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## **ABSTRACT**

The study explored the problem of Natural gas conflict and their impact to the society in Tanzania by examining the case of Mtwara Municipality which is located in Mtwara region. Specifically, it assessed the trend and the extent of Natural gas conflict, their impact to the society and possible interventions to be made. Data were collected from local and national government sources including leaders, politicians, traditional healers, various community members, youths, elders, religious leaders and police officers. Questionnaires and interviews were used to collect information about the study.

The study findings shows that, the conflict over natural gas is resulted by unfulfilled promises of government, natural gas transfer from Mtwara to Dar-es-salaam, inconsiderate and exclusive political agenda, Lack of information or education on natural gas project and lack of commitment of the government that resulted youth and the community of Mtwara to rally against the government after many measures taken to address the problem by the government has failed. These include providing education to the society on natural gas project, establish the development investment in Mtwara, To stop the project of transferring natural gas by pipe line to Dar-es-Salaam, the government to avoid the use of forces to resist the society.

Therefore, this study recommends that, the central as well as local governments should take serious measures like education to the society, practice real benefit to Mtwara community following natural gas discovery, policies should be established which favour the local society on natural gas benefit also the government should be transparency on various community project and then the NGO have to be made to try to make various initiatives to provide an understand to the people about natural gas. Lastly it suggests some areas for further researchers solving the problem of natural gas conflict.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CCM	Chama cha Mapinduzi
CHADEMA	Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo
CUF	Civic United Front
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EU	European Union
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GNI	The gross national income
ITV	Independent Television
MEP	Mtwara Energy Project
MP	Member of Parliament
NATO	<i>North Atlantic Treaty Organization</i>
NCCR	National Convention for Construction and Reform
NGOs	Non Government Organizations
RAS	Regional administrative secretary
REPOA	Research on Poverty Alleviation
TPDC	Tanzania Petroleum Development Corporation
U.S.	United States
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development
MW	Megawatt
TCF	Trillion Cubic feet
GDP	Gross Domestic Product

FGD

Focus Group Discussion

TCDD

Tanzania Coalition on Debt and Development

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## **CHAPTER ONE; INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND**

### **1.1. Introduction**

Energy development in Mtwara is fundamentally a part of the overall national energy strategy, which is based on the desire to move away from hydro-dependent power sources, and the opportunity to achieve this through the development of natural gas for energy development.

An abundance of gas resources invariably raises the hopes and expectations of governments, citizens, local communities, and the various companies which provide the essential services of distribution, exploration and extraction of this resource. Governments hope for large and consistent revenues, citizens expect that their standards of living will be raised while local communities hope to see relief from poverty and multinational companies expect high returns on the large-scale investments they are obliged to make. In this context, certain types of conflict over gas resources are frequently and readily observable, especially in fragile states. Local communities in the immediate area of gas extraction are especially likely to mobilize if the profits produced on their lands lead to no gains in their living conditions. Swanepoel and De Beer (2006)

This research therefore seeks to examine the gas conflict in Tanzania and its impact on society. Inadequate studies have been done on this problem elsewhere in the world. There is insufficient current scientific literature available about the subject in Tanzania. Hardly there is no much research has been conducted about gas conflict in Tanzania.

This chapter establishes the background of the study, focusing on the whole issue of gas conflicts, providing a statement of the problem, research questions, significance of the study limitations of the study and research objectives.

### **1.2. Background of the study**

#### **GAS CONFLICTS IN THE WORLD AND THEIR SITUATION**

Gas conflicts are found elsewhere in the world. In recent years, for instance, relations between the Ukraine and Russia have been hostile and they went to their worst in 2008 when the Russian Prime Minister Putin said that if the Ukraine were to join NATO, Russia would annex the eastern part of the Ukraine. Mankoff, Jeffrey (2009). Russia is known to be a great bully, which uses its energy resources to intimidate its smaller and dependent neighbors. Apart from the NATO issue, the other problem between the two former Soviet Union states is

the issue of gas. It has been indicated that Russia is the largest producer of gas while Ukraine is the largest importer of the same commodity from Russia. Gas from Russia to the EU countries passes through Ukrainian territory and Russia has to pay transit costs. This issue of the supply and prices of gas precipitated a big conflict between the two countries and the impact was felt all over Europe. In this paper, the historical background of the issue, the current state of the conflicts, the solutions to the conflicts, the future of gas supply and the effects of the 2009 conflicts on Europe will be addressed (Ibid).

In 1998 and 1999, the Canadian gas company, Talisman Energy, faced accusations that its operations were fuelling the civil war in Sudan. Talisman did not speak out when civilians were forcibly removed from areas to be used for oil extraction, and it was alleged that Talisman's airstrip was being used to launch attacks against rebel forces.

Given this situation, the Canadian government dispatched a special assessment mission to investigate the relationship of gas, human rights abuses, and conflict in Sudan. The final report entitled 'Human Security in Sudan' was completed in January 2000 by an assessment team under John Harker, the former director of the Canadian Labour Congress. The report recognized that gas had become a key factor in the civil war and came to four major conclusions about the role of gas resources in the conflict:

- *Populations were disenfranchised and displaced as a result of gas resources development activities.*
- *Conflict was intensified by attempts to gain control of additional territory to support and defend gas resources development.*
- *Natural resources infrastructures (such as airstrips) were used by the government to launch attacks in Southern Sudan.*
- *Control for natural resources was a prime source of revenue enabling the government to continue armed conflict versus seeking a negotiated settlement. (John Harker 2000)*

Iraq Energy has played a role in the Iraq conflict in two distinct but interconnected ways. First, insufficient and irregular electricity provision provoked and amplified questions of effectiveness and legitimacy among the Iraq population with respect to the U.S.-supported Iraq government. Specifically, the lack of electricity has been a continual source of frustration for Iraq citizens, especially those living in Baghdad, who were accustomed to uninterrupted service before the war. This became one of the principal grievances of the populace. The lack of reliable power contributed to an already volatile and unstable situation in the country.(Ibid)

## GAS CONFLICT IN AFRICA

In November 2001, the Nigerian government under President Olusegun Obasanjo set up a Special Security Committee for areas producing oil to address Nigeria's many conflict-related problems due to oil extractions. (Human Rights Watch 1999). Oil bunkering is not the only concern for stability and prosperity of Nigeria, but also the other significant problems have included alleged government corruption and the collusion of multinational companies extracting oil, poverty spread, particularly in Delta State and environmental degradation caused by oil extraction processes in the area of Niger Delta. These problems, coupled with the violence and revenue loss due to oil bunkering present a stark picture not only to Nigeria, but also to other countries with similar vulnerabilities (Human Rights Watch 2003).

## GAS CONFLICT IN TANZANIA

Tanzania is one of the poorest countries in the world. The gross national income (GNI) *per capita* is estimated at US\$340, placing Tanzania as 188<sup>th</sup> of 208 countries (World Bank 2006a). According to the *Household Budget Survey 2000/01* (Tanzania 2002), almost half (48 percent) of Tanzania's population of 36 million people is unable to meet basic food and non-food needs. However, recent figures show the annual growth rate of the economy at 7 percent (World Bank 2006).

An abundance of gas resources invariably raises the hopes and expectations of governments, citizens, local communities, and the petroleum companies that provide the essential services for explorations, extractions, and distributions. Governments hope for large and consistent revenues, citizens expect that their standards of living will be raised, local communities hope to see quick relief from poverty, and multinational companies expect high returns from the investments they are obliged to make. Other actors—rebels, insurgents, secessionists—sometimes see the possibility of using the illicit control of petroleum resources and revenues to advance their own particular cause. Ross (2004) Often the high expectation and hopes of these various groups are tangled in problems of weak governance, social tensions and corruption that further sow the seeds of conflict. In this context, certain types of conflict over oil and gas resources are frequently and readily observable, especially in fragile states. Corrupt elites may use government power to seize resource revenues for their benefit and to support political allies. Citizens who see national patrimony usurped for personal enrichment may be frustrated and turn to protest. Local communities in the immediate area of gas extraction are especially likely to mobilize if the profits produced on their lands lead to no

gains in their living conditions and the extractive operations taking place result in environmental damage that threatens their health and traditional livelihoods. Human Rights Watch (1999)

Multinational companies whose concessions are granted by corrupt governments and who operate in politically unstable regions may seek security for their operations by engaging local military or militia, leading to human rights abuses. Insurgents and rebels may use violence to gain control over natural gas resources and revenues or they may sabotage oil and gas pipelines to deny these same assets to the government they are seeking to overthrow.

USAID (2006).

