A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF PROJECT PLANNING IN MAASAI COMMUNITY IN MVOMERO DISTRICT, TANZANIA

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN PROJECT MANAGEMENT AND EVALUATION OF SOKOINE UNIVERSITY OF AGRICULTURE. MOROGORO, TANZANIA.

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

This study employed a Fairclough framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to uncover the way socio-cultural practices within Maasai community are constructed by the used discourses in project planning. Three sets of research questions guided the study: (i) What are the leading discourses used in the documents related to project implemented in the Maasai community?; (ii) How ideas and discourses related to pastoralists are produced, by whom and under who interest and in what context?; and (iii) what are the effects of discursive representation of pastoralists in a wider socio-cultural context? The study used qualitative research approach that employed CDA as an underlying methodology in an analysis of the eight project documents for the projects implemented in Maasai community in Mvomero District. In this study, CDA provided a sociological explanation of language used in the project documents with particular interest in "ideology, social relations and the relationship between text and context". This study found that leading discourses within the analyzed documents were grounded within three broad themes: pastoralism as a problematic livelihood; nomadic lifestyle and culture; and pastoralist's relationship with other social groups. In all of these themes, the study revealed an overwhelmed negative representation of the Maasai community. This study revealed further that the discourses used in interventions developed as a means to respond to Maasai community challenges are produced, distributed and consumed in the way that responds more to the interests of project staff and funding agencies rather than Maasai community. Further analysis found three categories of constructive effects that are attributable to the discourses used in project planning in Maasai community: identity constructive effects; social relation construction effects; and ideational function effects. The identified constructive effects were also dominated by misconceptions and negative perceptions of pastoralists that continue to marginalize them and their livelihood. The study concludes that this kind of representation

can be regarded as misleading on Maasai community socio-cultural context which further may undermine efforts aimed at addressing different challenges associated with Maasai peoples' welfare. Therefore, this study suggests a critical review of any development model on its relevancy on the particular environment before its adoption in development actions in the Maasai community. In addition, there should be an effective public information campaigns to help people understand and changing people's mindset on the past longstanding drawn misconceptions in the Maasai community. Furthermore, this study suggests a full analysis on cultural, socio-economic benefits as well as political implications of the designed plans in Maasai community instead of relying only on economic aspects. Also the Maasai should be centered in local and national discourses that relate to their economic and socio-cultural contexts.

DECLARATION

I, **NINOO R. PALANDA** do hereby declare to the Senate of the Sokoine University of Agriculture that this dissertation is my own original work done within the period of registration and that it has neither been submitted nor concurrently being submitted for a degree award in any other institution.

..…… …….

Palanda Ninoo Date

(MAPME Candidate)

This declaration is confirmed by

…..…… ……..

Dr. Goodluck Massawe Date

(Supervisor)

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXTENDED ABSTRACT ..... **ii**

DECLARATION ..... **iv**

COPYRIGHT ..... **v**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ..... **vi**

DEDICATION ..... **vii**

TABLE OF CONTENTS ..... **viii**

LIST OF TABLE ..... **xii**

LIST OF FIGURE ..... **xiii**

LIST OF APPENDICES ..... **xiv**

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS ..... **xv**

CHAPTER ONE **1**

1.0 Introduction 1

1.1 Background Information 1

1.2 Problem Statement 3

1.3 Justification of the Study 4

1.4 Research Objectives 5

1.4.1 General objective 5

1.4.2 Specific objectives 5

1.5 Research Questions 5

1.6 Theoretical Framework and Approach 5

1.7 Research Methodology 8

1.8 Study Limitations 9

1.9 Organization of the Dissertation 10

REFERENCES **12**

2.0REVIEW OF DISCOURSES IN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTIVE EFFECTS ON THE MAASAI COMMUNITY IN TANZANIA15

Abstract 15

2.1 Background Information 16

2.1.1. Discourses in development planning 19

2.2 Theoretical Frameworks for Discourse Analysis 21

2.2.1 Socio-cognitive approach to discourse analysis 22

2.2.2 Historical approach to discourse analysis 22

2.2.3 Three dimensional model of critical discourse analysis 23

2.3 Development Planning Discourses and Construction of Maasai Community 25

2.3.1 Negative discourses 25

2.3.1.1 Maasai pastoralists are irrational 26

2.3.1.2 Maasai pastoralists economically are inefficient 27

2.3.1.3Maasai pastoralists are environmentally destructive 27

2.3.1.4 Maasai pastoralists as backward people or not modernized 28

2.3.2 Positive discourses 29

2.3.2.1Pastoralism as a climate change adaptation mechanism 29

2.3.2.2 Economic contribution 30

2.3.2.3 Pastoralism as a sustainable livelihood strategy 30

2.3.2.4 Stocking size perception 31

2.4 Discursive Practice 31

2.5 Socio-Cultural Effects of Identified Development Planning Discourses in Maasai Community 32

2.5.1 Construction of social identities 32

2.5.2 Construction of social relations 33

2.5.3 Construction of systems of knowledge and belief or ‘ideational effects’ 34

2.6 Conclusions 35

REFERENCES 37

CHAPTER THREE 48

3.0 PROJECT PLANNING LEADING DISCOURSES AND ITS CONSTRUCTIVE EFFECTS ON THE MAASAI PASTORAL COMMUNITIES 48

Abstract 48

3.1 Introduction 49

3.3 Study Area 53

3.4 Sampling Strategy 54

3.5 Data Collection 57

3.6 Data Analysis 57

3.7 Ethical Issues 61

3.8 Results and Discussion 62

3.8.1 What are the leading discourses used in the documents related to projects implemented in the Maasai community? 62

3.8.1.1 Pastoralism as a livelihood system representation 62

i.Pastoralism as a problematic livelihood 63

ii.Pastoralism and land occupation 63

iii.Pastoralism in relation to environment 64

iv.Legal frameworks on pastoralism 65

3.8.1.2 Pastoralists life style and culture representation 66

i.Indigenous culture protection 66

ii.Maasai community as a self-governing community 67

iii.Pastoralists lack coherent life skills 67

3.8.1.3 Pastoralists relationship with other social groups representations 68

i.Maasai pastoralists are marginalized 69

ii.Land resource use conflicts 70

iii.Violation of human rights 72

iv.Pastoralists and governance 73

v.Favoritism related discourses 74

3.8.2 How ideas and discourses related to pastoralists are produced, by whom, in what context and under whose interests? 75

3.8.3 What are the effects of discursive representation of pastoralists in a wider socio-cultural context? 76

3.8.3.1 Maasai pastoral identity construction 77

3.8.3.2 Maasai pastoral people social relations construction 78

3.8.3.3 Construction of systems of knowledge and belief or ideology construction 80

3.9Conclusion 84

REFERENCES 85

CHAPTER FOUR 93

4.0 Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations 93

4.1 Summary 93

4.2 Conclusions 94

4.3 Recommendations 94

APPENDICES 96

LIST OF TABLE

Table 1: Sampling Strategy.....55

LIST OF FIGURE

Figure 1: Conceptual framework developed from the analysis of literature discussed above 8

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix 1: List of Reviewed Documents and Associated Organizations 96

Appendix 2: Fairclough's List of questions for Textual Analysis 97

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

CDA	-	Critical Discourse Analysis
CSOs	-	Civil Society Organizations
ELCT	-	Evangelical Lutheran Church Tanzania
FPC	-	Farmers Pastoralists collaboration
GEF	-	Global Environment Fund
HACOCA	-	Huruma Aids Concern and Care
HiMWA	-	Huduma ya injili na Maendeleo kwa Wafugaji
IWGIA	-	International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs
LEAT	-	Lawyers Environmental Action Team
LHRC	-	Legal and Human Rights Centre
LRRRI	-	Land rights Research and Resource institute
LSF	-	Legal Service Facility
NGOs	-	Non-Governmental Organizations
PAICODEO	-	Parakuiyo Pastoralists Indigenous Development organization
PINGOs	-	Pastoralists Indigenous Non-Governmental Organizations
SAT	-	Sustainable Agriculture Tanzania
SDGs	-	Sustainable Development Goals
SSA	-	Sub-Saharan Africa
TDV	-	Tanzania Development Vision
WARIDI	-	Water Resources Integration Development Initiatives

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Background Information

Pastoralism is an extensive mobile rearing of livestock on communal range lands. It is the prevailing livelihood and production system practiced in the world's arid and semi- arid lands (Forman and Finch, 2014). Pastoralism is practised by a varied nature of pastoralists ranging from agro-pastoralists, commercial ranches pastoralists and nomadic pastoralists (pure pastoralists). In this study, pastoralists or pastoral community only refers to those communities whose total livelihoods mostly depend on pastoralism. Recent estimates kept the total number of pastoralists and agro-pastoralists worldwide at 120 million, of which, 50 million reside in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) and occupy the savannah and semi-arid lands (Forman and Finch, 2014). In Tanzania, about 50% of the households keep livestock and of these livestock keeping households, 14% belongs to pastoral communities mainly living in the arid and semi-arid regions (NBS, 2014).

Pastoral communities in Tanzania are multi-ethnic in nature and Maasai is the dominating pastoral ethnic community. Maasai pastoralists are constrained with a number of challenges including; climate changes, political marginalization, land-use resource conflicts, negative discourses about their way of life and many other socio-economic challenges (Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe, 2003). The prevailing challenges surrounding the pastoral communities and in particular Maasai Community have boosted the mushrooming of project plans and interventions implemented by both government and non-government actors. Data from the literature indicates that pastoralism has been well researched, and hitherto there have been more than 100 Tanzanian NGOs involved in one way or the other with pastoralism (Tenga *et al.*, 2008).

Entrance of various actors into pastoral environment under development gaze influenced in numerous ways the pastoral socio-economic and cultural positions. For instance, Igoe (2003) asserted that, Maasai actual cultural position and the way in which the Western world views them is thus constantly at the mercy of the forces of power that surround them. This contention implies that; Maasai community's social-cultural practices are highly vulnerable to various external interventions. The identified external interventions derived by varied development actors are mainly implemented in project planning basis. On the other hand, project plans developed for the identified interventions are inseparable with communication dimension that breeds discursive representation of Maasai community which can manipulate the Maasai community's social-cultural context.

With this light on the link of discursive practices within development interventions' communicative dimension and socio-cultural context of the Maasai community, this study suggest a use of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a methodological tool to uncover different meanings conveyed in project planning using project documents as a unit of analysis. CDA is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourses that views language as a form of social practice (Fairclough, 1995). CDA as an approach has a number of dimensions or frameworks basing on the underlying ideas of the developers and some of these includes: Socio-cognitive Approach to Discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 1993) which places particular emphasis on analysing discourses in a social cognitive approach; Historical Approach to Discourse Analysis (Wodak, 2009), that concentrate on historical perspective of discourses in reference to their contexts; and the Three Dimensional Model of Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1992) that comprises three analytical levels in which linguistic analysis at micro-level entails social practices at macro-level.

1.2 Problem Statement

A number of studies have been done in Maasai community focusing on various dimensions including: pastoralist's livelihood and wellbeing (McCabe *et al.,* 2010; Sachedina and Trench, 2009), land use related conflicts (Benjaminsen *et al.,* 2009; LHRC, LEAT and LRRRI, 2008; Saruni *et. al*, 2018); and eviction related studies (PINGOs, 2013; Msigwa, 2014). While this extensive body of knowledge about Maasai pastoralist's livelihood, wellbeing, eviction and land resource use conflicts prevails, little attention has been paid on the role of discourses on project planning and management field in various dimensions of pastoral communities, and specifically the Maasai community. For instance, Massawe (2010) is among few studies which have addressed discourse aspect of pastoral communities through a critical discourse analysis of pastoralists and their conflict with farmers as represented in the media.

In general discourses play a major role in shaping societies including social relations. While discourses cover all forms of language use including verbal and texts, this study will focus only on analysing texts aspect of discourses. Texts have effects on people's beliefs, attitudes, actions and even social relations as well as impacts ideologies as they can sustain or change individual and society ideologies (Fairclough, 2003). Planning discourses specifically are oriented toward achieving intended goals in a professional way. Therefore the used discourses in planning have the ability to effect social change in a wide range of societal dimensions. But far less attention has been devoted to discourse aspect of planning in influencing social changes.

This study has been drawn from a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of project planning related documents, to analyse the constructive role of planning discourses on projects targeted to Maasai community, giving much attention on text discourses aspect of planning at projects level. All of these in turn, help in filling the knowledge gap about the roles that

discourses have in project planning, its representation power as well its influences on socio-context settings of Maasai community.

1.3 Justification of the Study

This study aligns with the broader target of contributing to the national plans and global programs as well. For instance, it is in-line with the Tanzania Development Vision (TDV) 2025 on its first attribute of high quality livelihood, under the target of reforming all social relations and processes which manifest and breed inequality in all aspects of the society. Also, the study contributes to Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 2030, specifically, target 10.3 of non-discrimination by motivating, designing and implementing the cultural sensitive and indigenous people oriented programs and projects.

Social representation that is bounded within the used discourses in different communicative processes has power to produce, challenge and/ or sustain any form of inequalities within a particular social context under representation. On the other hand discourses used in project planning to communicate its interventions, targets and objectives have an ability of reproducing and challenging social settings through their social constructivism. Therefore, through extraction of discourses upon which Maasai pastoralists have been constructed and the way this construction influence their wider socio-cultural context, this study worth undertaking as it uncover forgone issues of power asymmetries, exploitation, and social settings manipulation embodied within discursive practices of the identified development frameworks.

1.4 Research Objectives

1.4.1 General objective

To explore the roles and social constructive effects of discourses used in planning projects in Maasai community in Mvomero District.

1.4.2 Specific objectives

In order to attain the general objective this study is organized into two specific objectives, which are:

i. To identify leading discourses in project planning in the study area
ii. To assess constructive effects of the identified discourses in projects planning in the Maasai community.

