honestly, in this village the private investor has contributed greatly*
>
> *to the increased social services including construction of roads, Ingwe*

Secondary School, teacher's houses, six (6) water wells, provision of

electricity and educating several students into secondary education…"
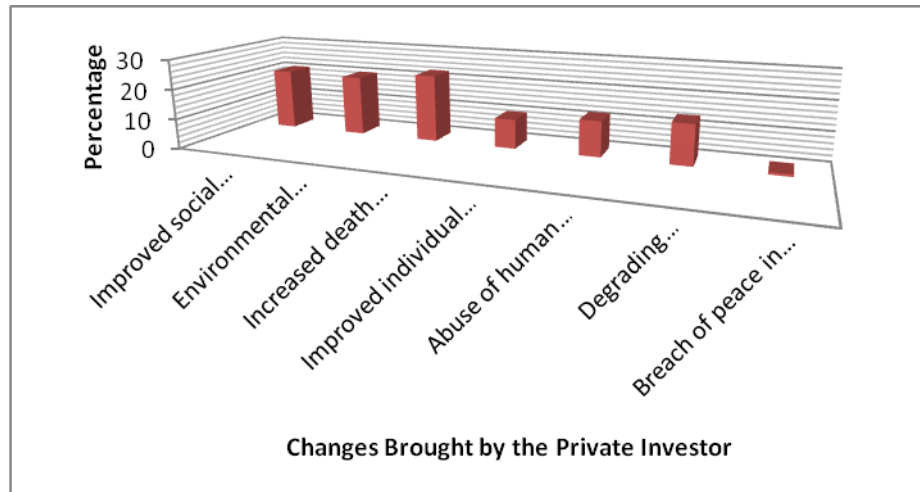
Figure 4.6: Changes Brought by the Private Investor in North Mara
Source: Field Data (2015)

The LHRC (2011) survey identified that, villages surrounding the North Mara Gold Mine have had huge number of killings in the past few years. The survey discovered that about 21 people have been killed around the mine since 2009 to June 2010. The findings from LHRC show that the Company Private Guards and Police officers were both responsible for the shootings at North Mara.

Therefore, the findings that have been revealed by this current study (Figure 4.6) show that to date the local communities are still worried of the negative impacts brought by the private sector which include increased death incidences and environmental pollutions. During the FGD at Genkuru Village one respondent said:

> *"... Since the coming of the private investor in our community we have*
>
> *experienced increased death incidences amongst our youths due to the*
>
> *shootings from the police, fights between different clan's youth when*

scrambling for gold and youths falling from the benches when intruding the mine sites at night. Besides, the private investor has contributed greatly to the environmental degradation which includes increased dust in the air, destruction of houses due to mine blasts and water pollution like what happened in the Tigithe River in 2009...”(FGD with local communities at Genkuru Village, June 2015).

4.3.3   Conflicts between the Kuria Tribe and the Private Investor (African Barrick Gold)

The findings from this study have clearly found out that, the current conflicts between the Kuria tribe and the mining investor are cause by land compensations as shown by 23.6% of the respondents. Furthermore, 18.5% of the respondents claimed environmental degradation as being another cause of conflicts between the local communities with the private investor.

Lastly, 16.7% responded mining intrusion as being a cause of conflicts with the private investors in North Mara Mine. From this finding it is revealed that land compensation has always been a problem since African Barrick Gold settled in North Mara. It is therefore true that, the major conflict that surrounds the North Mara mine between the local communities and the mining investor is based on land compensations to date.

The above finding is supported by LHRC (2011) who noted that, the villagers resisted very much African Barrick Gold before the company took over because the villagers feared would lose their land. Despite a strong resistance from the villagers,

in 2002 African Barrick Gold was able to obtain more land for the mining activities. The villagers claimed that since 2004, the mining investor has been taking villagers' lands the ones that were mostly required without proper negotiations. The mining investor took local communities' lands by dumping millions of tons of waste rock onto village lands without even seeking for owners' consent or payment of compensation as required by the law. The villagers perceived the government as being corrupt and always favored the mining investors because it has failed to provide legal recourse to assist and does not stop the company from taking the local communities' lands.
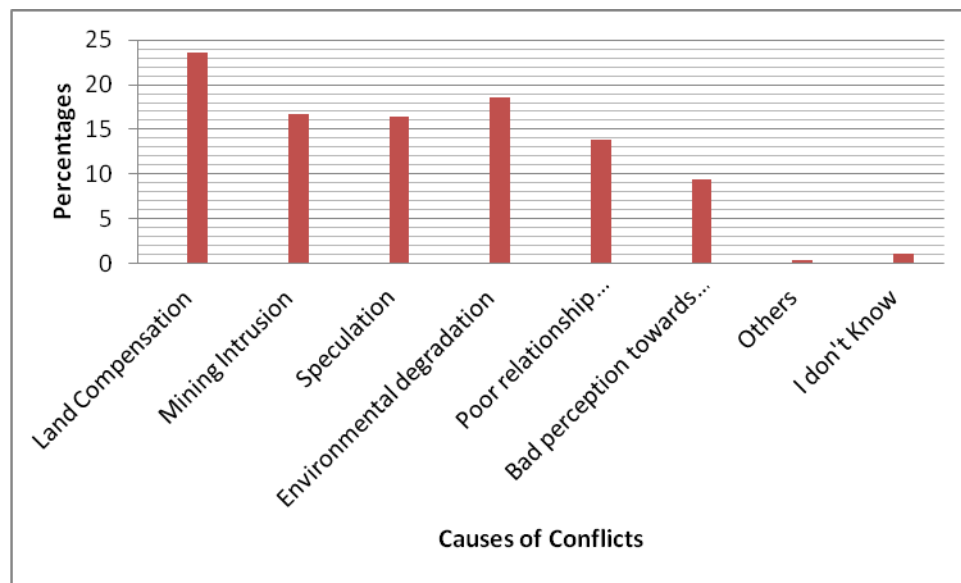
Figure 4.7: Causes of Conflicts between the Kuria Tribe and the Private
Investor
Source: Field Data (2015)

The findings of this study (Figure 4.7) support the findings by Lugoe (2010) who noted that, in Tanzania land conflicts have evolved at almost all mining sites since the renewal of the mining industry. The major cause for the conflicts has been noted to be displacement of people and the very low land compensation which has left

many local communities dissatisfied which in turn affects labor relations and security at the mining sites.

On the other hand, the Mining Policy (1997) states that, mining companies are required to conduct social impact assessment to the surrounding communities. Also, section 3.3.12 (iii) of the policy requires the companies to formulate a sustainable system for establishing good relations with the people living around the mines. Furthermore, the National Land Policy (1995) in sections 4.2.19 and 4.2.20 clearly states that compensation for land acquired for public interest, including mining, will consider the value and benefits that the owner will lose. The land policy outlines the following key issues that should be considered during land compensation:-

(i)   Market value of that piece of land;

(ii)   Inconvenience and transportation for the owner who will be leaving;

(iii)   Income lost by leaving that area;

(iv)   Structures that will be destroyed after the land is taken;

(v)   Principle costs incurred to get that piece of land and the development costs; and

(vi)   An interest to be paid in case the compensation is not paid in time according to market value.