Since the official announcement of the Mtwara area having large reserves of gas and uranium deposits and the government signing contracts with big western companies, the inhabitants of the province saw it as an opportune moment and a blessing that will benefit them and their generations to come by elevating them in education and getting them jobs through establishment of industries in their area. As usual plenty of promises to appease the people were made by the government in Mtwara and Lindi regions during the presidential campaign.

( Daily News, 29 January 2013 )

Suddenly the government announced that the resources will be mined in Mtwara and piped directly to Dar-es-Salaam. Basically the people of South Tanzania in general are expected to gain a lot from this project. Tanzania has large deposits of various minerals but most cases in areas that these minerals are being mined the citizens 'benefit' from nothing more than their land being taken forcefully leaving behind deep trenches that endanger the environment and cause loss of their lives, with the government killing them to protect the interests of the large multinational companies. (Tanzania Daima 29 January 2013)

Inhabitants of Mtwara started to show their opposition to the extraction of gas at the end of 2012. Mtwara residents oppose construction of the pipeline on the premise that the movement of the natural gas to Dar-es-Salaam would not benefit the southern regions. They have repeatedly staged violent protests against the gas pipeline project financed by China.

However, presenting his budget estimates for the financial year 2013/14, Prof. Muhongo, Minister of Finance, said that the government, through Tanzania National Electrical company (TANESCO), has partnered with the USA-based power firm, Symbion Power, for the installation of a 400-MW power plant in Mtwara. This increased hostility to the government and society. (Daily News, 29 January 2013)

They continued their opposition again so as to push the government to agree to their demands, but what happened was the death of more than 12 people, their property destroyed, their persons raped and tortured and some of the police participating in the looting of peoples' property. This can be seen repeated in other areas in Tanzania (Daily News, Ibid).

### **1.3. Statement of the problem**

The gas resource conflict links as a result of special historical conditions into world politics. This account suggests that after the end of the Cold War between the West and East, civil wars have taken on a distinctively economic character which is essentially new. Duffield (2001). The new war argument ascribes the reasons for this economic turn not primarily to factors that have already been mentioned, but rather to processes subsumed under the heading of 'globalization' that have gained sway since the early 1990s. These include the reduction or end of superpower financing of opposing civil war belligerents; the further liberalization of world trade; and the growing demand and enhanced competition for certain materials in the wake of the rise of China, India and other regional powers.(Ibid)

The connection between resources and conflict results from the increasing political and economic importance of natural resources in our time, as both seem to be a source of finance for belligerent groups (such groups have few other options, and they easily find buyers) and a vital input to expanding industrial production supplying a growing world market of consumers. Ross (2004)

This argument about historical specificity, while contested (see e.g. Kalyvas, 2001; Berdal, 2003), finds support in some statistical research. Ross (2006) finds that the importance of gas and oil for civil conflict rose from the early 1970s to the late 1990s. Lujala and colleagues (2005: 538) assert a similar pattern for diamonds, which they find had a stronger impact on conflict in the post-Cold War era than earlier. Yet as Ross (2006) notes, the number of post-Cold War cases is still few, which leaves the research that resources matter more in the 'new' wars hard to qualify.

The notion that natural resources in developing countries are a curse rather than a blessing holds true for the United Republic of Tanzania today. Tanzania, like many other African countries, has a rich natural resources base. While some countries, especially developed countries like Norway, consider natural resources the backbone of economic development and sustenance, providing a high level of revenue, in Tanzania natural resources have brought different consequences and drawn the nation into serious economic hardship and conflicts.

In the past few decades Tanzania faced great challenges with regard to either the violence between government and rural neighborhoods or investors from among the local citizens who abide in the area.

In most areas where natural resources have been discovered, this has brought negative consequences to the citizens. (Collie, 2003) Despite the plentiful supply of natural resources in Tanzania, its people are living in abject poverty and the few elite enjoy the resources and exploit the underprivileged majority. This is a menace that crept into the African continent during the days of neo-colonialism, imperialism and the old colonialism. However, we cannot always blame the imperialists for the backwardness encountered currently and in the future, for how long shall we continue to lick our wounds? Tanzania is now experiencing a new transition, but some of its leaders have yet to develop away from imperialist tendencies. They amass wealth like the imperialists and colonialists; they use power and dictate the will and pleasure of the people.(Ibid)

The World Bank's governance indicators show that natural resources-rich countries in Africa systematically perform worse than other country groups in terms of political stability, accountability, rule of law and the control of corruption. Chad, DRC and Sudan are among the worst performers, as the World Bank notes, among governments heavily dependent on resource rents rather than on direct taxes from citizens (Collier, Paul, 2003).

As was observed in findings, the government had gone as far as signing a contract with the investors in gas and oil without enough prior consultation, without a policy or even a new law enacted. These were highlighted as serious shortcomings of violence by the stakeholders during the debate.

Dr George Jambiya from the Tanzania Natural Resources Forum (TNRF) was worried that the hasty signing of the contract with investors in this area could be translated as a lust for quick money, rather than considering the national interests in economic growth. Such contracts have always been accompanied with a sudden rush, opaqueness and excessive use of force by the government at the end of the day, resulting in torturing, raping, plundering, jailing and killing of the people from the area of the study. Dr. George sited an example of the sudden visit by international figures, i.e. the presidents from big nations, in order to divert media and public attention.

Mtwara region, where Tanzania discovered large natural gas deposits, witnessed bloody violence as locals protested the government's decision to pipe the gas to Dar-es-Salaam for

refining and eventual sale, instead of building a refining plant in Mtwara. (Gazeti la Mwananchi 25.05.2013)

#### **1.4. Objective of the Study**

The main objective of this study is to investigate and highlight challenges and sources of natural resources conflict and violence resulting from conflicts over gas discovered in the southern part of Tanzania; this will fall under the following specific objectives:

- To explore causes and the trend of gas conflict,
- To investigate the impact of gas conflict in Mtwara district,
- To suggest strategies to deal with gas conflict in Mtwara district.

#### **1.5. Research Questions**

- What are the trend and causes of gas conflict in Mtwara?
- What is the impact of gas conflict to society in Mtwara district and Tanzania on the whole?
- What solutions can be recommended to combat gas conflict in Mtwara district?

#### **1.6. Significance of the study**

This study is important for various reasons. The study will contribute to the raising of awareness about the existence, cause and magnitude of the problem of gas conflicts in Tanzania. Thus it will add to the existing body of knowledge on the reality of conflicts, revealing the sources of gas conflict and their impact in Mtwara district and the country as a whole. The study offers a challenge to the government, political parties, religious sectors and all people of Tanzania and Mtwara to take measures against the conflicts of natural resources and so to manage their impact on society. It will also emphasize the creation of policies and laws to protect conflicts of natural resources. Nevertheless, the study is intended to be a reference to motivate other researchers in the future to conduct more research on the issue of natural resources conflict in Tanzania, with the purpose of coming up with concrete solutions to tackle the problem.

#### **1.7. Scope of the study and limitations of the study**

The study was conducted in Mtwara Region. It was centered on natural resource conflicts in Tanzania, focusing on the gas conflict in Southern Tanzania and its impact on society,



because of the discovery of many gas deposits in the southern part of Tanzania as compared with other regions. The involvement of the Mtwara municipality (selected organization, societies, politicians, and government) qualified this as a case study since it enabled the researcher to assess the causes, impact and solutions on gas conflicts in Tanzania.

The main limitations of the study have been the scarcity of scientific literature on the problem of gas conflict in Tanzania and bureaucratic obstruction among some officials, especially police in the Mtwara region.

## **1.8. Conclusions**

This chapter has established the general knowledge about global understanding of the gas conflict in Tanzania. It also outlined the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, and the scope of the study.

## **CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1. Introduction**

Literature review is the systematic identification, location and analysis of documents which contain information related to the research problem being investigated Mugenda & Mugenda, (1999). It is the analysis of text books or manuscripts (Kombo & Tromp, 2000). According to the Economic Research Bureau and Planning Commission (2002), assessment with the literature will provide information in relation to which findings from the study are new and enable the investigator to address the significance of their study.

This chapter defines the key terms of the study, reviews the existing literature on the gas conflicts and their impact on Mtwara society in Tanzania. The documents reviewed other material already done on natural resources conflict. It describes the theoretical literature review, the definition of key terms, and the conceptual framework.

### **2.2 Definition of the key terms**

The World Bank defines **natural resources** as materials that occur in nature and are essential or useful to humans, such as water, air, forest, fish, land wildlife, topsoil, and minerals. These are essentially grouped into renewable and non-renewable resources. In most cases, renewable resources such as cropland, water and forests can be replenished over time by natural processes and if not overused are indefinitely sustainable. Non-renewable resources such as diamonds, minerals, and gas are found in finite quantities, and their value increases as supplies dwindle. A nation's access to natural resources often determines its wealth and status in the world economic system.(World Bank 2000/01).