1.5 Research Questions

To underscore the role of discourses in project planning in Maasai community, a list of critical questions, which this study aims to answer, was formulated.

i. What are the leading discourses used in the documents related to project implemented in the Maasai community?
ii. How ideas and discourses related to pastoralists are produced, by whom and under who interest and in what context?
iii. What are the effects of discursive representation of pastoralists in a wider socio-cultural context?

1.6 Theoretical Framework and Approach

The study drew from the Three Dimensional Model of CDA, also referred as Fairclough's Theory of CDA, which focuses on the dialectical relationship between discourse and other social dimensions in society (Fairclough 1992, 1995; Phillips and Jorgensen, 2002). As indicated earlier in Section 1.1, the Three Dimensional Model emphasizes on three levels

of analysis: micro level text analysis on its linguistic form; meso level which comprise analysis of text production, distribution and consumption; and macro-level analysis which involves social practices whereby social-cultural wider context that discourses reproduce, challenge or restructure is analysed (Fairclough, 1992).

In applying this approach, CDA has been employed in both theoretical and methodological dimensions of this study. Although analytical stages, as depicted above are separated into three distinct levels, the identified stages overlapped into each other and took an eclectic nature during the analysis process. With this acknowledgement, three analytical levels have been described, hereafter, with a support of diagrammatic narration.

The analysis process started with micro level which covers linguistic analysis; this study has carried out this level from socio-linguistic point of view especially on socially significant discursive features of the reviewed documents. Analysis at this level started with the description of the text into discourses in which the project documents were analysed in linguistic basis with a particular focus on vocabulary, grammar cohesion, inter-textual analysis, modality, nominalization, the use of passive voice and the textual structures. This process led to the identification of socially significant discursive features within the reviewed documents. The identified social discursive features at this level have been regarded as the leading representative discourses to the Maasai community in project planning. Micro-level analysis as whole informed the two remained analytical levels (Macro and Meso levels) in which recognized text has been related to the discursive practice which encompasses discourse production, distribution and consumption while ideological constructive effects of discourses found as a modality of power which realized on discourses representation as assentation or assumptions on the reviewed documents.

After carrying out linguistic analysis at the micro level as indicated above, Meso analytical level was done. Analytical process at this level involved a forth and backward movement in a way that, text was considered as a product of a discourse production process and as a resource for interpretation. Since that analysis at this level focus on production, distribution and consumption of discourses, it was worthy to understand political, economic and institutional settings of the project implementing organizations. This process was useful to gain an insight on institutional context within which discourses has been produced. Understanding of the identified organizational aspects was done by studying the relationship between the local NGOs, project beneficiaries and the donors. In hand with studying the identified relationship, inter-textual analysis was also done at this level to excavate constructed social practices in terms of the constituted social structures and conventions within the reviewed documents.

The analysis of socio-cultural practice involved both semiotic and non-semiotic elements and focused on a variety of aspects or issues including the ones indicated among the strategy document roles. Since the framework itself entails eclectic analysis, semiotic elements of the reviewed documents have been considered in analysis of the social cultural practices embodied within project documents. Semiotic elements have been involved at this level by focusing intensively on inter-textuality form of the reviewed documents. Social context analysis that is described in the reviewed documents covered non-semiotic elements of analysis at this level with its central focus on dominant discourses identified in micro level analysis and relate them with the constructed social effects as listed by Fairclough. As a whole critical analysis at this level informed social practices manipulative power of leading discourses in project related documents and its constructive effects in socio-cultural dimensions of Maasai community. Fairclough (1992:64) lists the three constructive effects of discourse as; (i) construction of social identities, (ii), construction of

social relations and (iii) construction of systems of knowledge and belief or 'ideational functions'. These effects entail transformative power of the discourses. These effects have been uncovered at this stage and its discussion done in subsequent parts of this study.

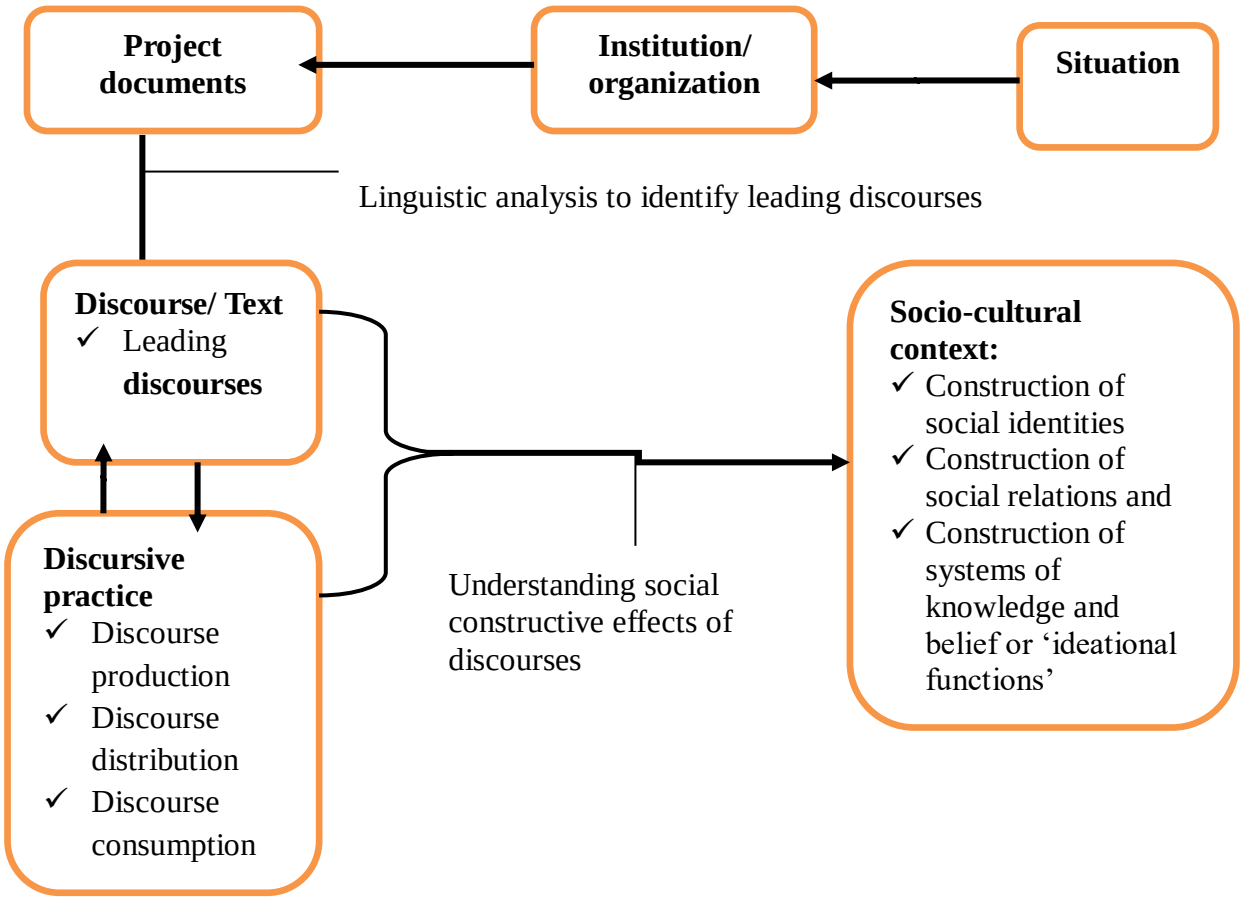

Figure 1: Conceptual framework developed from the analysis of literature discussed above

1.7 Research Methodology

This study uses qualitative research approach that employed CDA as an underlying methodology in an analysis of the project documents for the projects implemented in Maasai community. In this study, CDA provided a sociological explanation of language with particular interest in "ideology, social relations and the relationship between text and context". As indicated earlier, this study adopted the Fairclough Three-Dimensional

Framework as an underlying theoretical framework in carrying out systematic analysis of the identified documents. Detailed descriptions on methodology employed in this study, has been clearly depicted in consequent chapters.

1.8 Study Limitations

Difficulty in accessing the documents has been a great challenge during data collection where different approaches have been adapted to access the identified number of documents. This limitation was also highlighted by Sarantakos (1998) who argued that one of the limitations of using documents as a source of data is the difficulty involved in accessing them. The following mechanisms and procedures has been employed to overcome this limitation; first, identification of institutions or organizations that are involved in different projects implemented within the pastoral communities. This was done through consultation with local authorities including the Mvomero District community development department, Village Executive Officers and with key people from the target community (Maasai people). Second step involved visiting the identified institutions or organization at their permanent office locations and submission of the document request to the responsible personnel. In most cases the requests were sent to the highest authorities in the organization in which some of the requests were accepted while others rejected. For instance, seven requests were sent to organizations and four of them provided positive response while three organizations rejected. Finally the accessed documents were provided in either soft or hard copy with vary restrictions of the respective institutions or organizations with regard to their communication policies. Study findings in this dissertation are not affected by this challenge as analyzing more than one document per institution with more than one project served the purpose of replacement. Furthermore CDA studies are not strictly bounded to sample size as it needs a manageable sample that allows deep and intensive analysis.

The other incurred challenge in this study was on determining the proper sample size that ensures study findings validity and issues of subjectivity. This study as prescribed above analyzed eight project related documents to uncover the leading discourses, its representativeness of the subject matter as well as its constructive effects. While the sample size numerically sounds low, difficulty in analyzing a huge number of documents, time used to archive the accessed documents has been a constraint in analyzing a large number of project documents. Empirical review done has depicted the use of small manageable sample in CDA studies. For instance Proponents of CDA do not have strict or explicit guidelines regarding the numbers or quantity of data that is considered sufficient for analysis; they, however, recommend the selection of a manageable sample that will allow for close and deeper analysis (Saichaie, 2011). A manageable sample is necessary in CDA for conducting a close analysis with in-depth (Askehave, 2007; Pitts, 2004). All of these validate the use of a small number of documents in discourse analysis. In this study the documents accessed were deeply analyzed and its discussed findings are generalizable. Some of the previous studies such as Lauritsen (2006) used a sample of two United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) policy documents in a CDA of UNESCO's literacy programs. Post (2009) used a sample of 6 campaign speeches for a CDA of the 2008 presidential elections in the US. In terms of subjectivity issues as identified in the literature as being a main challenge for CDA studies has been handled by adhering to ethical issues that guides social studies.

1.9 Organization of the Dissertation

For organizational and descriptive purposes, the chapters of this dissertation have been organized into four major parts. Chapter one provided an overall introduction of the dissertation which covers introduction, problem statement, objectives and justification of the study, conceptual and theoretical frameworks as well as general methodology. Chapter two presents a review of discourses in development planning and constructive effects on Maasai community. This part provided an existing knowledge and established a knowledge

gap in the subject matter. Chapter three presents analysis of the reviewed project documents to underscore the leading discourses in project documents and the associated possible constructive effects to the Maasai community socio-cultural contexts. Furthermore the details on methodological aspects of this dissertation have been abundantly discussed in this chapter. The last part is chapter four which covers presentation of the findings summary, conclusions and recommendations.

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CHAPTER TWO

2.0 REVIEW OF DISCOURSES IN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTIVE EFFECTS ON THE MAASAI COMMUNITY IN TANZANIA

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Abstract

Development planning has been comprehended to bring social changes through accomplishment of its well designated goals which are mainly stipulated in different project related documents. Language used in terms of text within project documents is useful in understanding significant discursive practices entailed within the documents towards the targeted social group. Therefore, since that development planning is capable of shaping societal settings on its communicative dimensions, this review aims at uncovering the articulated discourses and its associated social practices in development planning in Maasai community which found to have very limited body of knowledge. The review involved key note taking and synthesis of the key messages from previous studies. The review found that Maasai community representation is dominated by negative portrayals that are termed as misleading perceptions. The identified misunderstandings about this community imply longstanding drawn conceptions on the old pastoral ecology orthodoxies and social development models and theories which are developed with a limited knowledge on pastoralism in the south. This review suggests a need of considering relevancy issues on any development framework before its adoption.

Key Words: Pastoralism, Pastoralists, Development Planning, Discourses, Discursive Practices, Social Constructivism

2.1 Background Information

This manuscript presents a review of literature on discourses related to development planning in Maasai community and associated constructive effects that have been overlooked by various scholars. Development planning is associated with discursive practices on linguistic features bounded within plans that have effects on socio-cultural practices within any social strata. This manuscript concur with various scholars in the field of strategic project management who argued that strategy texts including plans are not mere documents representing ideas and goals, but have potential and textual agency (Fairclough, 1992; Cooren, 2004). This is to say that planning discourses holds ideological and political implications which legitimize and delegitimize ways of thinking and share socially negotiated meanings (Sorsa, 2012). All of these depict the need of turning a critical gaze on social studies toward socio-linguistic aspects of development planning. Therefore this review paves a way to uncover discourses used in planning targeted to Maasai community and its associated effects.

Pastoralism broadly refers to an extensive mobile rearing of livestock on communal range lands. It is the prevailing livelihood and production system practiced in the world's arid and semi-arid lands. This system is practiced by a varied nature of pastoralists ranging from agro-pastoralists, commercial ranches pastoralists and nomadic pastoralists (pure pastoralists). In this study, pastoralists or pastoral community refers to those people or communities whose total livelihood wholly or mostly depend on pastoralism (Kirkbride, 2008). Recent estimates kept the total number of pastoralists and agro-pastoralists worldwide at 120 million, of which, 50 million reside in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) (Forman and Finch, 2014). In Tanzania, about 50% of the households keep livestock and of these livestock keeping households, 14% belongs to pastoral communities mainly living in the arid and semi-arid regions (NBS, 2014).

In East Africa, the root of numerous development plans targeted to Maasai community can be traced back to the colonial era. According to Igoe (2003), in 1904 the British colonists began prodding Maasai pastoralists into signing land agreements which resulted into shortage of grazing land. Furthermore, as colonial rule was ending, Garrett Harding publication of "Tragedy of the Commons", describing how shared resources would be depleted by pastoralism practices raised the interest of many development practitioners to impose initiatives to amend such practices in Maasai community including sedentarization policies (Fraktin, 2001).