To further discuss this, the Land Act (1999) and The Village Land Act (1999) are currently the two main Acts responsible for land issues including compensation. These two laws outline the legal basis on ownership and land compensation matters. However, there are other laws which also outline the provisions on land acquisition for different uses including starting a mine.

In addition, the Mining Act (1998), section 96 states that the license offered shall be used according to the values and without causing any harm to the land owner or the rightful resident. Section 96(3) states that compensation for the resident should match the market value, rightful and sufficient. Under section 96(5), the Act states that in case of any dispute relating to the compensation paid under section 96(3), the complain tiff may submit the complains to the Commissioner of Minerals who shall address them using his authority rendered to him under Part VIII of the Mining Act.

It is therefore important to note that, land compensation has continued to be the main cause of conflict between the Kuria tribe and the private investor in North Mara despite the provided compensation guidelines as describe in the Land Act (1999) and Mining Act (1998) above. This study has found out that the local communities are not happy with the way land evaluations have been undertaken. Besides, the actual land compensation payments have taken more time than prescribed six month by law. Lastly, the compensation process has not been clear and fair which resulted to frequent conflicts and confrontations between the mining investor and the Kuria tribe due to unsatisfactory payments over the compensated land.

4.3.4 Main Problem between the Local Communities (Kurians) and the Investor (The Mine)

This study once again has found out that, land compensation is the main problem that exists between the local communities and the investor in North Mara mine. In the previous discussions above land compensation was found to be the root cause of conflicts between local communities and mining investor. Moreover, 35% of the respondents have reported that land compensation remains to be the main problem in

North Mara between the local communities and the investors. This study understands that despite the existence of other problems between local communities and the investors such as mining intrusion, completion for gold, increased death incidences, lack of employment and unfulfilled promises by the mine. Land compensation stands out as a huge outcry between the communities and the mining investors as the main problem today.

These findings have been further supported by Mugini (2014) who explained that, land compensation has mounted the pressure of the villagers surrounding North Mara Mine who massively construct temporary houses, aiming at compensation in due course. Moreover, the villagers build random houses with the aim of being heavily compensated by African Barrick Gold (ABG) which operates the mine. Land compensation in North Mara has become a serious problem such that it has attracted traders from places as far as Mwanza and Dar es Salaam in the famous name of *tegesha* (speculation).
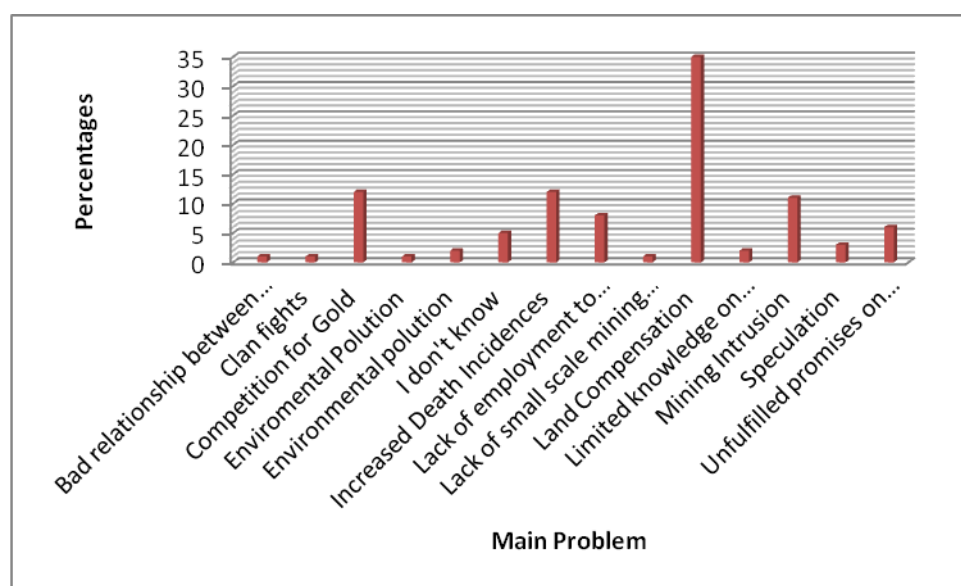
Figure 4.8: Main Problem between the Local Communities and the Investor
Source: Field Data (2015)

Besides, some government officials who include security personnel admit that land compensation in North Mara which leads to continuous land speculation has reached a critical stage that leads to frequent conflicts between the local communities and the mining investor.

Human Ecology Theory is once again supported by the findings of this study. Human ecology theory consists of three major elements which include: human beings, their environment, and the interactions between them (Klein and White, 1996). It is now evident that from the interactions that the Kurians had with their environment land was identified as the most important asset in the family. From the findings of this study, land compensation has been noted as one of the main problem that exists today between the local communities and the mining investor.

The Kurians depend on land for their survival and it is the same land that has been occupied by the mining investor. Furthermore, the interaction between the Kurians and their land has changed since they no longer have ownership as they used to. It is this reason that the Kurians have given so much value to land such that the price of land in North Mara has become unbearable for the mining investors to afford hence leading to frequent conflicts due to untimely land compensation.

4.3.5 Relationship between the Kuria Tribe around North Mara Mine and the Private Investor (African Barrick Gold)

The existing relationship between the local communities (Kurians) and ABG in North Mara is heading the right directions despite a number of challenges that exist in the area today. The findings from this study has found out that 63% responded to

have good relationship with the mining investor as opposed to 19% who responded
to have very bad relationship with the mining investor. These findings indicate that
the communities around North Mara mine have changed their perceptions greatly
towards the mining investor who initially they considered a thief to their gold. The
changed perception towards the investor has allowed the communities to cooperate
with the mine in various developmental activities which have now led to good
relationship as shown by this study.
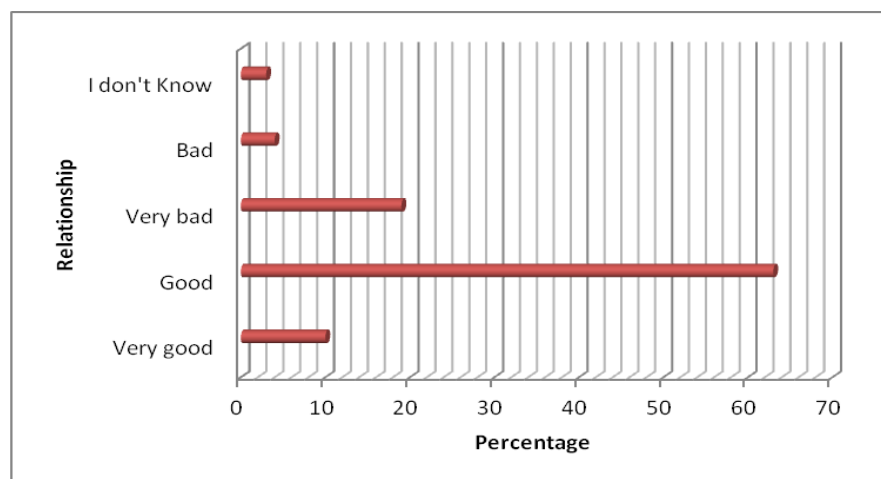
**Figure 4.9: Relationship between the Kuria Tribe and the Private Investor in
North Mara**