### **2.3 Theoretical literature review**

In explaining the correlation between primary commodities and conflict, Hoeffler and Collier argued that conflicts may be explained either by greed or by grievance, such as feelings of ethnic or political marginalization. They conclude (in large part based on the correlation between primary commodities and conflict) that to understand the causes of contemporary civil wars we should forget about political and cultural arguments and focus instead on the greed of rebels and especially on their trade in natural resources. Collier and Hoeffler, (1998).

The first is emphasized by Collier and Hoeffler, noting that domestic groups may engage in quasi-criminal activity to benefit from resources independent from the state. (Ibid).

Second, Fearon and Laitin (2003) argued that natural resources increase the ‘prize’ value of capturing the state. The first variant should lead to the local expulsion of the government, as in Colombia; the second is a bid to gain state control as in Chad, or as argued by Engelbert and Ron (2004). Plausibly the first variant may lead to the second or vice versa as in Sierra Leone where control of the diamond areas weakened the state, which was easily captured by the rebels. In a third variant, if natural resources are concentrated in a particular region of a country, this may ground beliefs among dissatisfied groups that seceding from state could be viable or even prosperous.(Ibid)

Natural resources like gas and oil enrich Nigerians, but they have not alleviated poverty and deprivation in the oil-bearing areas of the Niger Delta. UNDP (2006). Gas-bearing areas have been exposed to ecological risks which have culminated in the violence characterizing the region. Literature has highlighted the consequences of oil exploitation, such as social tension culminating in violent communal crisis, youth restlessness, and oil companies’ brutal repression.(World Bank 1995) At present, the oil-bearing areas remain marginalized from the mainstream economic, social, and political activities in Nigeria. The Nigerian government’s top-down approach to the development of the oil-bearing areas has not been people-centered and participatory. Recommendations from this study include improved infrastructure, more equitable distribution of resources, improved local governance, effective conflict management mechanisms, and better environmental management Engelbert and Ron (2004)

**Gas-based** conflicts, in Tanzania appearing in various forms: *The first* form emerges from the perception of the marginalization and exclusion of parts of the country in the sharing of national resources. The Mtwara gas ‘saga’ offers a good example of such conflicts: in early 2013 Mtwara residents scatted to the streets demanding that gas being drilled in their region should first benefit the residents. The demonstrations became violent and fatal, leaving in their wake the loss of life and limb as well as deprivation of property. Daily News & Tanzania Daima 29 November 2012.

*The second* form of conflict could be argued that, communities which feel that there is an unequal and unfair sharing of national resources. The natural resources in the mining sector offer a good example: in regions where mining takes place, there have been endless clashes between small-scale miners and big mining companies. Another example relates to the frequent clashes between farmers and pastoralists competing for land settlement, especially in areas experiencing scarcity of green pasture and water. These skirmishes between groups have

resulted in the loss of many lives in the Morogoro, Mbeya, Iringa, Shinyanga, Msoma, Mwanza, Manyara and Arusha regions.

**Human rights violations and democratic governance:** though a multiparty democracy, Tanzania continues to be challenged by expressions of freedom. Democracy is not only about elections but also the degree of freedom with which citizens can speak out and take part in public affairs. This freedom can easily spark violent eruptions and has occasionally witnessed police denying political parties permission to hold demonstrations. People become defiant, upon which police find an excuse to beat, teargas and arrest people. Conflicts between police and civilians are sometimes a consequence of human rights violations, with people deciding to fight back when they feel that their rights have been violated by law enforcement officials.

**Political factors** are also a common source of conflict and violence in Tanzania. The factors are considered in relation to escalation of conflict and violence, and they include ideological differences and orientations, manifestos, funding and structures. Political factors, which also include *political competitions* especially during election periods, are also a threat to peace in Tanzania. In an effort to mobilize as many supporters as possible, the politicians or their agents tend to trigger incidents of violence that pit their supporters against those of rival parties, as has been the case in some regions both on the mainland and Zanzibar. Some political parties can trigger inter-party conflicts with far reaching implications not only to party supporters but also to the people not interested in politics. *Political leaders*, through their speeches and the loyalty from supporters, may spur conflict initially with rival leaders, eventually spilling over to supporters within a given community.

**Religious factors** also threaten peace in Tanzania; beliefs play a major role in determining interpersonal, international and intercommunity relations. Religious conflicts may occur due to various factors. *Mainstream faith traditions* have fundamental doctrinal teachings and followers are expected to abide by them in belief and practice. Conflict may occur when the progressives or those who want changes or are in favor of a new way of looking at faith issues clash with conservatives or a group that is too orthodox and opposed to any changes that might affect their ways. This could create hatred between the two camps which may escalate into conflict.

*Considering one religion to be superior to another* can cause tensions in communities that previously lived harmoniously, respecting each other, and such tension can escalate into conflict which could instigate a violent situation costing lives.

**People taking the law into their own hands** also hinders peace in Tanzania. The cases where law-enforcement officials and civilians kill each other are slowly but surely becoming a feature of life in the country. On March 24, 2013, this happened in the southern part of Tanzania, where motorists killed a policeman in Namtumbo District. The media reports said the killing was an act of revenge for the death of a motorist caused by a traffic police officer after refusing to be corrupted.

**Unequal share** is another cause of violence in Tanzania. This has resulted in employment of know-whom rather than know-how in most of the government sectors known as threats to peace. There has been no tangible solution to the problem of youth unemployment, a situation which has led to a rise of youth gangs in both urban and rural areas. These youth are looking for every possible chance for survival, thus becoming a threat to business owners and loyal citizens. This creates a situation of both fear and hate between one group and another in any given community; efforts must be taken to prevent further deterioration of the situation.

**Figure 4 shows a meeting coordinated by elders in Mtwara showing their protest on the construction of a gas pipe line to Dar-es-Salaam.**



Source: Fieldwork Survey 2013.

## **2.4 Theoretical Framework**

The concise Oxford Dictionary (2001) defines a theory as a supposition or a system of ideas intended to explain something, especially one based on general principles independent of the thing to be explained.

Adam and Aurora (2008) state that in an applied context theory can be understood as an interrelated idea about various patterns, concepts, processes, relationships, or events. It is a systematic explanation of the relationship among phenomena and provides a general explanation for an occurrence (Kombo and Tromp, 2006).

### **2.4.1 Malthusian theory**

Many scholars have propounded various theories to explain the role of natural resources conflict. One focuses on scarcity; this is sometimes called the neo-Malthusian view, named after demographer Thomas Robert Malthus.

“The neo-Malthusians argue that rapid environmental degradation, resource depletion, unequal resource distribution, population growth and income inequality cause violence between government and rebels in many countries. These deprivations are easily translated into grievances increasing rebellion and societal conflicts. Internal disputes can arise from local environmental degradation, for instance, when factory emissions pollute a main freshwater source; and ethnic clashes can occur when population migration increases demand for scarce resources such as water or timber. Malthus, T. R. (1798).

Other scholars claim that the problem is resource abundance rather than scarcity. Some countries with natural resources have experienced what has been coined the “resource curse” instigated by corruption, economic stagnation, and unequal distributions and fallow into violent conflict over access to revenues. The availability of easily looted resources such as diamonds, gold, timber and other natural resources has encouraged rebel movements. Competition over control of oil production has encouraged violence among the Kurds, Sunni, and Shiites in Iraq. As noted earlier, there is a long list of conflicts with strong links to natural resources. Regardless of which theory describes threats, it is clear that both scarcity and abundance can create environments that are ripe for violence. Malthus, T. R. (1798).

### **2.4.2 Functionalist Theory**

The functionalist perspective is one of the major theoretical perspectives in sociology. It has its origins in Emile Durkheim's work. Durkheim was interested in how social order is possible and how society remains relatively stable.

Functionalism interprets each part of society in terms of how it contributes to the stability of the whole. The different parts are primarily institutions of society which are organized to fill different needs and which have particular consequences for the form and shape of society.

For example, the government provides education for the children, for which citizens in turn pay taxes on which the state depends. The family depends upon the school to help children grow up to have good jobs so that they can raise and support their own families. In the long run, children become law-abiding taxpayers who in turn support the government. If all does not go well then parts of society must adapt to recapture a new order, stability and productivity, and if all goes well, then parts of society produce productivity and order. Barnard, A. (2000).