Pastoral communities in Tanzania are multi-ethnical in nature and the Maasai community has been identified as the dominating ethnic group. Maasai people are predominately pastoralists, although today most also cultivate crops for subsistence and profit, and participate in alternative income earning activities such as wage labour (Maphosa *et al.*, 2014). Despite of its tremendous socio-economic contributions, there is consensus in the literature that, Maasai community is constrained with a number of challenges including: climate change; political marginalization; resource use conflicts; negative discourses about their way of life; and many other socio-economic challenges (Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe, 2003; Massawe, 2010; Massawe and Urassa, 2016). As a result of these challenges, development plans implemented by state and non-state actors in Maasai community have being on the increase.

In Tanzania, Maasai are mostly found in the northern part of the country though some of them had shifted to other parts of the country due to various pushing factors including development plans and policies which undermine their livelihood strategy. For instance under Socialism Policy of Villagisation (Ujamaa Policy), several policies were established where Maasai homesteads were burnt, cattle confiscated, and population forced into

livestock villages controlling grazing and water resources (Hodgson, 2001). Identified policies, implies that, Maasai livelihood strategies are highly vulnerable to be affected by the changes induced by various actors and even in many cases, they have adopted them. For instance, Igoe (2003) pointed that, Maasai actual cultural position and the way in which other groups of people view them put their livelihood strategy constantly at the mercy of the development actors that surround them.

This contention implicates that, Maasai community's practices and communal structures are highly vulnerable to various external interventions and in some cases they have adopted the critics of their lifestyle. This adoption has been influenced by external forces which come under the umbrella of development plans, shadowed through the use of linguistic features bounded within communicative aspects of projects. This argument has been articulated in a vast literature base whereby language which encompasses linguistic features of plan documents is seen at the centre of strategic activities and it is through language that strategy or plan is linked to action and routines in practice (Rouleau, 2005). Furthermore, it has been argued that, strategy discourses in form of texts or talks including development plans are useful in informing actions and interactions throughout project life (Girotto and Hiern, 2010).

While extensive body of literature vividly show emanation of discursive practices from development plans through its linguistic features (Fairclough, 1992; Cooren, 2004; Sorsa, 2012), there is limited knowledge of the constructive effects of discourses used in development planning and in particular, plans targeting Maasai community. Therefore, this manuscript aims at bridging up this knowledge gap through a thorough review of different pieces of scholarly works. In addition to this, the review will pave a way on drawing alternative frameworks that will guide planning in Maasai community and conceptualization of this community.

The materials reviewed were retrieved from both print and online sources; ranging from journal articles, text books, published and unpublished reports and information from websites. The main search engine used were Google and Google Scholar with the use of the key words such as discourses and pastoralism, discourses and development planning, discourses and social construction, development planning in Maasai communities, discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis were used. After retrieving the literatures from the sources shown above, a thorough reading and key note taking of accessed documents were done, followed by synthesis of the key messages generated from the review.

This manuscript is organized into five sections: this introduction is followed by a section that discusses discourses in development planning. Section 2.2 provides a discussion on theoretical frameworks of the study, followed by a section that presents planning discourses and its constructive effects in Maasai community. Section 2.4 present discursive practices analysis while socio-cultural context effects of the identified discourses are presented in section 2.5 and lastly conclusions are presented in Section 2.6.

2.1.1. Discourses in development planning

Development planning encompasses strategic determination of alternatives to bring social changes to the targeted beneficiaries within a given period of time (Shakya, 2008). With this insight, the normative model of social change states that ‘changes at the social level can be constituted in part through changes in linguistic practices’ (Hastings, 1999b, p. 93). Thus, changes that are to be manipulated by strategic determination of alternatives are attributable to changes in linguistic practices as depicted in the normative model of social change. Further, scholarly works depicted that, strategic change involves the use of

discursive and other symbolic material to establish new meaning system in an effort to set strategic direction (Fiol, 2002; Gioia and Chittipeddi, 1991). In addition, previous research using both ‘narrative’ (Barry and Elmes, 1997; Brown, 1998) and "sense making" lenses (Balogun and Johnson, 2004; Gioia and Chittipeddi, 1991; Maitlis and Sonenshein, 2010) has supported the idea that strategic change requires a fundamental shift in meanings and involve the use of discourses that influence human actions on their social practices.

Since that development planning involves strategic determination of alternatives to bring social changes, the identified literature above signifies the capability of linguistic practices on altering social structures of a particular social group specifically the Maasai community. Therefore, with the given linkage of how development planning breeds discourses and the way strategic change involves shift in meanings in reaching its designated targets, this paper found potentiality of socio-linguistic analysis of project documents as the one which mediate linguistic patterns of intended strategic change.

Based on the identified association between development planning and linguistic representation aspect of plans, the spread of the said plans/interventions has great implication on representations of the target community in terms of the discourses used in communication dimension of those interventions. For instance, the literature identified that various interventions on pastoral communities has resulted to the increased marginalization of poor pastoralists and increased susceptibility to famine (Markakis, 2004; IFAD, 2018; Prior, 1994). The identified marginalization can with no doubt be associated with discursive related factors held by those plans/interventions, because they are likely to be influenced by discursive representations about pastoralists way of life, which in turn, have effects on wider social-cultural context.

As indicated earlier, development planning simply encompasses strategic determination of alternatives to bring changes to the targeted beneficiaries within a given time period. In project management arena, among the critical factors for its success includes effective communication. In hand with communication effectiveness, discourses use is powerful in shaping meanings and influencing actions. Thus, planning per se influences actions which are changes oriented through the use of discourses on its communicative aspect that are demonstrated within its strategic documents.

2.2 Theoretical Frameworks for Discourse Analysis

Discourse refers to a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements and so on that in some way together produce a particular version of events (Burr, 2006). Thus, discourses stem from a set of written texts, verbal actions and other forms of communicative mediation processes. In this view, discourses can also be created and perpetuated by different institutions through the means of communication used and then, the created discourses shape the institutionalization. With this insight on a concept of discourse, the concept per se has a great role on social construction on the object as it informs social practices, and social settings through maintaining or challenging the existing social position and statuses.

Various socio-linguistic approaches to guide discourse analysis in various dimensions of life have been documented and includes: Socio-cognitive Approach to Discourse Analysis (Van Dijk, 1993); Historical Approach to Discourse Analysis (Wodak, 2009), and the Three Dimensional Model of Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1992). The three approaches are discussed in Section 2.2.1, Section 2.2.2 and Section 2.2.3, respectively. All of these approaches fall into Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourses. The CDA is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourses that views language as a form of social practice (Fairclough, 1995). Thus it sets out to

describe, interpret, and explain the relationships between language, social practices, and the social world. The CDA departs from discourse analysis and other sociolinguistic analyses in its movement from description and interpretation to explanation of how discourse systematically constructs versions of the social world (Mertens and Wilson, 2012).

2.2.1 Socio-cognitive approach to discourse analysis

This approach was developed by Teun A. van Dijk and regards discourse as a communicative event, a kind of manifestation pattern of a variety of meanings. This approach is characterized by a triangle that involves Discourses, Cognition and Society. The central emphasis of the approach lies on analyzing discourses in a Social Cognitive Approach (Van Djik, 1988). Thus, the relationship between society and discourses is cognitively mediated. On this cognitive relationship, van Djik (1988) argues that social interaction, social situations and social structures can only influence text and talk through people's interpretations of such social environments. And conversely, discourse can only influence social interaction and social structures through the same cognitive interface of mental models, knowledge, attitudes and ideologies. Therefore it worthy to note that, this approach explores the mental representation of discourse user, the production and comprehension process of discourse, as well as the ideologies shared by the society. The strength of van Dijk's approach lies on its distinctive feature of integrating cognitive dimension with discourse analysis. On the other hand, the weakness of this approach is associated by its focus on the analysis of reproduction of ideologies rather than transformation of ideologies.

2.2.2 Historical approach to discourse analysis

Historical discourse analysis theory was developed by Wodak who conducted a study on the anti-Semitism discourses in 1990 (Wodak, 2009). The theory argues that language both

in speaking and written form are a kind of social practice (Wodak, 2009). The approach emphasizes the role of historical context of discourses in discourse analysis as its distinguishing feature. This approach integrates the existing knowledge of both the historical context and the social-political backgrounds. The key strength of this approach lies on its analytical framework. Thus the analysis process in this approach is conducted not only on texts but also on the interrelationships of discourse. Thus it focuses on Inter-discursive and inter-textual relationships between discourses, discourse topics, genres, and texts over time. Also its analytical framework is consistent with clear speculated procedures that are easy to be followed by researchers who will adopt this analytical framework. On the other hand this approach has been subject to a critic of being oriented on merely linguistic analysis. Thus, it does not equip the analyst to connect the linguistic analysis to the analysis of social practice as well as larger social structures.

2.2.3 Three dimensional model of critical discourse analysis

Fairclough (1992) sketches a three-dimensional framework for comprehending and analyzing discourses. This framework focuses on the dialectical relationship between discourse and other social dimensions in society (Fairclough 1992, 1995; Phillips and Jorgensen, 2002). The first dimension of this framework is discourse-as-text (sometimes referred as a description or micro-level), which covers the linguistic analysis to identify discursive features within any social communicative dimension. Analysis at this level describes choices and patterns in vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, text structure and the use of passive verbs (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000) to signify agency relationship of the analyzed subject matter.

The second dimension of this framework is discursive practices sometimes referred as (interpretation or Meso- level of analysis) and it is concerned with establishing the relationship of text and interaction that is the whole process of text production, distribution

and consumption. In this level texts/discourses are treated as a product of a process of production and as resource for interpretation. Approaching discourse as discursive practice means that, in analysing vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure attention should be given to speech acts, coherence, and intertextuality (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000). Therefore at this level of analysis, intertextual and interdiscursive analyses serve a purpose of linking discourses and its context in terms of discourses production, distribution and consumption.

The third and last dimension of the framework is social-cultural practice that specifically covers the implications of discourses' representations of a subject matter. This dimension extends the analysis of discourses to a much wider context beyond the grammatical and textual features, and the processes of production (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995). The analysis may focus on the direct situational context or it may be limited to the institutional context, or it may focus on the much wider context of the society and culture and the particular aspects chosen for analysis may be dependent on the topic or discourse under review (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995a, 1995b).

Analysis at this level can be considered as a differentiating feature and a strength of this framework in which the basis of social transformations, ideological effects and approach to change through the way discourses are represented, rewritten and spoken are excavated. This framework also has been criticized on its highly complex system of terminology that is not easily understandable by social researchers as well as its failure to separate analytical process on its three dimensions. With acknowledgement of this challenge, a thorough literature review was done on this model from different sources to offset its complexity nature. Furthermore, this study was eclectic in nature to ensure proper analysis of all levels as product of one level informs other level analysis.

With the insight drawn from theoretical framework above, this paper found that, Fairclough's three dimensional framework is an appropriate approach in identifying discourses used in development planning that are targeted to Maasai community as it unfold its constructive effects side on its third dimension of socio-cultural practice. The following paragraphs discusses the main findings of the review by discussing the uncovered development planning related leading discourses in the literature and its wider socio-cultural context implications.

2.3 Development Planning Discourses and Construction of Maasai Community

As stipulated in previous sections of this paper, development planning is associated with production of discourses on its communicative dimension in which discourses that are conveyed in terms of texts, talks, and daily interactions are powerful in shaping meanings and influencing actions toward attaining the desired ends of plans. Fairclough (2003) asserted that, texts have effects on people's beliefs, attitudes, actions and even social relations as well as impacts ideologies as they can sustain or change social ideologies. On the other hand Fairclough (1992, 1995) argued that, discourses are not free-floating; they are embedded in institutions and organizations. On these contentions, it is certain that development planning is capable of producing discourses as well as the discourses produced are capable of manipulating social settings of a represented group. Therefore in the following section, the discussion will focus on development planning related discourses towards the Maasai community found in the literature and their possible constructive roles.

2.3.1 Negative discourses

While several literatures such as (Krätli *et al.*, 2015; Odhiambo, 2014, Krätli *et al.*, 2014, Krätli and Dyer, 2009) have identified misconceptions and inappropriateness of the development interventions in pastoral environment, little attention has been given to the discursive aspects of these interventions on its interaction and communicative dimensions.

The review found the necessity of linking the identified misconceptions with discursive aspects of these interventions. In this essence, the following sub sections offer a discussion on the identified negative leading discourses in development planning in Maasai community as depicted from the review done.

2.3.1.1 Maasai pastoralists are irrational

The review done revealed that pastoral communities including the Maasai Tanzania have won a focus of various scholars and development practitioners since colonial era and post-independence era. The literature depicts that, development plans targeted to Maasai communities have been bounded with misconceptions and stereotypical axioms with negative perspectives towards the pastoral people. For instance, Niboye and Kabote (2012) asserted that the negative record of most pastoral development projects in Tanzania and Africa at large has been the result of misconceptions about pastoralists and their ways of life. Among the identified axioms are the ones that can be categorized under irrationality view of pastoralism and this category is discussed hereafter.

The literature depicts that various development strategies including pastoral development plans conveyed pastoralism and the pastoralist's behaviors with irrationality portrayals. For instance, the literature depicted that, various policies and development strategies have not favored the pastoralist's way of life, especially their mobility behavior and keeping of large number of herds (Mtengeti, 1994; Mlekwa, 1996; Walsh, 2008; Ndaskoi, 2009; Mwangi, 2009; Olengurumwa, 2010). All of these clauses signify negative and misleading perspectives within development interventions towards the nomads. For instance GEF (2007) disapproves a perception of the livelihood as being archaic and economically irrational instead, it is the most viable use for dry lands.