Source: Field Data (2015)

The findings shown in Figure 4.9 are substantiated by The Daily News (2014) which
noted that, there have always been efforts to improve better human relations by both
government leaders and mining investors to attain a win-win situation between
mining investors in the extractive industry and local communities. North Mara Mine
has experienced frequent conflicts with local communities in the past just like other
gold mines in Tanzania. The conflicts in North Mara between the local communities
and the mining investors were based on the fears that the foreign mining companies
were their biggest enemies who grabbed gold from their ancestral land.

On the other hand, there is an improved relationship between the local communities and the mining investor which has been an effort from all the partners including the government leaders, local communities and the investor. Local communities in North Mara have started to embrace on the concept of win -win situation after understanding that, the presence of the gold mine is a good opportunity to improve development in their areas.

Furthermore, most local communities have put all their efforts in making sure that they use of the opportunities found inside and outside the mine for sustainable social and economic development. As a result of the improved relationship, the village government leaders have committed to deal with anyone who tries to frustrate efforts being made to improve relationships between the mining investor and the local communities.

4.3.6   Reduced or Diverted Kuria Clans Conflicts

The intention of this question is to find out whether, the coming of the mining investor has reduced or diverted conflicts among the Kuria clans in North Mara. The study has been able to show that, conflicts that existed for many years among Kuria clans have been diverted slightly due to numerous challenges associated with mining activities including land and environmental issues, human rights abuse, mining intrusion, speculation among others. The findings of this study (Figure 4.10) prove that 50% responded that the coming of the mining investors has diverted conflicts among the Kuria clans leading to increased conflicts with the mining investor. However, 46% responded that conflicts among the Kuria clans have not been diverted by the coming of the mining investors, which means conflicts among the

Kura clans have continued to date. Looking at the findings it is an obvious fact the difference is very small hence, it may also mean that conflicts among the Kuria clans has been diverted or reduced slightly.

The above findings are further supported by *This Day* (2008) which reported that, the Mining investor (African Barrick Gold) has been receiving frequent violent raids from the local communities surrounding the mine. The report from *This Day* shows how the Kuria clans have diverted their own conflicts to having conflicts against the mining investors over gold. For instance, in December 2008 about 4,000 local communities raided North Mara Mine in search for gold. In this event equipments were stolen, machines were bunt and at least one person was killed. Quoting from *This Day* (2008) the news paper reported that mining intrusions:

> *"...have become a fairly common occurrence at the North Mara gold mine, whereby residents of surrounding villages tend to force their way in to try and steal gold ore from the open pit deposits..."*
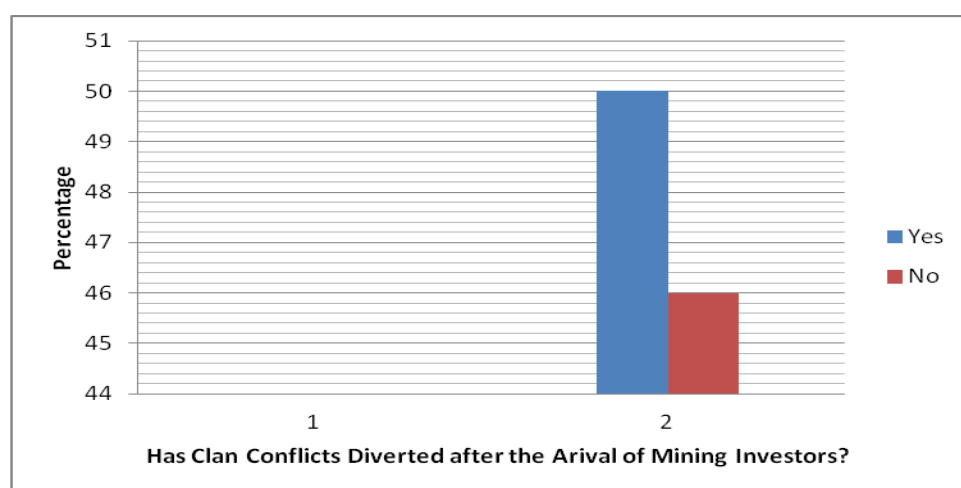
Figure 4.10: Diverted Kuria Clan Conflicts after the Coming of the Private
Investor in North Mara

Source: Field Data (2015)

To further support the findings of this study (Figure 4.10), the researcher addresses several articles that depict clearly how Kuria clan conflicts have continued taking place even after the coming of the mining investor (African Barrick Gold) in North Mara in 2006. Mwera and Mkinga (2008) noted that Tarime District has become notorious for Kuria clans clashes which are believed to be caused by land disputes and cattle rustling. Furthermore, Reuters (2010) reported a violent incident in Tarime District noting that Tarime District has long being prone to Kuria clan fighting and other forms of violence, sparked by disagreement over land and livestock ownership.

To emphasize on the continuous Kuria clan conflicts even after the presence of the mining investor, Nyakeke (2009) noted that, Mara Region especially Tarime District was approved by the Tanzanian Government to establish a special police zone in order to respond to high crime rates and frequent inter-clan clashes. Moreover, Mwera and Mkinga (2008) reported five people to have been killed and over 100 homes and 20 granaries to have been burnt in Tarime District. This incidence is considered to be an inter-clan conflict between the *Wanchari* and *Warenchoka* clans of the Kuria ethnic group in the Mara Region. These clans are reported to have been in conflict since 2001.

On the other hand, the researcher had personal communication with one of the famous traditional leader at Nyakunguru Village who emphasized that the Kurias have always been trained to be warriors. This warrior culture has made the Kurias fight for years and years which can be seen today in the Kuria communities. The traditional leader went on to say that, the conflicts that are experienced today with the mining investors would have been there even if the mining investor wasn't

around. To emphasize on this, the traditional leader gave examples of recent conflicts that happened between the Kuria clans and had nothing to do with the mining investor.

The traditional leader noted that in November, 2014 there was a clan conflicts between the *waNyamongo* of Matongo Village and *waNyabasi* of Nyarwanwa Village over land boundaries. This conflict existed for a month and above until when the Government intervened and set the boundaries afresh. The other conflict that happened in June, 2015 between the *Saiga* (The age group that was being circumcised the same time) of Matongo and Nyangoto Village over their own leadership. This conflict is yet to be resolved though the Government and police are now fully involved in finding solutions. To this end, the traditional leader noted that Kurians conflicts will not stop today as long as the clan categorizations continue to exist (Wambura, personal communication, 2015). The above discussed articles concur with this study that the coming of mining investors in North Mara has diverted slightly Kuria clan conflicts since it is observed that there has been numerous Kuria clan conflicts that were not associated with mining investors at all.