Functionalism emphasizes the order that exists in society, focusing on social stability and shared public values. From this perspective, deviant behavior leads to changes in society because societal components must adjust to wider stabilities. If one part of the system is not working it affects all other parts and creates social problems which lead to social change.

In the 1940s and 1950s the functionalist perspective achieved its greatest popularity among American sociologists. European functionalists originally focused on explaining the inner workings of social order, while the American functionalists focused on discovering the functions of human behavior. Robert K. Merton is one of these American functionalist sociologists. Merton, Robert (1957).

### **2.4.3 Conflict Theory**

According to Ashley Crossman, conflict theory emphasizes the role of coercion and power in producing social order. He derived this perspective from the works of Karl Marx, who saw society as fragmented into groups which compete for social, political and economic resources through class struggle. Social order is maintained by the dominant group, with the greatest power in political, economic, and social resources in their hands. When consensus exists, it pertains to people being united in their common interests in opposition to other classes. Anderson and Taylor. (2009)

Conflict theory states that inequality exists because the class in control of a disproportionate part of society's resources defends their advantages by available means. The masses are not

bound to society by their shared values, but by relations with those in power. Groups and individuals advance their own interests as they struggle over control of societal resources. There is great attention paid to class, gender and race in this perspective because they are seen as the grounds of the most pertinent and enduring struggles in society, with the group controlling the most resources exercising power over others; inequality and power struggles result.

Most sociological theories focus on the positive aspects happening in society, but the conflict theory focuses on the negative effects. Functionalists defend the status quo to avoid social change, and they believe that through cooperation people affect the social order. Conflict theorists challenge the status quo and encourage social change even when this may amount to social revolution. They believe rich and powerful people force social order on the poor and weak. Stark, Rodney (2007).

The American sociologists in the 1940s and 1950s ignored the conflict perspective to favor the functionalist ideology. Also they expanded Marx's ideology holding that the key conflict in society is strictly economic and class struggle. Conflict theorists today believe in social conflict between groups, thinking that potential for inequality can only exist in racial, gender, religious, economic and political terms. Conflict theorists believe that unequal groups usually have conflicting values and agendas which drive them to compete with each other. Anderson, M and Taylor, H. (2009).

#### **2.4.4 Critical Theory**

Critical theory is a social theory oriented toward criticizing and changing society, in general contrast to traditional theory. Critical theories aim to open up the surface of social life and uncover the assumptions that keep them from a true understanding of how the world is working. This theory was developed by a group of sociologists from the University of Frankfurt in Germany who referred to themselves as the Frankfurt School, among whom were Jurgen Habermas, Theodor Adorno, Walter Benjamin, Max Horkheimer and Herbert Marcuse. Abromeit, John.(2011)

Critical theory is based on two core concepts: it is directed at the totality of society in its historical specificity, and it aims at improving the understanding of society by integrating all the major social sciences including sociology, anthropology, psychology, geography, history, political science, and economics.

Max Horkheimer, the director of the Frankfurt School's Institute for Social Research, claims that critical theory is adequate only if it employs three criteria: it must be practical, normative



and explanatory all at the same time. It must identify the actors to change society, it must provide both clear norms for criticism and achievable practical goals for social transformation, and it should state what is wrong with current social reality. *Max Horkheimer* (2001)

## **2.5 Empirical Literature Review**

### ***Natural Resource Wealth and Violent Conflict***

The current scholarly debate on resource wealth and armed conflict was triggered in the late 1990s, when findings emerged of a statistical correlation between a measure of a country's natural resource endowment and the incidence of civil war (Collier & Hoeffler, 1998), (Collier, 2000). This finding was initially interpreted as evidence that resource wealth makes for armed conflict and violence. Academic research over the ensuing decade has questioned the assumptions underlying this claim and explored conditions under which it might apply.

Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, in various publications from 1998 onwards, suggested that "Increased natural resources increase the risk of war." Collier and Hoeffler added that "at a high level, natural resources start to reduce the risk of civil war" (Collier & Hoeffler, 1998: 571). They largely held this general argument as they redid their analysis using bigger datasets (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004: 588).

Other research, however, adopting modified measures for resource wealth and/or using different data, does not find a general resource wealth-civil war connection. Fearon & Laitin (2003) and Fearon (2005) find little evidence of a relationship between civil war and primary commodity exports to the gross domestic product (GDP), which was the measure of resource bounty used by Collier and Hoeffler. Fearon thus concludes that "there is no clear evidence that high levels of primary commodity exports cause higher risk of civil war" Fearon (2005: 504). He suggests, however, that a connection exists between oil and conflict. This argument resonates with other statistical analysis, which finds that "[t]he relative availability of total natural resources is unrelated to conflict, while the availability of mineral wealth predicts conflict significantly" de Soysa (2002: 407). Ross (2004) also finds that natural resources, understood as the broad category of primary commodities, are not linked to the outbreak of civil war. Recent research based on new data from de Soysa & Neumayer (2007) confirms the finding that the more broadly natural resources are defined, the less they are related to civil war onset.

- ***Resources and Conflict are linked***

Some resources link up to some aspects of collective violence. Three kinds of explanations emerge from scholarly research: general frameworks, the narratives about the effects of resources at the macro level of structures and at the micro level of agency, and narratives about historical contingency and specificity.

**General frameworks** Le Billon (2008) sorts' explanations for the links between resources and conflict into three broad frameworks: conflict resources, resource curse and lastly the resource conflicts. Borderlines between them are sometimes unclear in their shapes and each account points to a distinctive set of dynamics.

- ***The resource curse***

This explanation focuses on the negative effects of resource wealth at the state level. Slowly it escalates from lower economic growth, corruption and authoritarian rule to the level where it tends to associate with resource abundance and makes for unstable domestic politics. The crowding out of the non-resource sector to currency- and rent-seeking hinders the emergence of a middle class. Dominance of the state-controlled extractive sector hinders the economy vulnerable to the volatility of commodity prices on the global market, and this complicates long-term planning and exposes the resource-rich country to boom and bust cycles. This vulnerability, combined with the global peripheral vision of commodity in exporting economies can also create a breeding ground for conflict. Le Billon (2008: 347) sums up broader findings on these macro-level dynamics as low per capita income, declining economic growth rate, weak government coercive capacity, institutional authority and political regimes in transition.

- ***Resource conflicts***

Countries that are rich in resources where most of the population is poor tend to develop governance problems and weak institutions as they start depending on exporting high-value commodities. If such countries lose economic growth and enter political transition they will be particularly vulnerable to conflict and may fall into civil war. At the more micro level in resource-dependent countries, citizens have few economic opportunities outside of the extractive sector. They depend on corrupt public sectors and find few opportunities to voice their concerns, due to the repressive nature of the state that can conduce to violent conflict.

In this framework, one can perceive that civil war conflicts arise in response to various actors and attempts to control the pool of natural resources. In the analysis of Le Billon (2008: 349),

such resource conflicts comprise both livelihood conflicts pertaining mostly to renewable resources and state resource security.

- *Conflict resources*

In this third account, resources connect to conflict because they constitute an opportunity for enrichment and profit of an individual and of organizations. The high value of the resources attracts agents with an economic agenda who are willing to take up arms or to encourage or force others to do so in order to access the resources and the profits derived from extracting and selling them. While early versions of this argument focused on how resources attract civilians to take up arms as part of an insurgency, e.g. Collier & Hoeffler (2004), later accounts have focused on how resources can become ‘conflict resources’ also as a result of activities by regular army soldiers and, more broadly, by state agents and by agents from beyond the conflict scene (Snyder & Bhavnani, 2005), Humphreys (2005).

- *Effects of resources at the macro and micro level*

These general frameworks touch on a number of dynamics that may link natural resources to conflict and violence. Over the last decade academic research has elaborated on how these dynamics work. A macro-level study elaborates on how conflict relates to renewable vs. non-renewable resources, to resource abundance vs. dependence, and to renter states and institutional weakness often associated with resource wealth. Micro-level studies have explored how resource wealth may provide incentives for peaceful or violent behavior.

**Non-renewable resources vs. renewable** These types are more closely tied to armed conflict. The academic debate suggests that non-renewable resources like gas are most clearly connected to large-scale violence. To the extent that the two types of resource figure in conflict narratives, focus is either on abundance of non-renewable resources that tend to have a high market value, or on scarcity of renewable resources with lower values. While other studies have found a connection between resource scarcity and conflict (Homer-Dixon 1999, Kahl, 2006), recent statistical analysis has found the connection between resource scarcity and conflict to be fairly weak (Binningsbø et al., 2007), (Theisen, 2008). A statistical study of the two types of resources finds the correlation between gas resources and conflict to be far stronger than the one between renewable resources and conflict (de Soysa, 2002). It seems, however, that renewable resources may give rise to conflict at a lower level of violence, i.e. below the threshold required to define intra-state conflict as civil war, and that conflict may be tied more to the distribution of the limited resources than to scarcity as such (Theisen,

2008). Given the lack of consensus in the literature about the links between renewable resources and conflict (see e.g. Salehyan, 2008) this synthesis focuses on the role of non-renewable resources.