2.3.1.2 Maasai pastoralists economically are inefficient

The review done revealed that, some of the development strategies including development plans targeted to pastoral communities including the Maasai community, portrayed pastoralism and pastoralists as economically inefficient. For instance, (Pratt and Gwynne 1977; Behnke and Scoones, 1992; UNDP, 2003; Hodgson, 2000, 1999 cited by Hesse, 2006) pointed out that, pastoral nomadism is an economically and ecologically inefficient form of production, and that it needs radical reform by replacing it by sedentary pastoral systems such as ranching. This contention depict how different scholars, development orthodoxies informed the design of various pastoral development interventions that were in form of projects or programs. The view of economic inefficiency of pastoral communities portrayed in different scenarios within development interventions arena signify misunderstanding of the pastoral communities socio-economic and ecological perspectives, and hence inappropriate representations of pastoral people in economic aspects of the identified livelihood strategy. For instance, Hyandye *et al*. (2018), shown that traditional pastoralism outperform ranching pastoralism in efficacy issues.

2.3.1.3 Maasai pastoralists are environmentally destructive

Development planning also linked pastoralism specifically nomadic pastoralism with environmental destruction which literary signifies negative representations of nomads with regards to rangeland management. For instance, it is argued that policies which have aimed to sedentarize the nomads and encourage them to adopt farming believes that mobile pastoralism is an inefficient and environmentally destructive subsistence strategy (Krätli, 2000); World Initiative for Sustainable Pastoralism (WISP) sees ranching as an antidote to pastoralist environmental destruction (GEF, 2007), Pastoralist strategies centered on mobility were contrary to the goals of range management (Ellis *et al*., 1993; Ellis and Swift, 1988; Fratkin, 1997; Homewood and Rodgers, 1987; McCabe, 2004; Scoones 1996), most rangelands are degraded because of pastoral over-grazing (UNDP, 2003; Hodgson,

2000, 1999 cited by Hesse, 2006), mobility is inherently backward, predatory and extractive way of using resources.

All of these phrases signify that nomadism is represented within a range of negative axioms in relation to environmental management within their rangelands. These representations on the other hand have more to do with identity branding of pastoralists as well as on the socio-cultural effects of this marginalized social group.

2.3.1.4 Maasai pastoralists as backward people or not modernized

Various scholars and development actors viewed nomadic pastoralism as an archaic and backward livelihood strategy that need to be revoked and this led to emergence of modernization discourse in pastoral environment. Thus for economic harmonization in pastoral environment modernization is inevitable. For instance Sendalo (2009) asserted that policy makers have seen customary pastoral livelihood as archaic, unproductive and environmentally damaging relic of the past which need to be modernized and brought into line with progressive and modern development. This implies that pastoralism needs to be reshaped into modern livelihood strategy which is economically and environmentally viable while neglecting socio-cultural and ecological ties within the customary pastoralism and hence relying on inappropriately drawn assumptions.

This supported by Birch and Grahn (2007) who argued that modernization discourse pursued by both colonial and post-colonial governments has set the spatial barriers to pastoralists life options through the promotion of development models, which neglect the actual experience of dry land farmers and pastoralists. The above contentions imply that modernization and development discourses within pastoral environments have gradual effects on pastoralist's livelihoods as they challenge existing socio-cultural webs. In line with this argument Kreutzmann (2012) argued that social organization and pastoral

practices were transformed in a short span of time by external und un-experienced planners resulting in human tragedies and casualties and huge losses of pastoral wealth and resources. Settlement of subsistence pastoralists has been either the consequence of explicit or implicit government policies such as land tenure reform, or simply the result of modernization.

2.3.2 Positive discourses

Despite the above discussion on negative discourses found from the review, this paper found a shift in pastoralist's portrayals in some of the literatures that stem either positive or neutral presentations of pastoralists livelihoods strategies and other socio-cultural aspects specifically of the Maasai community. Hereafter is the discussion on the revealed Positive or neutral discourses found by this review.

2.3.2.1 Pastoralism as a climate change adaptation mechanism

Various scholars have changed their views on pastoralism in relation to environmental deterioration that induced from different irrelevant theories and development paradigms in the field of pastoral environment ecology. For instance (Boles *et al.,* 2019) pointed out that, the impacts of the restrictions on herd mobility driven by misguided conservation and economic policies are emphasized over outdated notions of pastoralist inefficiency and deserve to be continuously evaluated and challenged. Development organizations and conservationists recently see pastoralism simultaneously as a prime example of effective climate change adaptation and accepting the fact that extensive pastoralism does not intrinsically damage the environment but rather enhances conservation (Crawford *et al.*, 2005; de Haan *et al.,* 2014).

2.3.2.2 Economic contribution

Traditional pastoralism has been regarded as unproductive livelihood but recently some of the scholars have changed the myths that labeled pastoralism specifically nomadic as economic irrational. Several researchers shown that, identifying traditional pastoralism as unproductive is due to the lack of knowledge about the pastoral environments. For instance research conducted in the 1980's and 1990's in Ethiopia, Kenya, Botswana and Zimbabwe comparing the productivity of ranching against pastoralism all came to the same conclusion that pastoralism consistently outperforms ranching (Hyandye *et.al,* 2018). Further review found that traditional pastoralism economically supports the livelihoods of the millions pastoralists as well as the ten thousands of their counterparts. Sectorial and national GDP contribution share of traditional pastoralism in hand with the above narrations bolds on economic viability of this livelihood option and stretch the need for optimism focus from the respective policies as well as plans.

2.3.2.3 Pastoralism as a sustainable livelihood strategy

The review found that various development interventions targeted to the nomad pastoralists are misleading and considered nomadism livelihood strategies as a risk-averse system, but in some instances this view has been changed by identifying pastoralism as a sustainable and an appropriate strategy in the most vulnerable environment. For instance IUCN (2011) pointed out that, pastoralism can be seen as a system that pro-actively manages risk and many pastoralists seek reliability in highly risky environments: they accept the variability of productive inputs and modify their herding and social systems appropriately. Furthermore Pastoralism has been considered as a sustainable livelihood strategy in ecology sustainability, economic sustainability and social sustainability. Thebaud (1995) bolded on this by pointing out that, production system that account for the fluctuating environment can be described as sustainable in terms of sustaining flexible strategies. Ability to manage risks and sustainability as identified above provide a positive view of

nomadism which not to be taken for granted in developing interventions in pastoral environment specifically the Maasai community whose icon rely on nomadic strategies.

2.3.2.4 Stocking size perception

The review found a shift in conceptions of pastoralists' preferences on stock size or herd maximization which previously considered irrational regardless of its potentials in sustaining pastoralist's livelihoods. For instance it is argued that, large herd serves as insurance in case of drought years, and against diseases and raids (Dahl and Hjort 1976); are also used as bride wealth (Gulliver 1955; Dombrowski 1993), and as a source of prestige (Solbrig 1993). These arguments signify a shift in conceptions that relied solely on quantification of economic importance of herd size while underestimating its accrued social benefits. Furthermore, several studies have shown that stocking which allow variation of stock size in relation to seasonal variability is the most appropriate for pastoral systems of Africa (Abel and Blaikie 1990; Young and Solbrig 1992; Behnke 1994; Thébaud *et al*. 1995) in terms of ecology management.

2.4 Discursive Practice

To analyze discursive practice dimension as depicted in three dimensional model, Fairclough (1992:72) suggests that, to have a better understanding of how discourse was developed, including its production, distribution and consumption, it is necessary to gain knowledge of the political, economic and institutional settings upon which the discourse emerged. For this matter the identified findings in this subsection are drawn from studying institutional settings of the possible institutions working with Maasai community. From the review done most of the identified discourses as discussed above were rooted from different development orthodoxies and theories which are related to the pastoral environment. The identified orthodoxies and theories originated from the west with limited experience on pastoral traditions and socio-ecological dimensions of the pastoral

communities. For this matter this review found that the main producers of the identified discourses are the developers of the adopted theories and development models. The subsequent publications from different scholars, planners, consultants and development practitioners are seen to be the main distributers of the representative discourses. On the other hand the readers of these sources worthy to be regarded as the main consumers of the identified discourses.

2.5 Socio-Cultural Effects of Identified Development Planning Discourses in Maasai Community

According to Fairclough (2003), texts have effects on people's beliefs, attitudes, actions, ideologies, and social relations. With this insight, the review in turn explored the possible effects of the identified discourses on socio-cultural practices of Maasai community. The discussion in this section will adhere to three constructive effects of discourse listed by Fairclough (1992) including: construction of social identities; construction of social relations; construction of systems of knowledge and belief or 'ideational effect'. These constructive effects are further discussed below.

2.5.1 Construction of social identities

The identified discourses retrieved from the review of several literatures constructed the Maasai community's identity mostly negatively. For instance the identified clauses identify nomad pastoralists as they are; *resistant to change, conservative, backward people* while their nomadic livelihood strategies seen as *archaic, ecology destructive, unproductive livelihood, chaotic and disruptive*. The constructed identity of Maasai community that emanated through different kind of portrayals used in development planning it's not only limited to labeling but also it affects other social settings. For instance the constructed identity might impact profoundly on how other social groups view pastoralists through

their daily interactions. This effect possibly can be associated with conflicts, devaluing the pastoral livelihood strategy in terms of development planning. Also this kind of construction might impart a myopia view of pastoralists as they are problematic and their livelihood system is outdated and need replacement. All of these effects in hand with the constructed identities with no doubts can limit development movements in pastoral environments to be confined within myopic view of pastoralism and may accelerate formulation of inappropriate interventions towards improving pastoralists welfare.

2.5.2 Construction of social relations

Also the way pastoralists represented in development planning discourses as irrational and economic inefficient impact negative attitudes to the pastoralist's counterparts, the government and other social groups within the country and in the globe as well. For instance the review done revealed various clauses that depicts negative conceptions about the pastoral societies including; traditional pastoralism system in Tanzania is politically termed as archaic and unproductive (Hesse, 2006); mobile transhumance on unfenced, unmodified rangelands is seen to be unproductive (Homewood *et al.,* 2012; Randall, 2015). Pastoralism is not recognized by governments as generating a viable production system (Hyandye *et al.*, 2018); pastoralism is labeled as an archaic and slightly shameful form of traditional behavior that should be stopped as soon as possible to facilitate real 'development' (Randall, 2015).

All of these perceptions cement on the argument that pastoralism is economic inefficient, despite of all economic contributions this livelihood offer for national economic growth, employment and as the best livelihood option during seasonal variability, resources management and food provision. Some of the scholars are against this kind of portrayals.

For instance in Tanzania Pastoralism contribute 5%-7.4% of GDP (URT, 2016); it supports millions of farmers and sustain 1 million pastoralists (Allegretti *et al*., 2016); in Arusha meat production contribute 46 billion per year (Allegretti *et al*., 2016) and Hesse 2006 argued that, Pastoralism is a rational economic land-use system in which maximum returns, be they economic, social, environmental or cultural, are sought from investments. With these supportive arguments and scholarly works, irrationality and economic inefficiency portrayals of pastoralism are fallacy and misleading. The impacts of these conceptions is shaping attitudes of various social actors and other social groups and as the side effect of these ideologies investments in improving the sector might be foregone and devote efforts into alternative sectors.

2.5.3 Construction of systems of knowledge and belief or 'ideational effects'

Maasai community portrayals in development planning related axioms are also tied with ideational functions of discourses that impact people beliefs, attitudes and knowledge. The way Maasai community is portrayed in development plans is the side effects of misconceptions that are drawn by various development actors, scholars and other social actors. For instance, representing pastoralists as environmentally destructive impact an attitude that pastoral related activities in nomad lifestyle are environmental unfriend and destructive. On the other hand various scholars and ecologists considered nomadism as one of the best livelihood strategy in semi-arid lands. For instance, Oba *et al.* (2000) claim that grazing resources are degraded, not by continuous grazing, but rather by the long-term absence of grazing in that particular resource; Climate change impacts on environment due to increase in global temperatures and reduced precipitation are not understood well by some people in East Africa to the extent of blaming the pastoralists (Gorski *et al.*, 2016). These two opposing myths concerning pastoralism and environment proves that planners and other development actors with negative perceptions towards pastoral communities are

likely to influence other people attitudes to correlate with them and mark a continuation of viscous circle and marginalization of pastoral communities.

As a whole, the way pastoral communities including Maasai are represented in development related initiatives have been rooted from old development orthodoxies and different theoretical underpinnings that prescribe the pastoral environment. The old orthodoxies and theoretical frameworks on pastoral development originated from the western world and focused on transforming traditional pastoralism practices to match the western models. With this view, there is where misconceptions and misunderstanding of the real pastoral environment emerged and being perpetuated through linguistic tires of development interventions including planning that led to more marginalization of pastoral people.

2.6 Conclusions

Pastoralist's way of life and their environment have been influenced by development interventions in the pastoralist's areas. Thus the Maasai are affected by the changes induced by various actors and even in many cases, they have adopted them and their way of life is under external actor's pressure. The induced changes are inseparable with the use of discursive features by the identified external actors. The review found that, Maasai representation is overwhelmed by negative representation and misconceptions on their socio-cultural context. Identified representations and perceptions have a direct impact on ideologies, legal frameworks such as policies, and other development frameworks including development planning that are targeted to Maasai pastoralists. Furthermore since that discursive features in development planning impacts the identified frameworks, then vicious cycle will be perpetuated on the problematic nature of the Maasai pastoralists bounded within a social relation that is generated by the existing stereotypical views of the Maasai community. With such insight this review suggest a need of restructuring the

existing development models to respond exactly to the need of the Maasai community in the south. Furthermore development planners, governing bodies and other actors has to situate the Maasai pastoralists in a position to argue for their cases.