4.4   Interventions Done by Governmental and Non Governmental Actors in Addressing the Dynamics of Conflicts among the Kuria Tribe Living around North Mara Mine

4.4.1 Interventions done to address the Dynamics of Conflicts among the Kuria Tribe Living around North Mara Mine

The Kuria tribe is faced with various dynamics of conflicts in North Mara including clan conflicts, land conflicts between themselves and the mining investor, mining

intrusions, cattle rustling among others. Despite the existence of all these conflicts, several interventions have been implemented by the Government to address these dynamics of conflicts, Non Governmental Organization and the traditional ways of the Kurian tribe. This study was able to find out that, 80% responded the presence of interventions that address conflicts among the Kuria tribe unlike 19% of the respondents who denied the existence of any interventions that address conflicts in their communities (Figure 4.11).

This study understands that like any other parts of Tanzania the Kuria tribe in North Mara still respects the traditional ways of conflict resolution which are normally done by the clan leaders. Clan leaders are the most trusted entities among the Kuria tribe and play a great role in conflict resolution on a daily basis in the communities around North Mara Mine. To concretize these findings further, Akiri (2012) noted that Kuria tribe that dwell surrounding the North Mara Mine has various dynamics of conflicts which include land disputes, cattle theft, and the clashes between the police force.
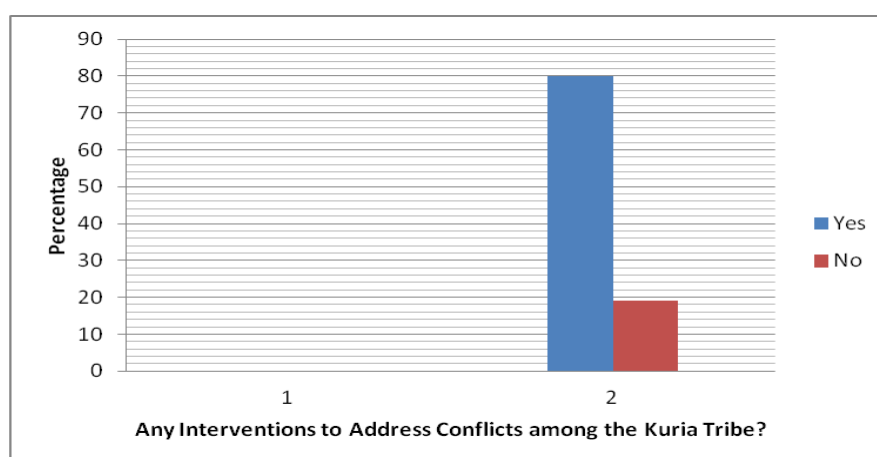
Figure 4.11: Interventions Done to Address the Dynamics of Conflicts among the Kuria Tribe
Source: Field Data (2015)

Further conflicts include frequent clashes between the unemployed youth whose parents have lost farm lands to North Mara gold mine, while being unfairly compensated by the mining company. With all these mentioned conflict dynamics the clan leaders have the obligation to use their position and influence in society to educate the youth within their clans to refrain from being involved illegal practices. Moreover, the clan leaders need to be sincere and honest when resolving land disputes and other conflicts in their communities.

During a Key informant interview with a clan leader at Nyakunguru Village, it was clearly noted that different conflict dynamics that exists in the society have different interventions. The intervientions include traditional mechanisms, the use of police, village authorities and courts. The clan leader explained:

> *"...Clan leaders have been used to intervene when conflicts arouse among the Kurian communities and this practice continues to date. However, these days the Kurians can still decided to use other interventions whenever conflicts exist in their communities. On the other hand, the existence of the mine has brought other kinds of conflicts whose interventions apart from the use of clan leaders include the use of police, courts, village authorities and Non Governmental Organizitions..."*(Key Informant Interview with a clan leader Nyakunguru Village, June 2015).

4.4.2 Organizations that Advocate for Peace and Mutual Understanding in North Mara

The assumption to this question was since the communities surrounding North Mara Mine are involved in frequent conflicts amongst themselves and with the mining

investor. Therefore, the researcher wanted to know if there are any organizations that advocate for peace and mutual understanding in the area and what are the organizations. The findings from this study (Figure 4.12) found out that there are several organizations that advocate for peace and mutual understanding in North Mara. The two most mentioned organizations include Search for Common Ground (A Non Governmental Organization) and Governmental Organs whose responses were 27.9% and 26.5% respectively.

These findings mean that, both governmental and Non-Governmental organizations strive to maintain peace and mutual understandings in the villages surrounding North Mara Mine. Reflecting back to the above findings, it is now clear that the Kurian tribe living around North Mara Mine is faced with various conflict dynamics. The faced conflicts include conflicts amongst the Kurians themselves over land and cattle and conflicts over land compensation with the mining investor.
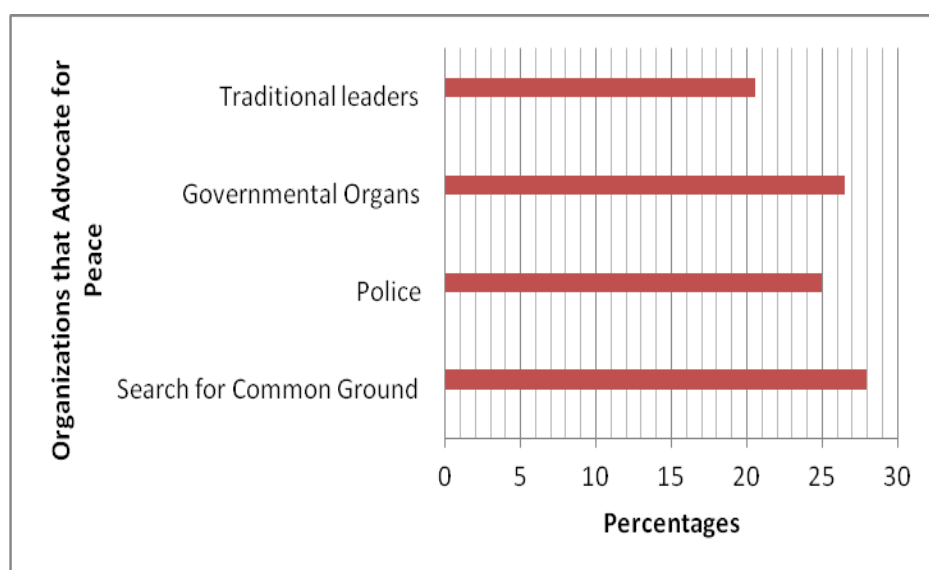
Figure 4.12: Organizations that Advocate for Peace of Mutual Understanding in North Mara

Source: Field Data (2015)

It is important that, there should be organizations that strive to maintain peace and mutual understanding through community awareness, conflict resolution trainings, skills development, round table discussions and conflict mediations. To support these findings, ABG *News Update* (2012) reported that the company has partnered with an internationally-recognized NGO, Search for Common Ground, to facilitate conflict resolution, help re-build trust and improve collaboration between the North Mara mine and the local community.