- *Inter vs. Intra state conflict*

While scholarly writing has for the most part focused on how resource wealth affects intrastate conflict, some studies find resource abundance to be associated with international wars as well. Klare (2001a; 2001b) outlines what he sees as a new landscape of global conflict in the post-Cold War era, shaped by the growing strategic value of certain mineral resources. The international community's attention to the resource-rich regions of Central Asia, the Middle East, and Africa is seen as a sign of this shift. Writing before the outbreak of the Iraq war, the scholar asserts that “[b]ehind this shift in strategic geography is a new emphasis on the protection of supplies of vital resources, especially oil and natural gas, with global energy consumption rising by an estimated two percent annually and competition for access to large energy reserves, which will only grow more intense in the years to come” Klare (2001a: 50). Klare further argues that the moves powerful countries make to ensure access to key resources can give rise to clashes in resource-rich areas (Klare, 2001a: 59).

The assumption that powerful countries intervene elsewhere in pursuit of valuable resources is also the point of departure for another study, which finds that “wars over oil further destabilize faltering regimes”. This contrasts with other research which argues that policy and context will determine whether and to what extent oil connects to conflict (Humphreys et al., 2007). The assertion that global competition for resources gives rise to international wars is relatively weakly supported by evidence. Inter-state wars have been on the decline in recent years, and the extent to which international wars that have taken place are resource-related remains contested. Yet a country's resource bounty can relate to international conflict not only through global, but also through regional competition for a resources monopoly. Some of the civil wars that broke out after the end of the Cold War involved armed groups from neighboring countries, some of which were active in extracting and selling resources from the country at war. The study shows that rebel sanctuaries across borders do increase the probability of an international conflict (Salehyan, 2008b). It is less known to what extent resource extraction and trade by such foreign militias causes international conflict or internationalization of internal strife. The argument has also been made that resource bounties

can prompt international conflicts by attracting agents representing neighboring states and business corporations, but one study finds little evidence of such a dynamic (Humphreys, 2005).

- **Curbing conflict financing.**

The early finding that resource wealth seems linked to civil war fuelled an already ongoing policy of targeted sanctions against armed groups and their supporters. United Nations sanctions against the diamond trade of Angola's rebel group UNITA started in 1998 and added to a pre-existing travel ban with asset freeze. Beyond such sanctions, implemented measures have included legal attempts to reduce impunity of actors involved in resource trade with armed groups and efforts to resituate and repatriate ill-gotten gains. The United Nations (UN) appointed expert panels to monitor the implementation of commodity-oriented sanctions and UN peacekeeping missions have been given the mandate to identify sanctions violators. While many of these measures are currently in use in relation to some conflict zones such as in DRC and to certain commodities, most prominently diamonds, their efficiency remains contested. Sanctions termed 'targeted' or 'smart' such as asset freezes and travel bans that intended to avoid hurting civilians have been found to involve serious operational challenges due to technical legal loopholes, institutional weaknesses, budget and staff scarcities and political constraints (Tostensen & Bull, 2004: 40).

Another study finds that sanctions have a poor overall record for conflict termination and peace building, but "major improvements have been noted since the late 1990s in terms of monitoring and enforcement" (Le Billon & Nicholls, 2007 629). Studies on the so-called Kimberley process to regulate the global trade in diamonds conclude on a note of cautious optimism and agree that major challenges remain to solidify the tracking and labeling process (Grant & Taylor, 2004), Wright (2004).

- **War economies.**

Research on war and conflict economies tends to depart from a criticism of the sanctions and regulations approach, arguing that the targeting of specific groups and commodities risks being counter-productive if this is not part of an effort to transform the economies that are shaped by prolonged violent conflict. Efforts to curb rebel finance risk affecting civilians who have little choice but to make their living in the war economy.

It is argued by Wennmann and Le Billon that:

- By generating decent jobs and income-generating activities for the civilian population with a particular attention to the reintegration of demobilized combatants;
- By formalizing informal economic activities as enabling better tax collection by government and the provision of rights protection to more workers and peasants;
- By diversifying the economy to make it less dependent on exporting one or just a few primary commodities including the protection nascent industries. The feasibility of these measures will partly depend on measures being taken beyond the countries embroiled in conflict;
- The countries importing goods from post-conflict countries should reduce the scope of possible protection trade policies;
- The international community should seek to stabilize commodity prices to establish fair pricing mechanisms and compensatory financial instruments. Wennmann, (2007); Le Billion,(2008)

Finally, war economies can only be transformed into less militarized economies if the armed groups and sources of finance are dealt with an integrated manner beyond natural resources and beyond the war zone (Ibid).

- **Fiscal transparency.**

In resource-rich environments, key actors often have an interest in secrecy. Governments may want to hide figures on natural resources and other revenues in order to maximize their bargaining power vis-à-vis foreign investors. Firms may have a similar interest since their market position may deteriorate if they publish what they pay, while other companies do not (Ballentine & Nitzschke, 2005). Fiscal transparency, on the other hand, can enhance the accountability of the regime and of their business partners toward the citizenry and thus strengthen state society relations and societal trust deemed crucial for state and peace building. Possible resistance against transparency from governments and companies should be addressed in this vein (Ballentine & Nitzschke, 2005).

- **Sharing of resource revenues.**

The governance problems associated with resource bounty can be addressed through revenue sharing, which can be part of peace agreements and institutionalized in so-called natural resource funds.

**Wealth sharing.** Le Billon and Nicholls (2007) examine 14 revenue sharing deals which were part of peace accords from 1989–2006 and characterize revenue sharing as a deceptive quick fix, but rarely a lasting peace. When revenue sharing is combined with sanctions, however, peace implementation seems to succeed or is at least more likely than in cases where only military intervention was implemented. Here the conclusions are tentative due to the small number of cases involved and the dearth of research on the effects of wealth-sharing agreements.

**Natural Resource Funds.** It is commonly recommended that a wise way of managing bountiful revenue streams from resources is to establish so-called natural resources funds, which serve to smooth expenditure patterns over time. Models for such funds vary in regards to how they should be managed and by whom. One study argues that the fund’s decision-making body should operate according to clear rules and with transparency and involve representatives of diverse political constituencies (Humphreys & Sandbu, 2007). This finding is supported by other research which argues that funds dominated by national stakeholders risk being captured by politicians and are subject to corruption (Le Billon, 2005), while funds dominated by international and non-governmental sectors risk undermining the potential for a strengthened social contract (Ballentine, 2005).

In spite of the risks involved in bypassing the state, however, resource funds led by actors other than the national government may prove helpful in an early phase of a war-to-peace transition, where reconstruction needs are urgent. The state institutions initially are weak and the local population eagerly expects a peace dividend (Humphreys and Sandbu, 2007: 227), thus suggesting that where state institutions are weak the policy makers in resource-rich countries can consider a series of creative ways of drawing on the strength of external institutions to smooth spending over time. The nationally run resource funds could then take over at a later stage once state institutions are deemed strong enough to make them work efficiently.

- ***Regional Implications for Mtwara***

The discovery of natural gas in Mtwara Region in the southern part of Tanzania makes it feasible to bring benefits to nearly 1.3 million people who depend mainly on subsistence agriculture of cashew nuts and livestock. The lack of electricity has constrained development and was until recent years compounded by poor roads. In 2003, 77% of the students who passed primary school were unable to go to secondary schools because there were none in the

region. All this is gradually changing due to natural gas exploration. The burgeoning policy debate over the influence of oil and gas on conflicts explores the relationships among a number of variables, including economic growth, security, stability, community participation, rule of law, social justice, transparency, governance, and ethnic tensions.

The exact circumstances in countries that have experienced oil- and gas-related conflict are always demonstrably distinctive. For example, with the varying cases of Sudan, Indonesia, and Colombia several of the main aggravating conditions or mitigating factors underlying such conflicts can be identified and appear applicable in many instances. Outlined in this paper are five of the major conditions or trends. These issues have significant nuances and play out differently in various settings. A clear understanding of their broad outlines can help policymakers and stakeholders with interests in gas-related conflicts gain a better appreciation of the challenges associated with such resource-related threats to stability and security.