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CHAPTER THREE

3.0 PROJECT PLANNING LEADING DISCOURSES AND ITS CONSTRUCTIVE EFFECTS ON THE MAASAI PASTORAL COMMUNITIES

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Abstract

This study examines the discursive aspect of projects targeted to Maasai community, with particular focus on discourses used in project planning and other aspects of language conversation at the projects level. Specifically, to exhaust study aim of excavating discourses in which the Maasai community are constructed and the way the identified construction influence Maasai socio-cultural context, this study explores a set of critical questions: first, What are the leading discourses used in the documents related to projects implemented in the Maasai community? How ideas and discourses related to pastoralists are produced, by whom and under whose interest and in what context? How are discourses distributed and consumed? And what are the effects of discursive representation of pastoralists in a wider socio-cultural context? In answering these questions the discussion complimented three levels of analysis depicted in Fairclough dialectic framework of CDA (Fairclough, 1995). Although studying development projects is fundamental in understanding its discursive practices, this paper found a very limited body of knowledge on discursive practices in development planning specifically in Maasai community. This study found misconceptions and domination of negative portrayals of Maasai community within the analyzed project related documents. This study recommend a critical review of the existing development models and full analysis of cultural, socio-economic and ideological implications of any development plan specifically for those targeted to the Maasai community.

Key Words: Pastoralism, Development Planning, Discourses, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), constructive effects and socio-cultural context

3.1 Introduction

This study examines the discursive aspect of projects targeted to Maasai community, with particular focus on discourses used in project planning and other aspects of language conversation at the project level. Specifically, the study explores a set of critical questions: first, what are the leading discourses used in the documents related to projects implemented in the Maasai community? How ideas and discourses related to pastoralists are produced, by whom and under whose interest and in what context? How are discourses distributed and consumed? And what are the effects of discursive representation of pastoralists in a wider socio-cultural context? In answering these questions the discussion will complement three levels of analysis depicted by Fairclough, 1995 dialectic framework of CDA.

Pastoralism can be defined as a form of livestock production in which livestock keepers move their livestock from place to place to take advantage of pasture and water which are available at different times and at different places during the year (Sendalo, 2009). This definition with no doubt describes the Maasai community which is considered as dominant pastoral community in East Africa. In Tanzania, Maasai are found in the northern part though some of them had shifted to other parts of the country due to various pushing factors including development plans and policies which do not fit well with their way of life. For instance, under socialism (Ujamaa) era, several policies were established and Maasai homesteads were burnt, cattle confiscated, and population forced into sedentary villages (Hodgson, 2001).

Maasai community has been identified in a vast literature as marginalized community and they are constrained with a number of challenges with regard to their livelihood system (Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe, 2003; Urassa and Massawe, 2015). As a response to various challenges they face, various projects are implemented in this community. While projects are perceived to be changing agents by intervening to problematic situations in different

societies on different contexts, the language or discourses used when writing the project documents are claimed to be the core of the change process (Barret *et al.*, 1995; Jaynes, 2015; Vaara, 2010). Fairclough (2003) asserted that, texts can contribute to changes in people beliefs, attitudes, actions, and social relations. Furthermore, Castells' theory of communication power narrates that communication power is distributed through construction of meaning on the basis of discourses through which social actors guide their action (Castells, 2009). Likewise, Hastings (1999b) normative model of social change also states that 'changes at the social level can be constituted in part through changes in linguistic practices'. All these models stipulate the linkage between social changes oriented interventions and discourses production through communication.

The word discourse as a concept has been perceived differently by various scholars in different words but with a common underlying idea. Foucault (1972) describes 'discourse' as individual acts of language or language in action that allows us to make sense of ideas and statements. It is through discourse that meanings, subjects and subjectivities are formed (Foucault, 1972). This definition will be used in this study when describing discourse. On the other hand, the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) refers to analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power, and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony (Fairclough, 1995).

Maasai community has gained an attention from various scholars who invested to study various dimensions of life including: livelihood and wellbeing (McCabe *et al.,* 2010; Sachedina and Trench, 2009); land use related conflicts (Benjaminsen *et al.,* 2009; LHRC,

LEAT and LRRRI, 2008); and impact of eviction of pastoralist from various areas (PINGOs, 2013; Msigwa, 2014). While this extensive body of knowledge about Maasai livelihoods, wellbeing, eviction from their areas and land resource use conflicts prevails, there is relatively scant body of knowledge on the role of discourses used in project planning and management field on various dimensions of Maasai community. For instance, Massawe (2010) addressed discourse aspect of pastoral communities through CDA of pastoralists and their conflict with farmers as represented in the media. Bishop (2007) on the other hand, focused on discursive practices in terms of schooling and the encouragement of farming amongst pastoralists in Tanzania.

Although the existing literature on discursive practice in pastoral communities have identified the way language usage can reflect tragic outcome in wider social context, little efforts has been devoted on studying discursive practices in development planning arena. Generally, discourses play a major role in shaping people's beliefs, attitudes, actions, social relations and ideologies (Fairclough, 2003). Planning discourses specifically are oriented toward achieving intended goals in a professional way. Therefore the discourses used in planning have the ability to effect social change in a wide range of societal dimensions. But far less attention has been devoted to discourse aspect of planning in influencing the social change.

After this introduction the manuscript proceeds by presenting a methodological framework underpinning the study by clarifying Fairclough's three dimension framework of CDA. This is followed with study area description, sampling strategy adhered, the process of data generation and data analysis. The study findings and associated discussions are presented in Section 3.7, followed by conclusions and recommendations that might be useful in improving discursive practices entailed in development planning.

3.2 Methodological Framework and Approach

This study employed Faircloughs' three dimensional framework of CDA as an underlying theoretical framework. This framework focuses on dialectical relationship between discourses and other social dimensions in the society (Fairclough 1992, 1995; Phillips and Jorgensen 2002). The said dialectic relationship the model takes into account is that discourses have both discursive and social practices. Thus, the framework focus on three dimensions of analysis which are: 'text' that covers the linguistic feature of the text; 'discursive practice' that entails processes involved in 'production', distribution and 'consumption' of a text; and social practice that focus on the wider social practice analysis to which the communicative event belongs (Fairclough, 1992, 1995; Marston, 2004; Phillips and Jorgensen 2002).

In CDA studies, discourses are seen as socially created and they construct the social context. This is prompted by Fairclough (1992 and 1995) arguing that discourses are not free-floating; they are embedded in institutions and organizations and play an important role in structuring the relations of power within them. In this manner, this framework is relevant in exploring discourses articulated within development planning as it considers socio-cultural context analysis. Phillips and Jorgensen (2002) in supporting this model of CDA argue that, the model is based on and promotes the principle that texts can never be understood and or analysed in isolation, thus, they can only be understood in relation to the webs of other texts and in relation to the social context. Despite of this strength the framework holds, this framework also has been criticized on its highly complex system of terminology that is not easily understandable by social researchers as well as its failure to separate analytical process on its three dimensions. For the purpose of this study these limitations are seen as minor and cannot harm the findings to be generated. This study was eclectic in nature and this ensured clear analysis of all levels entailed in the framework. Also critical literature and empirical review of the relevant sources on this approach served the purpose of understanding the approach.

3.3 Study Area

The study carried out CDA on project documents for the projects targeted to Maasai community residing in Mvomero District in Tanzania. This District was selected purposively to be the study area as its primary economic activities include crop farming and livestock rearing (Saghiret *et al*., 2011). Also, the district comprises a reasonable number of Maasai who are constrained by a number of challenges which triggered establishment of development projects to intervene the prevailing situations. Various researchers have indicated the difficulty associated with accessing demographic data for nomads due to their lifestyle and hence this study could not establish the actual number of Maasai in Mvomero District.

The literature regards the pastoralists in southward of the country as the immigrants in the localities they currently live. For this reason it is worthy to carry this study on one of these localities where the Maasai pastoralists live but it is not recognized as the pastoralist's traditional territory and associate with marginalization they receive in different angles of their life. For instance it's argued that, negative perceptions still pervade pastoral policy and management, especially with regard to livestock mobility and the migration of pastoralists to new territories outside their traditional areas (Galaty, 1993). IWGIA report (2013) documented that, Maasai communities who live in coast, central and southern part of the country in Tanzania found themselves as minority, not belonging anywhere and with no political representation. These identities can be associated with Maasai political, social and economic marginalization (Tenga, 2008; Hussein *et al.,* 1999 and Benjaminsen *et al.*, 2009) that can be realized through discursive practices.

3.4 Sampling Strategy

The study used non-probability purposive and random sampling. Purposive sampling technique was used in identifying projects which are implemented within the selected district in the Maasai community. Identification was done through consultation with local authorities including Mvomero District Community Development Department, Village Executive Officers and with key people from the target community (Maasai people). The latter two consultations were done due to limited data provided at the district level. After identifying implementing institutions, random sampling was used to select implementing institutions which their documents were reviewed.

While the targeted sample size of this study in terms of its unit of analysis was to analyze eight project documents from eight institutions (i.e. one project document per institution), this study found bureaucratic complexities among the randomly selected organizations whereby some of the requests made to the selected organizations were denied and only five were accepted. Sarantakos (1998) has argued that one of the limitations of using documents as a source of data is the difficulty involved in accessing them. Massawe (2010) also acknowledged that, the difficulty of accessing the documents is due to the bureaucratic nature of many departments and institutions. For this reason, this study accessed and analysed project documents from all institutions which accepted the request to disclose their project related documents. To maintain the targeted sample size of eight project documents, this study found it is worthy to analyse more than one project document from five organizations which their response were positive if they have implemented more than one project that involved Maasai community. In this case eight project related documents were accessed and analyzed. Among five institutions, three of them provided two project related documents each, while the rest two provided one document each since that they

didn't implement a couple of projects that involved Maasai community as their targeted beneficiaries. For the three institutions which implemented multiple projects in the targeted community, selection of the document was done purposively and adhered to some predetermined qualification such as; must be two different projects which are either on its implementation or already implemented and with different funding sources. For institutions with only a single project, the accessed document was analysed. Sampling procedures has been summarized in the table below.

Table 1: Sampling Strategy

Name of the organization	Name of the selected project	Reviewed Document
ELCT Morogoro Diocese	SLEP- Sustainable livelihood and Environment Program	Project plan
	Equity in Education project	Project plan
PAICODEO-Parakuiyo Pastoralists Indigenous Development organization	Ardhi Yetu+ Project	Project plan
	Pastoralist Human Rights Project	Project plan
HiMWA-Huduma ya injili na Maendeleo kwa Wafugaji	POLIGEP- Participation options for livelihoods innovations and gender empowerment	Project plan
	PCDECLP-Pastoralists Community Development and Empowerment for Changing Livelihoods	Project proposal
SAT-Sustainable Agriculture Tanzania	FPC-Farmers and Pastoralists Collaboration	Project plan
LSF- Legal Service Facility	PELG-Engaging Paralegals with local government for women's rights Protection	Project proposal
WARIDI-Water Resources Integration Development Initiatives	Denied	None
HACOCA-Huruma Aids Concern and Care	Denied	None

Proponents of CDA do not have strict or explicit guidelines regarding the numbers or quantity of data that is considered sufficient for analysis. They, however, recommend the selection of a manageable sample that will allow for close and deeper analysis (Askehave, 2007; Pitts, 2004; Saichaie, 2011). "Previous studies suggest the use of relatively small

samples. For instance, Lauritsen (2006) used a sample of two United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) policy documents in a CDA of UNESCO's literacy programs. Post (2009) used a sample of six campaign speeches for a CDA of the 2008 presidential elections in the US. Saichaie (2011) also used a sample of 12 institutions in a CDA of how universities represent themselves on their websites. Karikari (2016) also used a sample of 16 policy documents for a CDA of child labour in Ghana. In view of the examples above, the sample size used by this study is appropriate for the generated findings and it's consistent with trends in CDA studies.

The preferred and analyzed documents in this study were either project plan or approved project proposals or both from each institution. Project proposal and plans were specifically chosen because they are the main documents directly and practically relevant in realizing the study's overall objective: to explore roles of discourses in planning projects in social construction of Maasai communities. Also the two documents were selected because they mediate the intention of the intervention to various stakeholders including staffs, donors and beneficiaries through daily interactions on implementing the plans. The focus of CDA of the accessed project plans and proposals was on the project context description and objectives sections of these documents. These parts were purposively selected to be critically reviewed since that, both of them mediate the unwanted existing social setting of the Maasai community and portrays the desired and expected context after implementation of the project. In this matter the way planners perceive the Maasai community social settings, the way they tries to restructure can be figured out with a critical scrutiny of these two parts of project documents.

3.5 Data Collection

This study employed the use of CDA as a methodological tool that guided the whole process of data collection and analysis. Discourse analysis studies are qualitative in nature and preferably involve an examination of the used language to convey a message whether on its written or spoken form. On this matter, this study employed an analysis of the written project related documents for the projects targeted to the Maasai community. The reviewed documents were accessed from five implementing institutions working in pastoral environment. Each of the reviewed documents represents one project which is either on its implementation stage or had phased out.

3.6 Data Analysis

The process of data analysis involved a reference of Fairclough Dialectic CDA Model which is an underpinning theoretical framework for this study. This model was a guiding analytical procedure of the obtained data, but the analysis involved prior procedures carried out to ensure proper understanding of the discourses and social context. The analysis process started with reading the document in first instance to understand the context of the document before coming up again with a deep scrutiny of the document in a critical eye view. This technique was useful in informing possible meanings conveyed within the text, related concepts and in questioning the discourses used in relation to the context portrayed. Huckin (1997) recommends that, one first approach is viewing a text in an uncritical manner, like an ordinary, undiscerning reader and then come at it again in a critical manner.

Critical reading of the project documents concentrated on the project context or description part and objectives of the project. The critical review of the document accompanied with memoing as tool for analytical procedures which involved note taking of the key issues that

has been portrayed in the documents. Karikari (2016) pointed out that memoing, as an analytic technique, enhance immersion in data and also provide a foundation for increased reflexivity. Furthermore, the memos enable one to capture and reflect on the different ideas that emerged in data exploration.