Active in 27 countries, Search for Common Ground uses a multi-faceted approach, working with local partners to find culturally appropriate ways to deal with conflicts constructively, to understand differences and act on commonalities. Representatives from Search for Common Ground are undertaking the following activities around North Mara:

(i)   Providing training on the Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights to Tanzanian police

(ii)   Developing a conflict reduction, resolution and negotiation training programme for community members, including leaders, traditional authorities (elders), youth and women.

(iii)   Creating culturally-appropriate educational materials to inform community members about the Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights, U.N. guidelines on the use of force by law enforcement officials, sexual harassment, community policing and universal human rights. These materials will be delivered using live performances and comic books.

(iv) Designing an external grievance mechanism to deal with community concerns which will be used for historical grievances as well as present and future concerns.

(v) Facilitating negotiation processes between the company and the communities on a range of issues of concern, such as resettlement.

(vi) Designing alternative sources of economic development to help reduce poverty in the area and, as result, reduce the number of intruders in the mine.

(vii) Evaluating an appropriate remedy programme for victims of sexual assault, aligned with international human rights norms

(viii) Developing a proposal for specific initiatives to help address violence against women in the Mara region

(ix) Organizing sporting events with mixed teams comprised of community representatives, police, mine employees and district government officials. These activities will be paired with conflict resolution sessions that focus on building collaborative community spirit.

Search for Common Ground accomplishes these tasks through engaging with different stakeholders in conflict transformation. Such stakeholders include local communities surrounding North Mara mine, village leaders, traditional leaders, district governmental leaders, local radio (SACHITA FM), Secondary and primary schools surrounding North Mara mine and other local Non Governmental Organizations.

In the Focus Group Discussion it was further noted that, both governmental and Non Governmental Organizations have helped the communities around North Mara Mine attain peace to a great extent. One respondent at Genkuru Village said that:

"... if you look at our community today there is a great difference from how it was ten years ago. Conflicts around North Mara Mine ten years ago were very tense, but today things have improved greatly and this is because both the government and Non Governmental Organs have been educating our communities frequently on the negative impacts of conflicts. I should admit these efforts have helped though it's a slow process but I believe one day our community will get there..." (FGD with local communities at Genkuru Village, June 2015).

4.4.3 Interventions by Governmental and Non Governmental Actors in North Mara

Haufler (2010) explains that, interventions in the community do not mean engaging the community into listening to their problems once in a life time. This is usually an ongoing process between mining companies, the Government, Non Governmental organs and communities. During community interventions it is important that, one becomes open and receptive to concerns, one should evaluate and consider all raised concerns, one should take action to solve relevant concerns, and lastly, one should be accountable to the communities. Moreover, for this process to be meaningful one should inform communities on the appropriate ways to address problems. For instance, if there has been a concern on water pollution and studies should be carried to assess or monitor water quality and availability; then the findings need to also be

communicated to the community in the simplest way possible that everyone can understand.

Relating to what Haufler (2010) explained, the findings of this study have found that, there are several interventions in place in the local communities that surround the North Mara Mine. These interventions have been used by both Governmental and Non Governmental actors to address different conflict dynamics in North Mara ranging from inter clan conflicts to conflicts with the mining investors. The findings (Figure 4.13) show that 33.3% of the respondents said that round table discussions are used as the way to intervene when conflicts arise.

Furthermore, other 33.3% responded that educating the community imparts skills to the communities that will help them address different conflicts that they may be faced with. On the other hand, 19.5% responded that workshops and seminars from different actors help the community members understand how to deal and intervene when conflicts arise in their communities. Other 8.6% respondents said that sports and games are used to establish better relationships in the community between different clans, the local authorizes and the mining workers. Lastly, 5.2% of the respondents said, arts and drama that are normally conducted by different organizations in their community help the communities understand how to deal with different conflicts that exist in their community.

The Daily News (2015) reported that, 80 youth received training on research and journalism techniques which would help them (youth) address different conflict dynamics that exist in North Mara. This week long workshop was prepared by

Search for Common Ground (A Non Governmental Organizations) which strives to transform conflicts in the villages around North Mara Mine. This evidence supports the findings of this study by showing that the local communities around North Mara Mine continue to receive different interventions from different actors as a way to address the surrounding conflicts in the area.
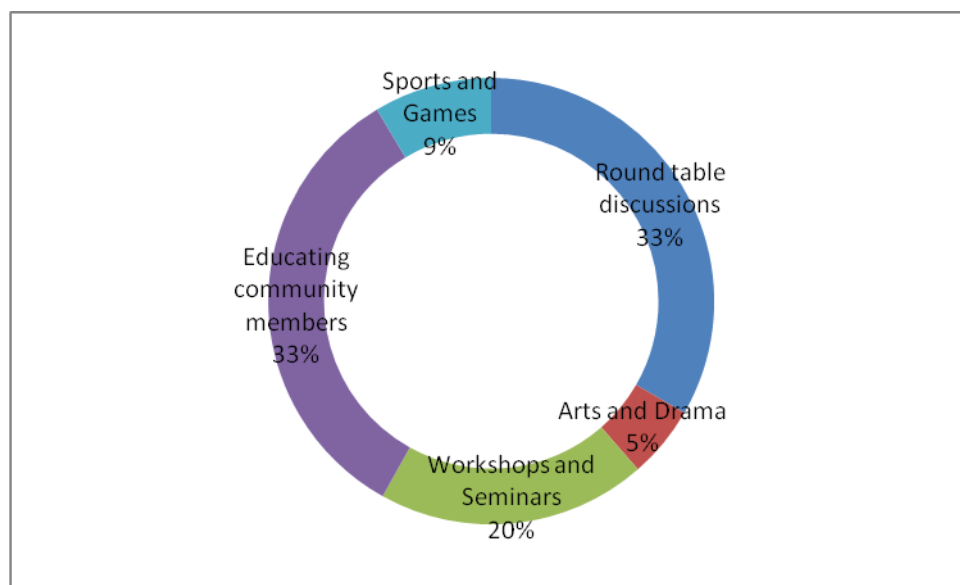
Figure 4.13: Interventions Done by Governmental and Non-Governmental Actors in North Mara

Source: Field Data (2015)

4.4.4 Organs that Provide Intervention in the Dynamics of Conflicts among the Kuria Tribe Living Around North Mara Mine

The intention of this study was to find out appropriate organs used by the local communities around North Mara Mine to provided intervention at the times of conflicts. This study discovered that police is the most used organ when conflicts arise around North Mara Mine as shown by 21.1% of the respondents (Figure 4.14). Secondly, village councils are also used to a great extent to deal with conflicts that

arise in the communities around the mining areas as shown by 20.1% of the respondents. Besides, the Kurians showed that they have not forgotten their roots; this is when 18.7% of the respondents said that the traditional leaders are still used to intervene whenever conflicts arise in their communities.