Ross (2004)

To understand the ways in which natural resources might exacerbate conflict, one should consider the degree to which the given resources can be easily looted and transported, or their 'lootability.' The degree to which access to these resources can be obstructed in order to prevent a government or political faction from benefiting financially from their presence can be called their 'obstructability.' A resource's 'lootability' and 'obstructability' are important keys to understanding not only why a conflict developed in the area, but also to understanding how conflict is maintained (Ross, 2003). For example a 'lootable' resource can be used by opposition groups to generate revenue and support their movements while access to an obstructable resource can be denied to government powers, thus stifling their ability to raise revenues to counter opposition movements or limiting the government's ability to wage war, in the varying cases of Sudan, Indonesia, and Colombia. (Ibid)

Several of the main aggravating conditions and mitigating factors underlying such conflicts can be identified and appear applicable in many instances. Outlined in this paper are five of the major conditions or trends. While these issues have significant nuances and play out differently in various settings, a clear understanding of their broad outlines can help policymakers and stakeholders with interests in gas-related conflicts gain a better appreciation of the challenges associated with such resource-related threats to stability and security.



- *Transparency and Corruption*

In most developing countries citizens find it difficult to obtain detailed information about the activities of their governments, while there are many factors contributing to resource-related conflict. The lack of transparency in government finances is among the most important contributing factors to violence. The absence of government transparency allows corruption to flourish, and revenues from oil and gas extraction and production have been known seemingly to disappear. For example, in Angola over the last several years a total of 34 multinational oil companies have made payments to the government without disclosing the amount of the payments (Human Rights Watch, 2004)

Confidentiality clauses remain prevalent in developing countries and revenue streams are disclosed infrequently. The lack of public information concerning oil and gas proceeds combined with readily observable rich-poor divides in many petro-states increases the prospects for social and political conflict. Wax (2004) The potential for conflict is heightened when oil and gas resources are located in poor areas of a country and the revenues generated do not benefit the local community. Even where national oil funds have been created for the benefit of the populace, there may be a lack of transparency surrounding the allocation of these funds, as in Kazakhstan. There are also instances in which revenues that have been earmarked for certain social projects have not been spent as intended, as is allegedly the case in Chad (Ibid). These examples point to the deep roots of corruption; while the creation of national oil funds can be an important step toward sustainable management of revenues, they can suffer from some of the same problems of transparency that they are at least in part designed to redress. Nevertheless, policymakers and multinational organizations increasingly appear to appreciate the need for more comprehensive measures to address transparency-related problems in order to ensure that conflict reduction strategies are as effective as possible.

In DRC, a country already plagued by violent internal conflict of population growth and pressure on land, these factors are contributing to an unsustainable and illegal reliance on charcoal and wood. The city of Goma, which hosts tens of thousands of IDPs, is particularly dependent on wood energy and some 90 percent of the city's wood supply comes from the National Park of Virunga. Ron (2004). Most of the three million people within a day's walk of the park rely on charcoal as their primary energy source. The high demand for charcoal has created a profitable but illicit market for traders who are illegally felling trees from the parks at unsustainable rates and prices. This charcoal trade is partly a product of the ongoing

violence in DRC and the resulting lack of any sort of effective environmental governance and enforcement capacity. Both the national army and rebel leaders have been linked to the charcoal trade. Corruption and the absence of legal authority have opened the doors for conflict entrepreneurs who have acquired financial benefits that have brought both personal gain and fanned the flames of conflict (Pendleton, 2004).

In Somalia the absence of central authority and the breakdown of traditional resource management have created an opening for new groups to cut down large swaths of the region's remaining acacia forests in order to make charcoal for export to Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries. Pastureland has become more arid and water resources have become scarcer. Reports indicate that the situation has spurred conflict between charcoal traders and local communities. Several clans have attempted to address these tensions by regulating or banning charcoal production, but without success. The effects of this unregulated charcoal trade are likely to add to the already existing tensions and conflict in the region and deepen Somalia's already severe environmental challenges in the future. World Bank (1995)

One of the clearest historical linkages between energy security and conflict is found in the controversies and unrest related to hydropower and the building of dams. While local complexities are still important, the discontent and tensions created by dams are fairly similar across regions. Projects often have profound environmental, social and economic impacts. Governments frequently find themselves at odds with citizens fearing for their land, livelihoods and ways of livelihood. Aggrieved communities mobilize around issues that range from displacement and compensation to alternative livelihoods, sometimes assisted by anti-dam advocacy networks. The government of Sudan is planning an ambitious set of dams on the Nile River in the country's northern region of Nubia, including the Merowe and Kajbar dams which will displace thousands of people and dozens of villages. Ethnic tensions, poor governance, compensation issues, and a lack of accountability in financing have generated unrest. Local groups claim there have been repeated human rights violations, including killings, arrests, and forced displacement. As tensions escalate, fears arise that the region will experience broader unrest. The mobilization of Nubian communities around these issues results in part from pre-existing feelings of marginalization and persecution. The Nubians are angry not just about the impact that the dams will have on their land and livelihoods, but also at what they view as longstanding patterns of economic and social exclusion. For some groups such as the Kush Liberation Front, protests against the dam have merged with a larger agenda of replacing the government in Khartoum.

In the book titled *Stay Alive*, Shiva is mainly concerned with the violence to nature which is seen as a source of generation, life, fertility, social and intellectual evolution for all human beings. Shiva describes western science and development as colonial projects which are based on exploitation, degradation of nature, erosion and violation of other cultures. In this context, Shiva claims that the scientific revolution in western countries transforms nature into machinery and sources of raw material. This transforms and removes all ethical and cognitive constraints against violation and exploitation. Shiva (1988) To Shiva, this so-called development has nothing to do with improving the standard of living of the losers; it is rather a continuation of the process of colonialism for wealth which makes use of patriarchal tools to exploit uncivilized societies in the Third or developing World. She went on saying that Western rule changed the course of history by exploitative and oppressive enriching of themselves at the expense of those they ruled by dominating resources, labor force and market and imposing their culture to control the indigenous. On the other hand, Shiva believes nature is indispensable to survival and puts life into the forests. (Ibid) In her view, nature is a creature and source of wealth and the local people who are living and working with nature have a deep knowledge of nature. She is against western science and sees it as violent and destructive to nature, as westerners exploit the products of nature in the name of development and science (Shiva, 1988).

Western science colonized the richness of forests and ignored wealth and the knowledge of local people about nature. They replaced local rights, local needs and local knowledge by the industrial revolution, converting into economic discipline from prudent management of resources for sustenance and basic need satisfaction into a process of commodity production and profit maximization, exploitation and a new relationship of man's domination and mastery over nature. (Ibid) Colonialism invaded the land and privatized it because they wanted metals and resources hidden under it to expand their revenue and maximization of surplus, while the culture of the indigenous people continues to fight this solution. This opposition emerges out of the base, from local communities in their struggle for survival while asserting their cultural identity to preserve their environment from the machine shop created by so-called economic development. Peasant struggles continue to prevent the loss of their local traditions as globalization increasingly impinges on their daily lives. To them land is a reward, is a site of human dwelling and it ensures human survival and upholds communities, investing human life with stability. To make land into a commodity threatens the cultural basis of human existence (Shiva 1988).

On the other hand, Shiva challenges western science as it favors investors and disagrees with native principles. To her, western science should view sexist metaphor as investors' mode of aggression against nature and domination of natives, since it raises up one group of people to adopt and dominate over the weaker group. She regards the emergence of modern science as a great advance of human rights violations, since it achieves only at the cost of deterioration in social status of weaker people and non-western cultures (Shiva 1988).

According to Shiva's understanding, nature is an embodiment of principle which produces life and provides sustenance and dynamic energy (shakti), from which matter originates. She sees western science as violent to nature since it only looks to maximize profits by acting in the environment and measures its efficiency by surpluses. Western science displaced nature by the commodity and cash economy, undermining principles which linked diversity and sharing. To them, purchasing and selling commodities is a central role of markets. Natural cycles have been disrupted and locally recycled resources no longer exist. Despite being oppressed by the brutal forces of development, people in the third world have the potential to recover nature. They still own their minds and would be able to use their minds to sketch new ecological paradigms. According to Shiva, third world tribal members and peasants who are left out of the process of development are now acting as players in an intellectual game of ecological thoughts and action; they have to show that they associate with nature not in passivity, but in creativity and maintenance of life.

From these arguments I can agree with Shiva that ecological disruption and the marginalization of Mtwara people have been the inevitable result of development programs and projects based on such paradigms; they destroy the integrity of the one and the productivity of the other. By violating nature with development models intrinsic to post-colonial dominance, the rights of locals dependent on nature were violated in that they thought gas would uplift them from poverty.