Following memoing, thematic analysis technique was used in topicalization of the related discourses that can comprehend a unified meaning. Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns of (themes) within data (Braun and Clarke 2006). With all identified techniques and procedures, the analysis procedures were not linear rather was eclectic in nature as it involve forth and back analysis between the description, interpretation and explanation levels of analyses in which description and interpretation levels mediate explanation level as depicted by Fairclough's model. The following narrations clearly describes how analysis was done with reference to three levels of analyses depicted in Fairclough three dimensional model of CDA (text/ textual analysis, discursive analysis and socio-cultural context analysis).

Textual analysis or description level: involves linguistic and general properties of the text analysis. This involves an examination of the general format of the documents (Fairclough, 1995a, 1995b). Leading discourses in the reviewed project plans and proposals were identified in this step. Since that analysis at this level it is all about linguistic analysis of the reviewed documents, critical reading was done to gain an insight on linguistic and inter-textual properties entailed in those documents. Fairclough (1992) identifies vocabulary, grammar, structural format and cohesion and text structure as his main analytical dimensions. Furthermore analysis at this level involved studying the structural format of the reviewed documents. Understanding structural format of the reviewed documents was

useful in understanding and interpreting the linguistic features in relation with the function of the reviewed documents. To be more specific, identification of the linguistic features within the reviewed documents, involved making choices of vocabularies, grammar, cohesion, intertextuality and the general contents of the documents based on the values exhibited in the reviewed documents. Fairclough (1989) depicted that, the vocabulary in any text or discourse may have three types of value: experiential, relational, and expressive. Therefore any of the selected words or clauses was associated with any one of these values. In hand with above narrations Fairclough's list of questions (Fairclough, 1989) (See Appendix 2) were applied in linguistic analysis. Application of the identified list of questions varied among the texts that were analyzed.

The "discursive practices" analysis: Following textual analysis level, the second level of analysis of discursive practice that covers the process of discourse production, distribution and consumption was conducted. Fairclough (1992) suggests that, to have a better understanding of how discourse was developed, including its production, distribution and consumption, it is necessary to gain knowledge of the political, economic and institutional settings upon which the discourse emerged. Understanding institutional practices and procedures for creating discourses help to identify who is responsible in producing the text or discourses, how the text or information is disseminated, and the way people interpret the text either on individual or collective basis. This study found it worthy to study the relationship between the local NGOs, project beneficiaries and the donors to gain a real understanding of social and institutional settings for articulation of respective discursive practices. In order to cater well analytical needs of this level this study drawn questions to be answered during the analysis processes and these includes; how ideas and discourses related to pastoralists are produced, by whom, in what context and under who interests?

Analysis of Social/ Sociocultural Practice: Socio-cultural practices level extends the analysis of discourses to a much wider context beyond the grammatical and textual features, and the processes of production (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995). Analyses of the first two levels of the framework informed socio-cultural context analysis and in this matter analysis at this level involved both semiotic and non-semiotic elements. Semiotic elements have been involved at this level by focusing intensively on intertextuality form of the reviewed documents. Non-semiotic elements covered social context which is described in the reviewed documents. Therefore analysis at this level uncovered social practices manipulative power of leading discourses in project related documents and its constructive effects in socio-cultural dimensions of Maasai community.

Vaara *et al.* (2010) asserted that, development plans documents serve several purposes: they communicate socially negotiated meanings, legitimate ways of thinking and action and de-legitimate others, produce consent but may also trigger resistance, and have all kinds of political and ideological effects, some more apparent than others. This asserts imply that, the reviewed documents can influence manipulation of socio-cultural context of the Maasai community. Therefore to explore the entailed manipulative power, this study formulated a question to guide analysis at this level. The question is; what are the effects of discursive representation of pastoralists in a wider socio-cultural context? To answer this question, this study carried out socio-cultural context analysis that stems out social constructive effects of the reviewed documents in accordance of three types of discourses effects depicted by Fairclough. Fairclough (1992) lists the three constructive effects of discourse as; (i) construction of social identities; (ii), construction of social relations; and (iii) construction of systems of knowledge and belief or 'ideational functions'. These effects entail transformative power of the discourses. In this case the effects will be discussed in relation to the identified representative discourses in Maasai communities within the reviewed documents.

3.7 Ethical Issues

One of the main criticisms that CDA studies encountered with, includes position of the researcher in terms of cultural and political gap between the researcher and the context under study. As a way to offset the identified criticism in this study, it's worthy to establish trustworthiness of the generated findings. The whole process of data collection and analysis was guided by the adopted theoretical framework in hand with maintenance of credibility and transferability of the study findings.

Credibility of the gathered data and generated findings has been ensured through a thorough reading of the reviewed documents and memoing that served intensive data engagement. Lincoln and Guba (1985) noted that, such sustained engagement is vital to achieving credibility. Further literature pointed out that, peer review is useful to ensure credibility. Although this manuscript has not been reviewed, frequent consultations with the supervisor and other socio-linguistic analysis experts in every stage of this report preparation served the purpose of ensuring study findings credibility.

On the other hand, Karikari (2016) asserted that, extensive details make situations and contexts in which the study is applicable easy to identify. With this assertion the findings and conclusions drawn in this study are transferable as the report provided extensive details of the social and political context in which the planning documents were developed. Furthermore different given quotes from the texts that were analyzed can be used to confirm and justifying the drawn conclusions which is referred to as warranting in discourse analysis (Wood and Kroger, 2000). Also extensive empirical review was useful in understanding the adopted theory that informed data collection and analysis. Generally, this study is not driven by any kind of author subjectivity in relation to the subject matter under consideration as the whole process of data collection and analysis was confined within the depicted framework as well as adherence to social science research ethics.

3.8 Results and Discussion

The findings from the analysis of eight project documents are organized under the cluster of three major question set at the beginning of this manuscript as follows: what are the leading discourses used in the documents related to project implemented in the Maasai community?; how ideas and discourses related to pastoralists are produced, by whom and under whose interest and in what context?; and what are the effects of discursive representation of pastoralists in a wider socio-cultural context? These three questions are associated with the three levels of CDA suggested by Faurclough (1992).

3.8.1 What are the leading discourses used in the documents related to projects implemented in the Maasai community?

In answering this question this study found a number of leading discourses which are presented in three broad themes such as; pastoralism as a livelihood system, pastoralists life style and culture and pastoralists relationship with other social groups with their correspondent sub themes. Therefore this part will entirely presents the leading discourses found in all reviewed documents that are uprooted within the three broad themes with their corresponding subthemes.

3.8.1.1 Pastoralism as a livelihood system representation

Within all 8 analyzed project documents, pastoralism has been identified as a livelihood system that involve livestock keeping. In all cases nomads has been recognized by having a narrow base of livelihood options, that they do not diversify their livelihoods. A critical analysis has found four distinct conceptions of pastoralism in all analyzed documents including; pastoralism as a problematic livelihood system, pastoralism in land occupation, pastoralism within legal frameworks and pastoralism in environmental view. From these conceptions the leading discourses concerning pastoralism as a livelihood system were retrieved.

i. Pastoralism as a problematic livelihood

Persistence of words like *poverty, land use conflicts, climate change, violation, committing suicide, droughts, loss of life, livestock death and confiscation* and many others in various parts of the reviewed documents, signify that this livelihood system is constrained with a number of challenges that even slow down development pace of the pastoral people. For instance the phrases like;

> *Several pastoral people have committed suicide"* and *"nomadic nature has not only increased vulnerability……*

Shows how this livelihood system is much problematic to the extent people decide to commit suicide. The word *several* is purposively used to signify that the problems within the pastoral environment are commonly shared by all pastoralists. The subsequent clause on vulnerability to external shocks and other challenges depict its emancipation from the problematic nature of nomadic livelihood system.

ii. Pastoralism and land occupation

The analyzed documents in various parts have depicted that nomadic pastoralism as a livelihood system without land for grazing is impossible. With this recognition some of the project documents have represented pastoralism in relation to land ownership in a negative perception while others constituted it with a positive perspective. For instance some documents, documented pastoralism in a way that the reader sees it as one of the system that enhances traditional land occupation within certain geographical boundaries on communal basis. This is narrated on the phrase which state that: "*Pastoralism is one of the forms of traditional land occupations."* On the other hand some representations found during an analysis provoked nomadic pastoralism in a way that it influences resource conflicts on the area. For instance clauses such as;

Pastoralists are having large land which is not cultivated and solely used for grazing

...conflicts have increased in magnitude and spread southward of the country.....Several of these conflict areas cannot be categorized as traditionally important areas for livestock keeping...

These phrases signify the negative perception on pastoral people communal land ownership. The first clause clearly see a large grazing land needs to be cultivated while the second considers pastoral people in southern part as invaders and do not deserve traditional land ownership in communal basis.

iii. Pastoralism in relation to environment

Phrases like; "*.....nomadic system as livelihoods adaptation to seasonal variability";* signify that nomadic pastoralism is the best livelihood system in arid and semi-arid land as its useful in range land management as it involve seasonal movement with cattle for a search of fresh and green grazing pastures and water while leaving the other place to rejuvenate in terms of land productivity and fertility. Furthermore the above clause signifies nomadic practices as a livelihood system that has adaptability component. On the other hand other project documents portray the nomadic pastoralism in a passive verb form without indication of who is involved in the termination of such system.

There is no nomadic lifestyle anymore.....Instead semi-intensive approach of cattle keeping where livestock graze locally in farmers' fields, village land.

The author of this phrase used the passive verb on nomadic practices termination without identifying who is responsible for such termination. Furthermore the phrase used parallel lexicalization which shows replacement of nomadic whereby the pastoral people are situated in inhuman practices by grazing their herds into farm plots. With this representation the Maasai communities who practices much nomadic are situated negatively in terms of crops damage and non-compliance with land use plans where the side effects of these practices are inseparable with land use resource related conflicts blow-up.

iv. Legal frameworks on pastoralism

The reviewed documents has clearly documented existence of global and national legislative frameworks including policies and laws that subordinate traditional pastoral way of living under an umbrella of development processes. Some of the phrases found in the documents include;

> *"Pastoralists have become the ultimate victims of national policies and global development processes* .....that *have restricted development of pastoralism"*

The identified phrases show how the legislative frameworks are not suitable and not supportive to pastoralism. Pastoral communities' eviction from different places has been identified in the reviewed documents as an outcome of the unfavorable frameworks to traditional pastoral people including the Maasai community.

> *Government has evicted many Maasai….from their lands in favor of the growing demand….* And *unlawful squandering and confiscation of pastoralists' livestock by farmer groups sponsored by unauthorized government leaders in Morogoro*

These clauses signify that the frameworks even influence the government practices towards pastoral people including violation of human rights in terms of eviction which encompass cattle confiscations, loss of life and properties and even to increase their vulnerability in economic shocks and sunk them into an absolute poverty. This argument is in line with previous scholary works such as (Sendalo, 2009; Msigwa, 2014; Massawe and Urassa, 2016) by showing that legal frameworks influence in one way or another government practices and socio-political marginalization of the pastoralists. Furthermore such findings imply that, the relationship between the pastoral people including the Maasai and their governing bodies might not be conducive and this can be a great obstruct on implementation of various development programs in Maasai pastoral environment.

3.8.1.2 Pastoralists life style and culture representation

Another wider thematic category derived from analysis is pastoralist lifestyle and its cultural practices representation within the analysed project documents. Under this broad category sub themes have been generated to narrow and make an analysis much intensive. The analysis generated five themes that are derived from linguistic analysis of the analysed documents. The derived themes under this category have been narrated here after;

i. Indigenous culture protection

The review found a phrase that read; *"this project is to help…….in protecting their indigenous culture…"* This phrase implies that, 'protection idea' emanate from the Maasai marginalization which is associated with some cultural practices, changing environment and society. In this essence the author see the future of the pastoral cultural practices clearly at its end. On the other hand, within the analyzed documents, Maasai cultural practices are represented in a way that it hinders development and modernization within the community. The phrase that reads; "*nomadic life has left the Maasai out the organized social services…."* Support this narration. Other phrases in negative descriptions of the Maasai cultural practices includes; "…..*traditional practices exposes the Maasai into many problems from outside….."* this phrase also shows resistance of some of practices that the author considers them as the influencing factors for external pressure problems. Furthermore these clauses imply that, Maasai cultural positions set them as the backward community and needs to be redressed. On the other hand some scholars such as (Boles *et al.,* 2019; Hyandye *et al.,* 2018; WCCD, 1995) have shown viability of mobility nature of Maasai community and cultural sensitivity in development stance.

ii. Maasai community as a self-governing community

The reviewed documents stipulated the power of the traditional leaders within the Maasai community. The power of the traditional leaders can be seen in various phrases such as;

FGM is illegal in Tanzania and the traditional leaders have announced the end of the practice.

In this phrase the author tries to show power relationship within the Maasai community and making comparisons with the formal or legal governing bodies in the country. For instance FGM identified as an illegal practice in Tanzania but its termination depends on traditional leader's support of legal restrictions. This phrase also viewed the Maasai community culture being on its transition. Further analysis found an interesting phrase under this theme which takes into account self-governance of Maasai community in creating social changes. "*The change can come through education…."* The use of the word "*can"* convey a degree of certainty in changing this society to be on its members who are educated. As shown above that the identified discourses hold implications on transition of this community, still *'illiteracy'* level is revealed on the above phrase as an impediment for the identified transition.

iii. Pastoralists lack coherent life skills

The reviewed document has shown that the pastoral people are ignorant and lack the coherent life skills and as an outcome they are prone at high risk on sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), and other challenges they face. One of such statement include;

> "*pastoralists with limited contemporary life skills have significantly posed high risk".*

This kind of representation to the audience might have an implication that the pastoral lifestyle and cultural practices are the one that let them behind in term of literacy and in adaptability capability. For instance in the document it is stated that;

policies and laws directly or indirectly affect pastoralism and very little is known by pastoralists themselves…." constitute one of the main factors for injustices, violations of the rights

These statements bold existence of ignorance among the pastoral people being the loophole for unfavourable policies and laws enacted for them by the responsible authorities. Further analysis gives out two folds of explicatory thoughts that the relationship of the governing bodies and pastoral people won't be good at all while on the other hand the need for redressing nomadic pastoralism lifestyle and cultural aspects arises as well.