The findings of this study revealed that the local communities around the mining areas have improved their perceptions and trust towards the police (Figure 4.14). These findings show that police is the most trusted organ in resolving conflicts that arise around North Mara Mine. In the past however, police around North Mara Mine were so much opposed by the communities since they were accused of abusing human rights.
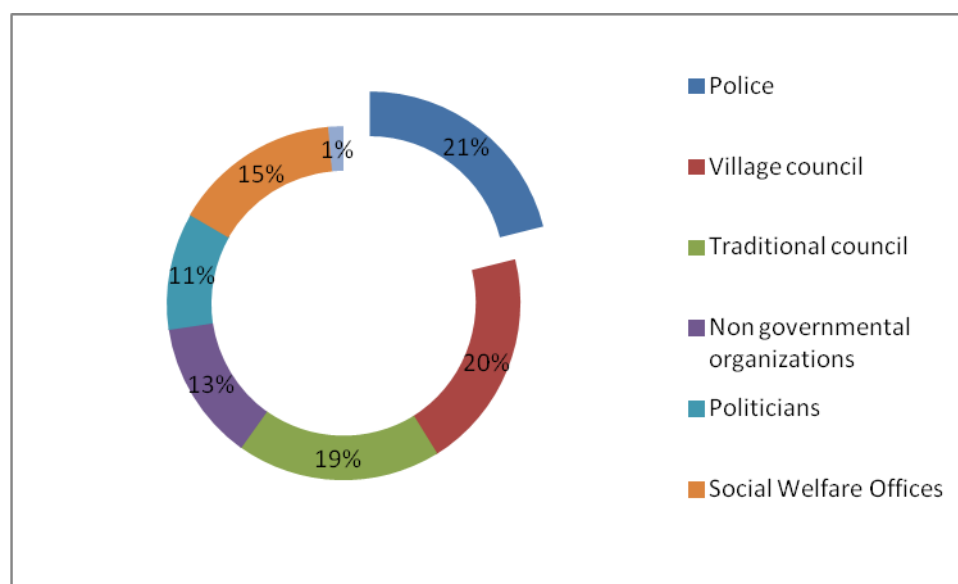
Figure 4.14: Organis that Provide Intervention in the Dynamics of Conflicts among the Kuria Tribe Living Around North Mara Mine
Source: Field Data (2015)

The study that was done by LHRC (2011) revealed that, the shooting of villagers continued to around North Mara Mine. The survey pointed out that in the past few years there have been a shocking number of killings around the North Mara Gold

Mine. The survey further disclosed that about 21 people have been killed around the mine since 2009 to June 2010. Furthermore, LHRC findings show that the responsible entities in the shootings around North Mara Mine are both the police officers and the Company Private guards.

4.4.5 The Best Way to Attain Peace in the Villages Surrounding North Mara Mine

The assumption behind this question was the local communities are an integral part in conflict transformation since they are aware of their own situation at first hand. The researcher intended to know the best way that could be used to attain peace in the communities surrounding North Mara Mine. The findings of this study (Figure 4.15) found that 24% of the respondents said that there should be regular meetings between the community members and the mining investors.
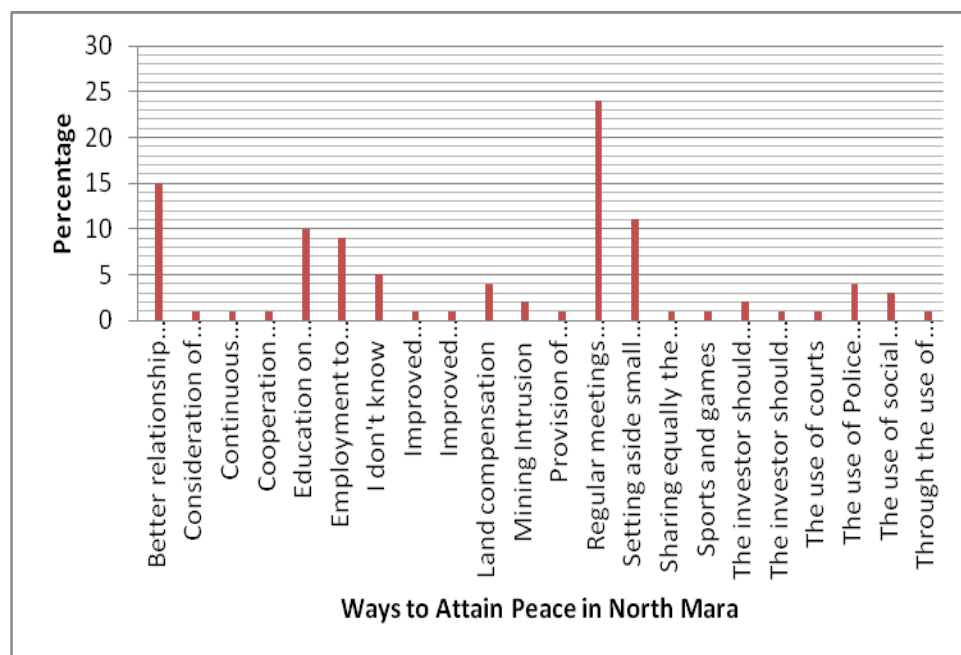
Figure 4.15: Best Way to Attain Peace in the Villages Surrounding North Mara Mine
Source: Field Data (2015)

These meetings would provide platform for dialogue which will be able to address the challenges that both the community and the mining investors face. Furthermore, 15% responded that efforts should be made to better relationship between the mining investors and the surrounding communities. In this case, improved relationship will help reduce frequent conflicts that happen between the local communities and the mining investors over land, mining intrusion among others. Besides, 11% responded that small scale mining areas should be set aside for small scale miners so as to reduce the rates of mining intruders that enter into the restricted mining areas in search for ore bearing stones.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1   Introduction

This study's main objective was to find out the dynamics of conflict among the Kuria tribe living around North Mara Mine. Information for the main and specific objectives of this study was gathered through key informant interviews, focus group discussions, questionnaires, secondary data and literature reviews. The focus of this study in relation to the main objective was to understand the evolution of conflict among the Kuria before and after the development of the North Mara mine and the approaches used to address the conflicts. The data for this study were gathered from three villages of Kewanja, Nyakunguru and Genkuru which are among the seven villages that surround the North Mara Mine. The three chosen villages for this study are equally involved with various conflicts amongst the Kurians themselves and the mining Concern.

Generally, the findings of this study show that, historically, conflicts among the Kuria tribe have been attributed to land which is the most valuable natural resource in this tribe and it considered to be a family asset. Furthermore, the findings show that even after the coming of mining investor land has continued to be the source of conflicts between the Kurian tribe and the Mining investor (ABG).