I can also say that the society of the developing world was not built from bricks, wood and iron, but linked to the life of nature. The relationship between human life and nature was the source of knowledge. Nature was symbolized as mother; therefore it was highly respected and conserved as nobody dared to touch it. Most of the culture in the South is rooted in this relationship. The government privatized the commons from the indigenous to colonial companies, leaving the native people empty-handed with the assurance that their world was being promoted into globalization.

On the point of natives being oppressed, I can also agree with Shiva. Indigenous peoples were not recognized by government science. They were denied an equal share in natural resources and property, including social services like infrastructure, schools and the like. Although it is evident that Mtwara people are closely related to nature, since they can enjoy development from it, development doesn't recognize them as a party enjoying fruits from nature.

Tanzania drew international attention this year, by almost trebling its appraisal of its natural gas reserves, which are now confirmed to be about 43 trillion cubic feet (TCF), valued at around \$430 billion. (Daily News, Majira, National Tv 24.05.2013)

The discovery mirrors a larger energy boom currently taking place in East Africa, especially in Tanzania. According to the United States Geological Surveyors, East Africa's coastal waters are expected to hold up to 441 trillion cubic feet of natural gas resources. This is almost double the estimates given a few months ago in May 2012 and numbers are likely to grow with further exploration deals in the 'pipeline.' (Ibid)

The Economist has hailed the emergence of an 'Eastern Eldorado,' predicting the region to rival West African resource giants such as Nigeria and Ghana. British gas companies have announced plans to invest about \$15 billion in Tanzania within the next decade. This figure alone is more than half of the country's current annual GDP. (Ibid)

The expected revenue gains and investments could mean a decisive shift towards industrialization for Tanzania's donor-dependent agro-economy. President Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete has announced his hope that Tanzania will soon become one of the leading global gas suppliers. (Daily News 24.09.2012)

However, this economic enthusiasm should be tempered by a healthy dose of scepticism, especially with regard to the Tanzanian state's ability to handle the opportunity of new capital inflows. In the press statements, the Tanzanian Petroleum Development Corporation (TPDC) confirmed that it had postponed the offshore exploration licensing round scheduled to take place in Houston, Texas. The round will be delayed until the government reviews a new draft gas bill on hand. The announcement forms part of a larger debate about benefits and potential detriments of the suspected boom in the resource extraction industries. (Ibid)

Politicians are always scrambling for profits from natural resources, and this has destabilized the relatively peaceful relations between east and central African nations.

The heated debate between Tanzania and Malawi surrounding oil drilling activities in Lake Nyasa is alarming and boding ill. Oil finds in Lake Tanganyika have sparked border disputes

between the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Tanzania according to watchdogs such as the International Crisis Group. However, there is not only potential for disputes with Malawi; DRC and Uganda offshore oil discoveries could also precipitate the formation of further separatist movements on the semi-autonomous island of Zanzibar. The potential for oil discovery in its area is at the center of a political debate between Zanzibar and the mainland because it is still unclear if the capture of oil and gas should be the responsibility of the union or whether Zanzibar should form its own petroleum company. (Local Reporting News 16.04.2013)

The potential for international skirmishes should not be neglected, but also the negative consequences of these gas discoveries are more widely felt among ordinary Tanzanian people. Extractive wealth has generally contributed to an uneven rate of development and distribution among populations. Despite Tanzania being the fourth largest gold producer in Africa, its people receive very little benefit from the mining sector, which generated almost \$2.3 billion during the year ending February 2012, as told by Mnyika, the spokesman of the opposition party. ( Local News Papers 22.05.2013)

The political opposition in Tanzania has warned the government not to repeat past mistakes and to safeguard Tanzania's energy resources for the future. In a recent declaration the Shadow Finance Minister Kabwe Zuberi Zitto urged the government to think about its long-term strategy. Zitto said, "We may not be here tomorrow but Tanzania will be here always."

The lack of coherent policy guidelines of strong supporting institutions and local expertise was decried as he called for a ten-year moratorium on all explorations to achieve structural adjustments and pass necessary legislation on future resource explorations.(Local news, Tanzania daima 24.09.2013)

The potential impact of exploration activities on other sectors such as agriculture and tourism is also worrying. A CHADEMA-based lawyer and legislative member, Tundu Lisu, conveyed these sentiments in a conversation with Think Africa Press: "I don't believe the country is ready to implement the existing systems and laws that will effectively protect our coastal environments. Tanzania stands already vulnerable and ready to lose its once glorious and bountiful coastline, which is a major tourist attraction both above and under water."

As Tanzanians we are calling for change in the attitudes among political leaders, the civil service, and public to prevent Tanzania from suffering the famed "resource curse" like other in Africa and elsewhere in the world developing countries. (Ibid)

Tanzania needs to first create a culture of transparency in all strategies of the contracts to avoid these. The negotiations between companies and the government usually take place behind closed doors and contracts remain a secret from investors and unfaithful officials. This encourages corruption in a country which has a historical prevalence for rent-seeking behavior and short-term gains by politicians and other public leaders. The exploration and drilling of oil and gas could exacerbate these problems. Without effective monitoring and open debate in the public sphere there is little hope of improving the current situation in this region.

Resource findings in border areas need not be a potential source of regional conflict if politicians direct them towards further economic integration of the developing countries. At a national level, the equal distribution of benefits is paramount not only today, but also in the future. The incoming revenues can stimulate national economies and help Tanzania create a sustainable economic upturn. Government can use the revenue inflows to make strategic infrastructure, education and in health, these will help ordinary Tanzanians reap their fair share of the benefits that come along with the natural resource blessing available. It is critical for politicians to give up their duty of caretaking and act in the broader interests of the population; only this realization will help citizens move forward in its global world.(World Bank watch 2006)

The concept of participatory development is deemed to be a new model in a contemporary development; it has proved to be a useful tool in bringing development to communities. Participation seeks people to be included in the planning and implementing of projects which are usually externally initiated, influenced, funded and ultimately controlled, instead creating a working relationship between development authorities and the rural population.

Josh (2003).

The main essence of a participatory approach is to get people at the grassroots level and allow them to decide while the development agent acts as a facilitator of the programme. This approach has been embraced due to the fact that it discourages top-down decision making (Swanepoel, 1997). This approach avers that every adult, whether relatively poor or the poorest of the poor, has the right to be part of the decision-making mechanism affecting his or her development. The desired improvements in human well being and development achievement would need to become not simply people-oriented. It would need to become

truly people-centered and a creation of popular initiatives based on the resources they control. Swanepoel and De Beer (2006) have this to say:

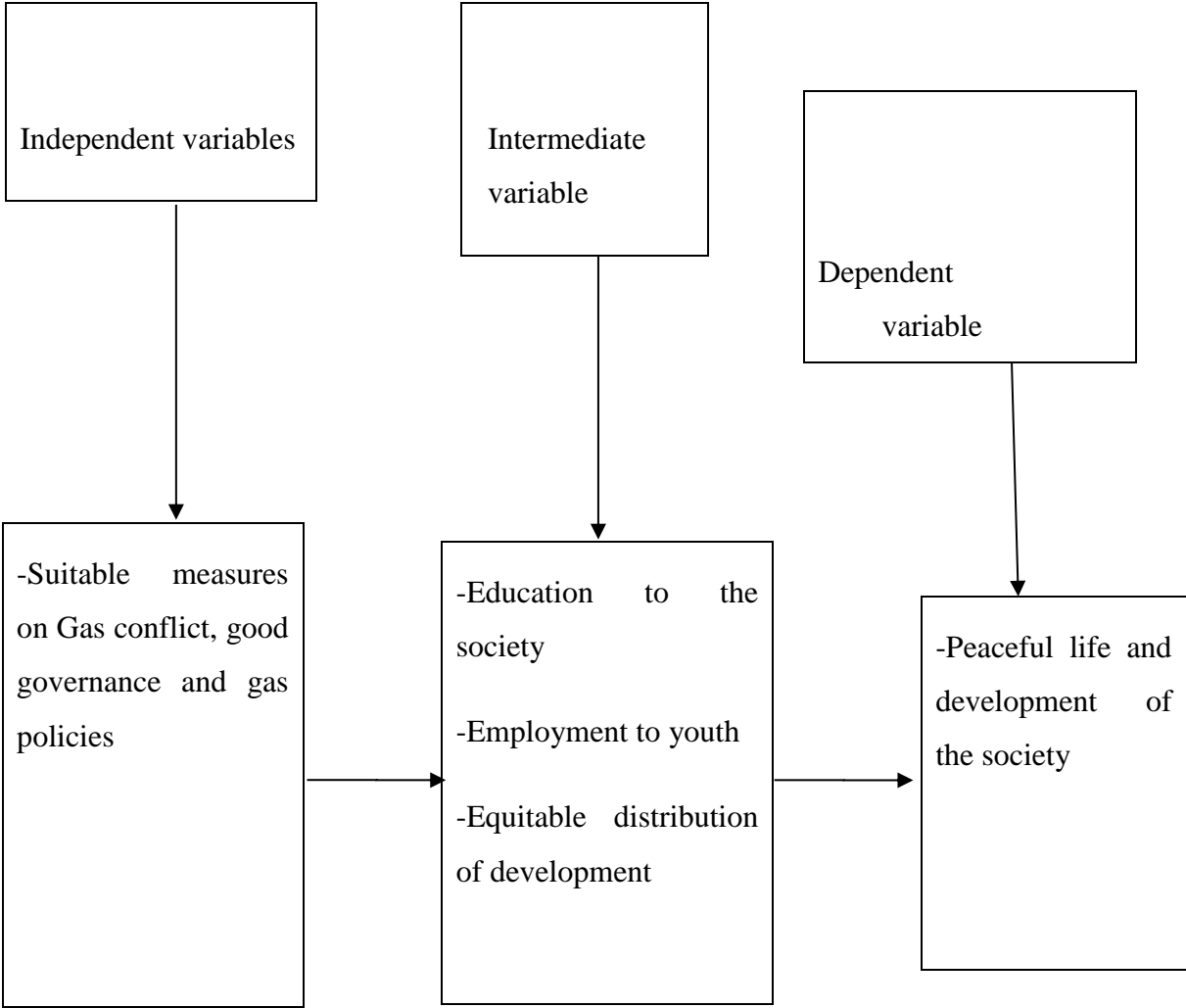
*When people are mobilized to participate, they do so fully, in all aspects of the projects. They become part of the decision-making and planning of the project and they are party to the implementation and evaluation of the project. And if need be, they decide in the course of the project adaptations to keep it on track: In short they then participate fully in the management of the project.*