Pastoral cultural practices influence social discrimination and vulnerability

One of the project goals' dictated in the reviewed document is to improve the positive perception on pastoralism contribution in bringing economic transformations at community and national levels but cultural aspect of the pastoral community has not detached in all reviewed documents. Some documents stipulated pastoralist's cultural practices as among the factors that influence social groups' settings that are associated with discrimination and vulnerability of the community at whole on external shocks. For instance a phrase that reads

Pastoralists' lifestyles of nomadic nature and inherent cultural aspects have not only increased vulnerability and discriminations among social groups but also…….

Signify the above narration.

3.8.1.3 Pastoralists relationship with other social groups representations

The reviewed documents has depicted the relationship of the Maasai pastoralist with other social groups including farmers and the government at different authority levels as well as in relation to other economic activities in their surroundings including tourism and estate plantations. This relationship has been presented in a way that hold discursive

representation and some of the phrases on this relationship have been clearly discussed on sub themes corresponding to these relationships.

i. Maasai pastoralists are marginalized

Discourses like violation of human rights, marginalization, and empowerment are some of the texts that signify the powerlessness and marginalization of Maasai people evolved in the reviewed project documents. Phrases like

> *Unsecured land tenure rights"*, "*gross discrimination and violation of human rights have significantly increased the need for this project".* "*Pastoralists are enjoying their human and constitutional rights.*

All of these phrases depict that, the Maasai people are not enjoying their fundamental human rights. For instance, the last phrase as outlined above is to see the pastoral people enjoying their rights implicates that this community does not enjoy their rights for different reasons. For the first phrase the word "*unsecure"* hold an implication that the pastoralists have the land tenure and probably traditional land acquisition but they are not legally secured. This implies that the pastoral land is at high risk to be grabbed by other land user. In the second phrase above the word "*gross"* also hold a discursive practice. That why the author decided to use the word gross instead of just discrimination…..this can be seen as a connotation to legitimize that there is high incidence of discrimination towards the pastoral Maasai. Furthermore the above phrases used passive verbs on entailing agency conveyed in the discovered discourses. But with a critical look words like constitutional rights, land tenure and human rights can be used to establish agency in terms of power relationship whereby the identified discourses entails government authorities seen as in power while Maasai are the powerless and suppressed one.

Further findings revealed that the Maasai pastoral and other indigenous people are marginalized and remains as the minor groups in their localities. Without doubts some of the document authors dictated that Maasai marginalization is an outcome of their cultural practices. One of the remarkable quotes in the document to cement this narration is *"…..facing marginalization because of some elements in their culture….."*
the author here trying to portray a conviction that some of the traditional Maasai culture elements are not acceptable to others and face resistant in which marginalization practices merge in.

Maasai subordination in the reviewed documents has been documented in association with the government practices toward this community and marginalization they face. For instance pastoral eviction and non-recognition of the long withstanding pastoral grazing land, cattle confiscation, loss of properties and others acts that cannot be detached with land and human rights violation, has been regarded in the document as government subordination of the Maasai community. For instance one of the related phrases to this narration read as follows; *"government has evicted many Maasai….from their lands in favor of the growing demand…."*this phrase cement the argument that the author try to portray to the audience that the government suppress the Maasai people whose total livelihood depends on livestock production in favor of other land users including tourism and agribusiness as identified in the reviewed documents.

ii. Land resource use conflicts

The reviewed documents has abundantly described various causes of the land use conflicts which is the triggering force for the initiation of the innovative idea as termed in the

document. Among the identified causes includes the crops destroyed by livestock that grazed in farm plots and nomadic life style in the southern part of the country. Phrases like

> *……these conflict areas cannot be categorized as traditionally important areas for livestock keeping…..... label the herders as "invaders* and *Conflicts are mainly caused by grazing cattle which destroy crops*

Both phrases identified here condemn pastoral communities as the source of land conflicts in the project area. The literature find axioms that oppose this representation. For instance it's argued that, natural resource use conflicts were also reported in those areas where farms are found along the traditional livestock routes (Saruni *et al.,* 2018). These representations significantly create bad relationship between the two groups in the conflict. The word "*invader"* is the manipulation of how farmers consider the pastoral people that surrounds them.

The idea for the initiation of one of the project for instance, whose document was analysed is finding a new solution of the prolonged land use conflicts between farmers and pastoral communities. Basing on this idea the project document, identified that non-involvement of the both parties of interests is among the reasons for the failures of finding a sustainable conflict resolve mechanism. Similarly Tenga *et al.* (2008) depicted that, Crop cultivation and livestock keeping can indeed co-exist for mutual benefits. This is only possible when these land users are made aware of their needs for land through participatory land use planning. With this reason the project believes that, farmers and pastoralists depends upon each other in value chain on their farming and herds keeping practices in sustaining their livelihoods, and the dependence can be merged more effectively on agro-ecological practices to establish collaboration among the parties . The phrase that reads;

> *"The collaboration among dry land farmers and pastoralists decreases conflicts"*

Found in the document proves this narration. The author of the document strengthened this idea further by showing the failure of the local government and other authorities in resolving the conflicts in the following phrases;

The government's response is perceived by many involved people as insufficient and has even caused segregation instead of bringing the two parties together" and *"Efforts from Government have not yet shown any long lasting solution*

These phrases significantly depict that the government are not fair in resolving the conflicts, the term *segregation* serve this purpose. This term can be accompanied by other identified discourses related to this theme such as *confiscation, evictions,* and *violation of human rights*. In hand with these discourses the phrase that reads; ….

Relocated to new areas which are not suited to traditional way of living……lost livestock…..many people died…..this problem affected all the development in the area……

Advocate that the magnitude of side effects of land use conflicts to the pastoral people is high.

iii. Violation of human rights

The analyzed project documents have depicted the existence of human rights violation within the pastoral communities. The identified violation can be traced in two common sources according to the project documents analyzed. One of them being the one rooted into pastoralists cultural practices and the other rooted within the government. Pastoralist cultural practices influence social group formation and the existing discrimination among the groups. For instance women, children and disabled people have been identified frequently in the documents as the vulnerable groups and the main victims of cultural practices and lifestyles of the nomad pastoral people. For instance phrases like;

"*…..project addressing challenges facing women on domestic violence"……."women are said to be denied their rights to own land, livestock….."*

"Pastoralists' lifestyles of nomadic nature and inherent cultural aspects have not only increased vulnerability and discriminations among social groups"

These sentences show violation of human rights that stems in persisting cultural practices. The literature also bolded on this. For instance its argued that, patterns of inequity are also reflected within pastoralist societies, where certain groups have traditionally been excluded from decision making and where there is growing socio-economic differentiation along wealth and gender lines (SNV, 2012). In previous themes subordination related issues that are issued by the government significantly shows the other part of human rights violation.

iv. Pastoralists and governance

Participatory, accountable and transparent governance words found throughout one of the document and being the leading discourses in that strategic paper. The first paragraph of the project baseline description start with the word ‘’***if”…..*** Then the description follows but lastly the word ‘’***then***” follows. On its linguistic form the two words provide modality (degree of certainty) of the issues described. For instance the phrase read as

> ***If*** *farmers and pastoralists are empowered to hold local authorities accountable……..****then*** *they will be able to sustain land ownership against external pressure….*

From this contention, the author try to stipulate that, the existing external pressure on land ownership is due to unaccountable government. Further government accountability depends on small farmers and pastoralists in their respective areas. With this discursive practice it entail that in wider social-cultural perspective the targeted groups are not well of in letting their local authorities accountable and that why they are constrained with a number of external pressure in land related issues. On the other hand the solutions for the identified issues are at the pastoralists hands by holding their government accountable and this reflects irresponsible community and an ease one to lead. Another clause read;

> *Transparent and responsive government and the one that engage small-scale farmers and pastoralists in climatic sensitive and dialogue*.

This phrase identify that the local authorities in pastoral areas are not participatory. This gave indicatory questions like why there is limited participation in these authorities. Is it the culture of Tanzania local authorities or else. On the other hand, the literature shows that, politics and policies have compromised pastoral property in Tanzania and generally jeopardized the pastoral economy (Ndagala, 1992, 1990; Eklo and Klein, 1995; Ole Kuney, 1994). In connection with what found from the analysis, indicatory question pointed above can be answered as the government practices are the one that set the subordinates in the country irresponsible of letting their governing bodies accountable.

v. Favoritism related discourses

In the analyzed project document, there are various phrases that show a nature of favoritism in terms of governance. For instance phrases like

> *Tanzania legal framework does not have a specific law protecting the rights of indigenous people including the Maasai"* and *''……..acts threaten the future existence of pastoralism.*

These phrases signify that the existing legal frameworks subordinate nomad and traditional pastoralism which is the only livelihood that the pastoral people depend on. In socio-cultural aspect these kinds of representations reveals that, the pastoral people anger for their governing bodies and other land users will significantly increase under the shade that there is no righteous place for them. Further analytical process identified another phrase that holds favoritism.

> *…….grazing land according to national land use plan and land acts……is grabbed by other land user…." The other is …….pastoralist land is not secured with legal documents*

To cement more on this, the literature depicted that, Most of the policies were and still are based on the implicit notion that pastoralism is not the most efficient use of land. Rather, other forms of land use have always been given priority over pastoralism (Tenga *et al*.,

2008). Generally the reviewed documents highlighted favoritism between Maasai pastoralists and their partners through the use of discourses such as; segregation, marginalization and many other that is perpetuated by the existing governing structures.

3.8.2 How ideas and discourses related to pastoralists are produced, by whom, in what context and under whose interests?

In order to cater the need for discursive analysis in answering this question it's useful to consider the guideline provided by Fairclough in discourse production and consumption process identification. Fairclough (1992:72) suggests that, to have a better understanding of how discourse was developed, including its production, distribution and consumption, it is necessary to gain knowledge of the political, economic and institutional settings upon which the discourse emerged. In this matter the relationship between the local NGOs, project beneficiaries and the donors has to be considered to gain a real understanding of social and institutional settings for articulation of discursive practices. The literature identified high influence and dominance of donors in NGOs related activities to the extent that the local NGOs has to abandon their core values to work on donors priorities. The two phrases here signify this narration; NGOs in developing countries rely heavily on the foreign donor funding with heavy donor dominance evident" (AbouAssi, 2012). Furthermore NGOs are finding themselves in a situation in which they are compelled to "follow the money" and allow donors to dictate the direction as well as scope of activities or receive no funding…" (Viravaidya and Hayssen, 2001:1).

With this kind of relationship the core producer of the planning discourses in project documents clearly seen to be the project implementing organization, but in serving the donor interests by following the guidelines and framework provided in contextualizing the project. The literature on strategic project management related themes point out that; Plans often constructed to get projects approved in political decision processes (Brunsson, 1989;

Flyvbjerg *et al.*, 2003) the political decisions identified here might include the nature of donors in approving or disapprove the funding process. Furthermore, Fairclough framework entails cumbersomeness of detecting the discourse producer in relation to power hierarchies. Existence of power hierarchy in the stipulated relationship entails that, donors are powerful in directing activities and project objectives to be implemented in local basis to match their interests.

Furthermore project documents entail to serve their beneficiaries interest with a sense that project development involves a baseline description and even situation analysis, thus the project focus emanate from the needs of the targeted beneficiaries. Therefore in this light the great consumer of the project strategic documents cover a wide array including; the donors, project staff within the implementing organization through sharing, guided by their communication policy, the project beneficiaries in a sense that the implementation of the project will be in accordance of what stipulated in the document and the involved partners if the project is implemented in partnership. The process of distribution involve sharing of the document between the donors and implementing organization and in reporting, seminar or workshop facilitation among the organization staffs and sometimes with board members and with project beneficiaries and other nearby social settings in which through social interaction discourses may be produced, distributed and consumed in terms of its interpretation.

3.8.3 What are the effects of discursive representation of pastoralists in a wider socio-cultural context?

Project plan documents serve several purposes: they communicate socially negotiated meanings, legitimate ways of thinking and action and de-legtimaze others, produce consent but may also trigger resistance, and have all kinds of political and ideological effects, some

more apparent than others (Vaara *et al*., 2010). Therefore, this question entails discourses inbounded in reviewed project documents in socio-cultural context.

Fairclough (1992) lists the three constructive effects of discourse as; (i) construction of social identities, (ii), construction of social relations and (iii) construction of systems of knowledge and belief or 'ideational functions'. These effects entail transformative power of the discourses. In this case the effects will be discussed in relation to the identified representative discourses in Maasai communities within the reviewed documents.

3.8.3.1 Maasai pastoral identity construction

The reviewed documents in numerous ways have drawn the Maasai identity through the use of different discourses or labeling. Massawe (2010) identified two kind of identity labeling; downward identity construction and identity construction from below. The identified discourses mark downward construction, thus the way the group in power construct an identity of the subordinate groups. The identified discourses on Maasai identity labeling involved intertextuality analysis in which these discourses has been considered within a long chain of texts.

Maasai constructed identities discovered in this study include the use of words such as; *invaders, discrimination, vulnerable, marginal, dependent, unskilled, indigenous people, conservatives, strong leadership* and others which are not mentioned here. As depicted above these discourses weren't floating text in the vacuum but they were within the chain of text phrases. The use of the words like *invaders, discrimination, unskilled/uneducated, vulnerable, and marginal* holds a negative downward identity representation of the Maasai. On the other hand *strong leadership, conservatives and indigenous people* might hold a neutral portrayal of the Maasai people identity.