The local communities that were involved in this study expressed their lack of trust towards the Local and Central Government; especially on the way land compensation has been handled with the mining investor. It was noted that, the Local

and Central Government officials have not been effective in adhering to the Land Act, 1999 which led the mining investor to compensate only few people to date.

Findings have continued to show that, the local communities surrounding the North Mara Mine are aware of the interventions done by both Governmental and Non Governmental actors in an effort to bring peace and harmony in the area. However, the local communities have strongly suggested that the management of the mine should also conduct regular meetings with the local communities as an initiative to reduce frequent conflicts between them.

The findings from this study have also shown that, the local communities have improved their perceptions towards the mining investor. The improved perception is as a result of the investor's efforts to improve the social services to the surrounding communities which ultimately have improved the relationship between the mining investor and the local communities.

5.2   Conclusion

The findings from this study conclude that, the dynamics of conflicts the Kuria tribe will continue to exist for many more years even after the closure of the mine. This study has proven that conflicts are rooted in Kurians culture and have always been associated with land which is the most valuable asset and natural resource. As expressed *"...conflicts for us Kurians is part and parcel of our tradition and customs..."*(The African team, 2006). This may be another reason that propels the Kurian to continue to engage in conflict with investors because it has been rooted into their traditions. On the other hand, the local communities have a very positive

attitude towards the mining investor. The study also noted that, the communities felt that the positive changes brought by the mining investor have been out weighted because the coming of the mining investor has increased deaths to the local communities. This suggests that, the local communities may not have accurate information on the ways such deaths have been happening in North Mara. Therefore, both the government and the mining investor should provide accurate information on what causes death and the dangers that may be associated with mining intrusion. This information will help improve social welfare of the local communities living around North Mara Mine.

5.3   Recommendations

To address the dynamics of conflicts of the Kuria Tribe around North Mara Mine, the study has come up with the following recommendations to key stakeholders including the government, the mining investor (ABG) and the local communities. These recommendations will be guided by four social work values including provision of service, social justice, importance of human relationship and integrity (Kirk and Reid, 2002).

5.3.1   Recommendations to the Government

(i)   The government should ensure that appropriate boundaries are set between villages and especially the new villages created so as to avoid recurrent conflicts like the boundary conflict between Matongo and Nyarwana Village.

(ii)   The government should cooperate with the Kuria clan authorities in order to establish a trusted security agency that will enable to prevent clan conflicts that are caused due to cattle rustling. The security agency should be acceptable to

both the Government and the Kuria clans and should be willing to disclose the identities of the cattle thieves in advance as most of them are normally known by the community members.

(iii) The Government should be able to identify all the appropriate local communities relevant for land compensations. Most conflicts in North Mara have arisen due to land speculation where people from other places (like Mwanza and Dar es Salaam) have built houses and are compensated while leaving the local communities complain and engage in constant conflicts.

(iv) The government through its policy makers should be able to review the Land Act (1999) to fit the current situations on the ground. For now Land Act (1999) does not provide the deadline for land compensation payments but rather, it states that compensation will be done within six month and if it's above six month then the required payments will be paid with associated penalties. This Land Act (1999) brings a lot of problems to the local communities since they feel one day the investor may leave without being paid.

(v) The government should create awareness to the local communities focusing on foreign investment in Tanzania. This will help local community members reduce what is now known as compensation syndrome and over expectations from foreign investments. This recommendation was also given by Maliganya, W., Moyo, S., and Paul, R. (2013) when assessing the livelihood of the communities surrounding Geita Gold Mine.

(vi) The govenment should encourage and provide awareness to the local communties on the alternative forms of incomes. In this case the government should establish alternatives forms of income so that the local communities can

be able to engage and stop dependence to the mining investors. This initiative by the government will be able to reduce conflicts in the mining areas to a great extent.

(vii) The government should set aside areas for small scale mining, this will enable small scale miners to have alternative areas to conduct mining activities and eventually reduce mining intrusions that take place in the restricted and risk areas of the mining investor.

(viii) The government should give feedback of all the service development levy paid by the mining investors to the local communities. The local communities need to be aware of how much has been paid and what the money has been used for so that the communities stop thinking that the mining investor is a thief who stills from them without paying all the terminal dues.

(ix) The government should ensure that the local communities are consulted before the mine is introduces but also during all the stages when undertaking cost-benefit analysis on social and environmental costs before granting production licenses to mining companies. This recommendation was also given by Maliganya, W., Moyo, S., and Paul, R. (2013) when assessing the livelihood of the communities surrounding Geita Gold Mine.

5.3.2   Recommendations to the Local Community

(i) The community should be willing to be given knowledge and seek information from the government and the mining investor or any other appropriate organ on the roles and responsibilities of the investors. This will help the local communities avoid rumours and over expectations from the mining investors

that lead to frequent conflicts due to continuous demands to the mining investor.

(ii)   The community should be proactive in looking for alternative ways of earning income instead of depending entirely to the mining investor. The North Mara community is endowed with fertile land, huge Mara River, good climate among others if all these will be kept into use without giving excuses that their lands have been taken and they have nothing else to do, North Mara would have little conflicts today.

(iii)   The community members should encourage their children to attend school and discourage the behaviour of allowing children to be involved into mining intrusion. Most conflicts arise because community members are not educated and are not very much aware of their responsibilities towards the investor. The more children attend school the more the community will become aware of their rights and the right procedures to demand them other than using violent conflicts.

5.3.3   Recommendations to the Mining Investor (ABG)

(i)   The mining investor should be able to provide accurate information at all times through the village authorities available. This will enable reduce rumours that normally lead to unnecessary conflicts in North Mara. The information to be provided include the extent of support expected to be given to the villages each year, updates on the village development agreements and the level of support already given to the communities which includes branding all provided support. This recommendation was also noted by Maliganya, W., Moyo, S.,

and Paul, R. (2013) when assessing the livelihood of the communities surrounding Geita Gold Mine.

(ii)   The mining investor should be able to provide information of all compensated land and any other future plans for land compensations. In addition, the mining company should be able to identify all the land it needs at once so that the community members become aware and are compensated on time so as to avoid land speculation that has been so famous in North Mara.

(iii)   The mining investor should be able to publish annually all the taxes and all important service development levies paid to the local and central government. This information will enable the communities to know the transparency of the mining companies but also become aware that the mining investors fulfil their obligations as required by law.

(iv)   The mining investors should provide awareness and education from time to time on the types of toxics being used in the mining sites sot that the local community members are aware. This would help reduce frequent conflicts that arise due to environmental pollution as reported by the local communities surrounding the North Mara Mine.

(v)   The mining investors should conduct meetings with the community members on monthly bases so that they are able to discuss various challenges that face them. It is through these meetings that community grievances can be addressed, rumours can be addressed and doubts cleared. Moreover, these meetings will enable the mining investors to understand communities concerns and work to solve those issues that are within their reach.

5.3.4   Recommendations for Further Studies

This study has found one possible area for further studies. Other researchers are encouraged to identify the reasons for the increased death incidences to community members surrounding North Mara Mine. This is due to the fact that many respondents noted that the one of the changes made by the coming of the mining investor was increased death incidences in North Mara.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Questionnaire for the Study on the Dynamics of Conflict of the Kuria Tribe Around North Mara Mine

This study is for partial fulfillment of the requirements for the master's degree in Social Work from the Open University of Tanzania. It aims to find out the dynamics of conflict among the Kuria tribe living around North Mara Mine. The outcome of this research will be useful in various ways. Some of the stakeholders who may benefit from its results are as follows; the policy makers, social workers, investor in mining sector and the Tanzanian community at large with regards to the dynamics of conflict among the Kuria tribe. The study is solely intended for academic purposes. Everything you respond here is confidential and no individual will be identified by his or her names. I plead your cooperation.

Section1: Social Demographic

1.   Date: _____

2.   Village: _____District_____

3.   Sex: Male_____   Female_____

4.   Age: ____

5.   Education level_____

6.   Years living in the village _____

7.   Occupation:

   (i)   Small scale miner   (   )

   (ii)   Farmer   (   )

   (iii)   Public sector employee   (   )

   (iv)   Private sector employee   (   )

(v)   Unemployed   (   )

(vi)   Housewife   (   )

(vii) Other   (   )

Section 2: Nature and character of Kuria tribe living around North Mara Mine.

8.   What is the nature of conflicts among the Kuria tribe before existence of mining companies in your village? (Please tick more than one)

     (i)   Conflict over land   (   )

     (ii) Conflict over cattle   (   )

     (iii)   Clan superiority   (   )

     (iv)   Other (Please mention)   (   )

     (v)   I do not know   (   )

9.   What ways are used by the Kuria tribe to solve conflicts in North Mara?

     (Please tick the most appropriate)

     (i)   Through clan leaders   (   )

     (ii)   Through Police departments (   )

     (iii)   Through courts   (   )

     (iv)   Through village council   (   )

     (v)   Others (please mention   (   )

     (vi)   I don't know   (   )

10.   What natural resources are mostly valued by Kuria tribe in North Mara?

     (**Please tick the most appropriate**)

     (i)   Gold   (   )

     (ii)   Land   (   )

(iii)   Water   (   )

(iv)   Other (Please mention) (   )

(v)   I don't know   (   )

11.   What is the most valuable assert in your family or clan? (Please tick the most

       appropriate)

       (i)   Gold   (   )

       (ii)   Land   (   )

       (iii)   Cattle   (   )

       (iv)   House   (   )

       (v)   Children and Wives   (   )

       (vi)   Other (Please mention) (   )

       (vii)   I don't know   (   )

Section 3: Dynamics of conflictual relations between African Barrick Gold and Kuria tribe living around North Mara mine

12.   What is your perception towards the existing private investor (African

       Barrick Gold) in North Mara?

       (i)   Better   (   )

       (ii)   Good   (   )

       (iii)   Bad   (   )

       (iv)   Very Bad   (   )

       (v)   I don't know   (   )

13.   What changes has the private investor (African Barrick Gold) brought in your village? (Please tick more than one)

(i)   Improved social services   (   )

(ii)   Environmental degradation   (   )

(iii) Increased death incidences   (   )

(iv)   Improved individual economic gains   (   )

(v)   Abuse of human rights   (   )

(vi)   Degrading relationship between the police and community members ( )

(vii) Others (please specify)   (   )

14.   What causes conflicts between the Kuria tribe and the private investor (African Barrick Gold)? (**Please tick more than one**)

(i)   Land compensation   (   )

(ii)   Mining intrusion   (   )

(iii)   Speculation   (   )

(iv)   Environmental degradation   (   )

(v)   Poor relationship between the investor and the Kuria tribe (   )

(vi)   Bad perception towards private sector (   )

(vii)   Others (Please mention)   (   )

(viii)   I don't know   (   )

15.   What do you think is still the main problem between the local communities (Kurians) and the investor (the mine)? (**Please explain**)

_____

_____

_____

16.   How is the relationship between the Kuria tribe around North Mara mine and the private sector (African Barrick Gold)?

    (i)   Very good   (   )

    (ii)   Good   (   )

    (iii)   Very bad   (   )

    (iv)   Bad   (   )

    (v)   I don't know   (   )

17.   Has the coming of the investor reduced or diverted conflict among the Kuria clans?

    (i)   Yes   (   )

    (ii)   No   (   )

Section 4: interventions done by governmental and Non Governmental actors in addressing the dynamics of conflicts among the Kuria tribe living around North Mara mine.

18.   Are there any interventions done to address the dynamics of conflicts among the Kuria tribe living around North Mara Mine?

    (i)   Yes   (   )

    (ii)   No   (   )

19.   Name at least two organizations that advocate for peace or mutual understanding in North Mara.

    (i)   _____

    (ii)   _____

    (iii)   _____

20. Please mention at least five interventions that have been done by governmental and Non Governmental actors.

(i) _____

(ii) _____

(iii) _____

(iv) _____

21. What organs provide intervention in the dynamics of conflicts among the Kuria tribe living around North Mara Mine? (Please tick that apply)

(i) Police ( )

(ii) Village council ( )

(iii) Traditional council ( )

(iv) Non Governmental Organizations ( )

(v) Politicians ( )

(vi) Social Welfare offices ( )

(vii) Other (Please specify) ( )

(viii) I don't know ( )

22. In your own view what do you think is the best way to attain peace in the villages surrounding North Mara Mine? (**Please explain**)

_____

_____

_____

_____

Appendix 2: Focus Group Discussion Questions with Community Members

1. Are you aware of any historical conflicts among the Kurians? If yes what conflicts existed?

2. Can you relate such historical conflicts with the current conflicts due to the presence of the mine?

3. Do you think the mine has brought any changes to the community? If yes please explain

4. Which organs in your community are you aware of help address the existing conflicts in North Mara? Please explain what they do

5. What do you recommend as the best way to solve existing conflicts in North Mara?

Appendix 3: Key Informant Interviews (Village and Community Leaders, District Level Authorities and the Management of the Mine)

Section A: Personal Particulars

Name of the Respondent………………………………………………………….

Role/Title……………………………………...……………….………………….

Date of Interview…………………………………………………………………

Section B: Questions

1. Before the existence of the mine were there any conflicts among Kurians? If yes what kind of conflict existed then?

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

2. With the existence of the mine currently what kinds of conflict exist between the Kurians and the investor?

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

3. In your own opinion do you think the existence of the mine benefits the Kurians in North Mara? If yes/no, why?

    _____

    _____

_____

_____

4. Are there any interventions done in addressing the existing conflicts in North Mara? If yes/no please explain

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

5. Please explain your role in addressing the conflicts between the Kurians and the investor?

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

6. What recommendations do you have on how to improve and attain peace in North Mara?

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____