In negative identity portrayal, the Maasai people termed as invaders in relation to the land use resource conflicts. This identity construction holds an effect to the pastoral people counterpart's farmers on the way they will perceive the pastoral people. The words unskilled, marginal and vulnerable were the related discourses in intertextual context. These words portray an identity that, Maasai are not educated and thus are uncivilized and other possible negative portrayals to the illiterate people and possibly that's why they are in the marginal position in society and being much vulnerable. On the other hand the neutral identity portrayals such as strong leadership conservative and indigenous can be positive in a sense that the discourse consumers can regard the indigenous people as the one who need special attention and their culture being protected while conservative hold an implication on cultural maintenance and being out of external cultural influence distortions but an element of having strong leadership identify the strong community with its recognizable governance.

3.8.3.2 Maasai pastoral people social relations construction

Discussion in this part will invest on discourses that affect the relationship of Maasai community with other people in the society or social groups. As identified in the previous section of this paper, the consumers of discourses that emanate from the project document covers a broad array of stakeholders including; the public institutions, private sector stakeholders, the direct and indirect project beneficiaries including non-pastoral people and donors. Therefore the social relation representations that will be discussed hereafter excavate the construction of relationship between pastoral Maasai and the identified social groups as situated within the reviewed documents.

The language used in composing project documents significantly portrays the way the used discourses entails the Maasai community relationship with the rest of the world. Some of the discourses that hold such construction includes; *human rights, violation, victims,*

evictions, unfavorable, crops destroyed, conflicts and *collaboration.* As identified above, the relationship portrayed in the project documents cover a broad range of stakeholders, this discussion will be done separately to narrate relation construction effects for each group.

i. Relationship with the government and public institutions

The use of the words like *human rights, violation, evictions, unfavorable, victims* and *threaten future* depicts the practices done by the governing authorities and their responsible bodies within the Maasai pastoral environment. For instance 'human rights violation' shows that, the government who is responsible in protecting the right of its people either failed to protect or influenced its violation. 'Eviction' shows an association with the mechanisms the government adopts in resolving land resource conflicts while 'victims' portray an outcome of that mechanism. Unfavorable and threaten the future also portray unfavorable environment that the national policies and legal frameworks creates for pastoral people and this act as the threat to the existence of pastoralism livelihood system.

With these narrations the constructed relationship between pastoral people and their government is negative. These narrations stipulate that the government is powerful while the pastoral people are the subordinates. The negative relationship constructed has effects on this relationship includes; increase in anger magnitude toward the government, opposing the government in different public events including political issues such as in election as the way to punish them, resistant movements and other effects. On the other hand some of the documents constructed this relationship in a positive way. The use of the word '*optimal land use*' shows an opportunity of the government to support pastoralism to gain the economic gains from the sector.

ii. Relationship with farming society

Words like '*crops destroyed'* and *'conflicts'* build a negative relationship between the farmers and pastoralists. These discourses imply that livestock grazed in farm plots. This act situates the pastoralist as the selfish people as they care much on their livestock regardless the impacts of their practices to others. Conflict discourse emerges as an outcome of the crops damaged. Both of these identify a conflicatory relationship among the groups which is associated with long term revenges. Apart from this negative relationship portrayal discourses like *'collaboration'* and *'optimal land use'* signifies a possibility of these groups to collaborate in solving different issues sustainably in a unitary form and live peaceful lives. Thus with optimal land use in a collaborative way the historical friendly relationship of these groups can be enhanced.

3.8.3.3 Construction of systems of knowledge and belief or ideology construction

The reviewed project related documents construct ideological representation of the Maasai communities which affects other people knowledge, beliefs and attitudes towards the represented group. Van Dijk (1998: 8) on ideology depicted that, "ideology forms the basis of the social representations shared by members of a group". This simply is to say ideology is about representation and justification through legitimization of the representation. In conceptualizing ideology in relation to discourse analysis, Vaara (2006) pointed that; Ideologies provide frameworks for beliefs and values concerning what is true or false, right or wrong in particular contexts. Within the identified discourses and genre that signifies ideological representation, the discussion is carried in a way that each ideological discourse or theme is discussed independently with a critical justification on opposing or accepting identified ideologies.

i. Conflicts representation and its resolving mechanism ideology

One of the reviewed project document depicted land use conflicts between farmers and pastoralists as an opportunity for generating innovative ideas. The ideological construction emanate from the described source or causes of the conflicts in relation to the described conflicts' magnitude. The document justified that, crops destroyed by livestock solely is the cause of the land conflicts without considering existence of the associated and its root causal factors. To support this argument various scholars were also argued that; farm encroachment into cattle routes deliberately done as a bait to put pastoralists into troubles (Gefu and Kolawole, 2002; Urassa and Massawe, 2016). On the other hand land use planning also associated with the identified encroachment and crops damage; URT (1999) asserted that, unclear land demarcation contributes to continued interference of one group land by the other without knowledge of either side or sometimes deliberately by group which is knowledgeable. With such solid literature on the matter, this kind of construction legitimizes false conception of the causes of the conflicts and holds an ideological construction that the Maasai are disobedient.

ii. Literacy related ideological construction

The ideology constructed within education status of the pastoral Maasai is being illiterate. Well they are illiterate, but the project goal as depicted in the document depicts that, high retention and lower grades level of the Maasai school children are associated with education curricula that do not meet the Maasai cultural demands. The identified strategy to offset illiteracy, school dropout and academic performance within the Maasai pastoral people, is an introduction of bilingual education system that involves the use of Maa language at the early stages of childhood. This construction cements the beliefs that, poor understanding of Swahili language by the Maasai children is the source for poor performance and low retention level. There are numerous serious factors that lead to the

described scenario of poor performance in school and drop out other than first mother-tongue language and hence the constructed ideology is fallacy.

iii. Pastoralist own big lands in relation to nomadic practices

The phrase that reads:

> *Pastoralists are having large land which is not cultivated and solely used for grazing'*

Found in ones of the documents, situate the pastoralists as among the groups who own large portions of land within their localities. This kind of construction embarks the beliefs and knowledge to different social groups to perceive the pastoralists in a sense that they own large pieces of land. The real social context of the pastoral society is quite different from the one postulated in the document. Porokwa (2000) condemns that; various laws and policies were not giving much attention to pastoralists as compared to other sectors and that causes land conflict between farmers and pastoralists since the *pastoralists have no enough areas for grazing their cattle.* This contention identify pastoral community as the one who lack access to ownership of land, and the one they attain through their traditional means has been provoked to other land use purposes. Furthermore nomadic lifestyle described in the document to position the Maasai found in southern part of the country as in non-pastoral lands and hence seen as '*invaders*'. The invasion ideology situates the pastoral people as the northern people and they do not deserve land ownership in southern regions.

iv. Cultural practices and development

The reviewed documents in different instances have shown that Maasai cultural practices are associated with community development paradigm. Thus the cultural practices are contradicting with development process in the community. These practices depicted in a way that, they increase vulnerability of the Maasai community with external shocks that

draws back economic transformations of the community. In other instance the documents situated cultural practices of the Maasai people as they influence poor social services in their localities which are one of the indicators for non-developing society. All of these ideologies are fallacy in which cultural practices has nothing to do with social provisions, rather the responsible providers of the services has to cope with lifestyle of its clients for better services provisions. Previous scholarly works such as; World Commission on Culture and Development (WCCD) report of (1995) bolded on necessity of integrating cultural issues in development paradigms.

v. Pastoralism as a problematic livelihood system

Persistent use of words like; *Poverty, land use conflicts, climate change, violation, committing suicide, droughts, loss of life, livestock death, confiscation* and many others in various parts of the reviewed documents, signify that this livelihood system is constrained with a number of challenges that even slow down development pace of the pastoral people. Existence of these challenges facing these communities are related with Maasai nomadic nature as it among the influencing factors. The belief and knowledge created in this ideological portrayal is that; the starting point to solve the challenges facing the Maasai people relies upon challenging their nomadic nature and its associated practices. While various scholars acknowledged potentiality of nomadic in seasonal variability adaptability (Boles *et al.*, 2019; Crawford *et al.*, 2005; IUCN, 2011; Thebaud, 1995) as well as cultural issues sensitivity in development paradigms (WCCD, 1995), this ideological construction might be treated as a fallacy portrayal of the Maasai pastoral people.

3.9 Conclusion

Maasai community's values, traditions and practices have been identified to be subjective to external forces influence in this era of globalization and modernization in the world. Various practices bounded within modernity and globalization paradigms including development planning are inseparable with legitimization and de-legitimization of Maasai community social settings through their discursive practices. With reference to this study findings, this manuscript concludes that, discursive portrayal of the Maasai community can be associated with their political and historical context. That the identified discourses and the way Maasai are socially constructed implies a set of critical issues including; poor understanding of pastoralism context specifically the Maasai in the south, limited data on socio-economic benefits accrued in nomadic pastoralism and political related issues in pastoral environment. Therefore, this paper suggest to the development planners, scholars and other development actors that work in pastoral environment, to review various interventions models and theories before its adoption to ensure its applicability in the particular socio-cultural context as well as allowing the Maasai pastoralists to be the center of the discourses that describe their context.

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CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

4.1 Summary

The literature identified that, Maasai are affected by the changes induced by various actors and even in many cases, they have adopted them and their way of life is under external actor's pressure. With this empirical depiction, development interventions in Maasai community has greater implications in understanding discursive practices that create collective meaning as well as social constructivism of this community and this underlined the reason for this study.

This study has used Fairclough's framework of discourse analysis to analyze the roles of used discourses in project planning in Maasai community. The study started by uncovering leading discourses in project documents for the projects that are targeted to Maasai communities. Thus through description analytical level entailed by the framework the study drawn multiple leading discourses in project documents. Thereafter analysis of the leading discourses at interpretation and explanation levels of analyses has subsequently been carried to uncover discursive and socio-cultural practices of the identified discourses.

In order to cater well this dissertation's aim of underscoring the roles of discourses used in project planning in Maasai community, a list of critical questions which the study was eager to answer was formulated: How ideas and discourses related to pastoralists are produced, by whom and under whose interest and in what context?, and what are the effects of discursive representation of pastoralists in a wider socio-cultural context?. Through the depicted model these questions were answered by carrying out discursive practices and socio-cultural practices of the identified discourses in compliment with descriptive analysis level. The answers generated are the ones used to generate the study

findings. The study findings depicted that, Maasai presentation is overwhelmed by negative portrayals and misleading social construction.

4.2 Conclusions

This study found biased and inaccurate presentations of various dimensions of the Maasai community and pastoralism in different social aspects in the reviewed documents. This kind of representation can be regarded as misleading and misconceptions on Maasai community socio-cultural context which further may undermine efforts aimed at addressing different issues concerning pastoralism and Maasai peoples' welfare. This also may triggers continuation of Maasai community marginalization. Pastoralist's targeted interventions that remain inattentive to the cultural interactions and based on such misconceptions on pastoral environment will be ineffective in addressing different issues in this community as stipulated in findings and discussions sections of this dissertation and may lack relevancy to this community. Representations which legitimize Maasai people identities such as invaders, pastoralism as irrational, Maasai owning big land plots, and others shown in the findings are among inaccurate representations of this marginalized community.

4.3 Recommendations

From the study findings, this study recommends a number of issues directly to the scholars, consultants, planners and development practitioners who in one or another way are interested or working with this community. Firstly adherence to old development orthodoxies and theories which in most cases are not relevant to pastoralism in the east has encouraged and accentuated longstanding negative perceptions of pastoralism as a backward and irrational system that need to be replaced under modernization discourses. Therefore this study suggests a need for a critical review of any development model on its relevancy on the particular environment before its adoption in development actions in the Maasai community. In addition to this there should be an effective public information

campaigns to help people understand and changing people's mindset on the past longstanding drawn misconceptions in the Maasai community.

Furthermore this study suggest full analysis on cultural, socio-economic benefits as well as political implications of the designed plans in Maasai community instead of relying only on economic aspects without involving socio-cultural dimensions in the project appraisal. This will help in recognizing the potentials of pastoralism and enhance project acceptability and relevancy to the concerned community.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: List of Reviewed Documents and Associated Organizations

Name of the organization	**Name of the project**	**Document reviewed**
ELCT- Evangelical Lutheran Church Tanzania, Morogoro Diocese.	SLEP-Sustainable livel**ih**ood and Environment Program	Project plan
	Equity in Education project	Project plan
PAICODEO-Parakuiyo Pastoralists Indigenous Development organization	Ardhi Yetu+ Project	Project plan
	Pastoralist Human Rights Project	Project plan
HiMWA-Huduma ya injili na Maendeleo kwa Wafugaji	POLIGEP- Participation options for livelihoods innovations and gender empowerment	Project plan
	PCDECLP-Pastoralists Community Development and Empowerment for Changing Livelihoods	Project proposal
SAT-Sustainable Agriculture Tanzania	FPC-Farmers and Pastoralists Collaboration	Project plan
LSF- Legal Service Facility	PELG-Engaging Paralegals with local government for women's rights Protection	Project proposal

Appendix 2: Fairclough's List of questions for Textual Analysis

Categories	Guiding Questions
Vocabulary	1. What experiential values do words have? • What classification schemes are drawn upon? • Is there rewording or over-wording? • What ideologically significant meaning relations (synonymy, hyponymy, antonymy) are there between words? 2. What relational values do words have? • Are there euphemistic expressions? • Are there markedly formal or informal words? 3. What expressive values do words have? 4. What metaphors are used?
Grammar	5. What experiential values do grammatical features have? • What type of process and participant predominate? • Is agency unclear? • Are processes what they seem? • Are nominalizations used? • Are sentences active or passive? • Are sentences negative or positive? • What relational values do grammatical features have? • What modes (declarative, grammatical question, imperative) are used? • Are there important features of relational modality? • Are the pronouns *we* and *you* used, and if so, how? 7. What expressive values do grammatical features have? • Are there important features of expressive modality? 8. How are (simple) sentences linked together? • What logical connectors are used? • Are complex sentences characterized by coordination or subordination? • What means are used for referring inside and outside the text?
Textual Structures	9. What interactional conventions are used? • Are there ways in which one participant controls the turns of others? 10. What larger-scale structures does the text have?