The literature above indicates that the participatory approach encompasses various principles which govern it and ensure that people at the grassroots level take the initiative in the development process.

The participatory approach emerged not as a motivational catch phrase; rather it has been a major instrument in reaching the poor members of the community at the grassroots level. This approach has opened the door to communities to engage in development programmes through empowerment, inclusion, equal partnership, transparency, sharing of responsibility and cooperation. Transparency in the participatory approach helps build trust among community members and external development facilitators. It means opening communication and dialogue within the community.



**Figure 4.4: Conceptual Framework on Natural Gas conflicts in Tanzania and their impact to the society of Mtwara Municipality.**



*Source: Fieldwork Survey, 2*

## **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1. Introduction**

Chapter three focuses on research methodology, comprising area of the study, research design, sampling procedure/techniques, sample size, data collection strategy/techniques, data processing, analysis and presentation and winds up with reliability and validity.

### **3.2. Area of the Study**

The study was conducted at Mtwara Municipality in Mtwara region, Tanzania. The researcher decided to use Mtwara municipality as the study area because it is one of the marginalized areas in Tanzania where discovery of gas has occurred and which looks like new hope for the development of Mtwaran society. According to Stake (1998), one of the major considerations of selecting a study area is opportunity to learn. So the researcher finds that there is an opportunity to learn at Mtwara municipality and hence selected it for the study.

### **3.3. Research Design**

A research design is defined as the detailed blueprint used to guide a research study toward its objectives. This part describes the steps in the research process (Creswell, 2003). According to these definitions, a research design is a detailed plan of work which is to be done to achieve the objectives of the research.

In this study the research was not conducted in all places in Mtwara region, instead the design of the study was based on sample study by selecting some areas where embattled seriously problem. Thus, the researcher is in a position to examine the sources in depth, their impact and the solutions to gas conflicts in Tanzania. The study used both a qualitative and quantitative approach to gather data. Hence, through the qualitative approach an in depth understanding of the respondents was gathered so as to come up with a high level of reliability in the collected data.

#### **3.3.1. Quantitative Research Design**

Quantitative methods emphasize objective measurements and numerical analysis of data collected through polls, questionnaires or surveys (Babbie, 2010). The quantitative approach was employed in aiming at obtaining expressed data in non-numerical terms, while quantitative aspects aim to measure and analyze variables with statistical procedures. A cross-sectional survey also is employed in this study because it is simple to use, as it enables the

researcher to ask questions of the representative sampled population at a single time, using both a self-administered non-structured questionnaire together with a structured one. This depended on the secondary data. Data collected were on the “Gas conflicts in Tanzania and their impact on society in Mtwara municipality” primary source. The objective of quantitative research design was to establish the correlation between these two variables. Due to this shortfall, the quantitative research design was supplemented by qualitative research design to tap other factors threatening national security.

### **3.3.2. Qualitative Research Design**

The ability of qualitative data to more fully describe a phenomenon is an important consideration not only from the researcher’s perspective but also from the reader’s perspective. If you want people to understand better than they otherwise might, provide them with information in the form in which they usually experience it (Lincoln and Guba, 1985 p.120). Qualitative research reports are typically rich with detail and insights into participants’ experiences of the world and may be epistemologically in harmony with the reader’s experience (Stake, 1978 p.5). Qualitative research design was thought of after realizing that there was a lack of secondary data. Hence, qualitative data was used to capture people’s perceptions to make clear uses of both the qualitative and quantitative methods in data collection. A case study approach was used in the study because a study employed various methods. This approach was important because it included various methods, such as interviews, participant observation, and field studies. The goals were to reconstruct and analyze a case from a sociological perspective. A case study allows for describing one variable, comparing the variable to a particular standard and summarizing the relationship between two or more variables.

The design was relevant to the study because it allowed a single observation point to study a social issue or phenomenon, allowed a researcher to rely on personal observations and allowed employing few representatives.

### **3.4. Sampling Procedure/Techniques**

Sampling procedure is defined as the act, process or technique of selecting a suitable sample. Specifically it is the act, process or technique of selecting a representative part of a population for the purpose of determining parameters or characteristics of the whole population (Webster Unabridged Dictionary, 2012). Random sampling is the one to be used at first sight. This type of sampling is also known as chance sampling or probability sampling, where each and every

item in the population has an equal chance of inclusion in the population. The purposive sampling technique was also used to get respondents. The reason for using this technique was to target the respondents who truly gave the relevant data; for this study it involved the ones who are exposed to gas conflicts. Thus, the target population in this study comprises government officers, police officers, politicians, traditional healers, community elders, youth and religious leaders. These respondents were targeted because they have knowledge of this issue. The advantage of this technique is that it may assign a certain status of respondents to subsets of the reference population who are easier to involve in the study. Moreover, this technique can include geographically-isolated areas of respondents. Nevertheless, the limitation of this technique is that useful inferences for under-sampled population subsets may be impossible (Rust, 2004).

### **3.5. Sample Size**

This refers to the number of items being selected from the universe to constitute a sample (Kothari, 2004). The sample size of the population in this study was made up of one hundred (100) respondents as follows: six (6) local government officers, four (4) religious leaders, forty (40) members from the community, fifteen (15) community elders, twenty five youth (25), five (5) politicians and five (5) police officers.

### **3.6. Data Collection Strategy/Techniques**

This section introduces the methods of collecting primary data. The methods used in collecting data were interviews, questionnaires, and observations based on the experience of the researcher with long service in Tanzanian courts of law, due to the limit of time which is very short to observe and come up with a sound argument.

### **3.7. Data Collection Methods**

In this part of the research methods, the researcher presents techniques that were used in data collection and how they were utilized. Methods used for data collection include interviews, questionnaire, observations and documents, among others. The methods are then categorized into two streams, qualitative and quantitative.

As already stated, this study has an approach that uses mixed methods. It is for this reason that there was quantitative data collected together with qualitative data. While for quantitative there was use of a structured questionnaire (see appendix 1), for qualitative data there was use of in-depth interviews.

For quantitative data, a structured questionnaire was administered in Swahili and English to the respondents. Each respondent was approached personally by the interviewer. The questionnaire was introduced and after permission from the interviewee, one question after another was read, a response was given and recorded on the questionnaire sheet.

For qualitative data, the in-depth interviews and focus group discussion (FGDS) were used. In-depth interviews were conducted to a selected number of immigrants, both women and men. The interviews conducted were semi-structured in nature, meaning that the content of the interview to a certain extent was determined prior to the interview. The respondents were approached, the purpose of the research and the content of the upcoming interview explained, and consent was given, after which the interview took place. In order to make sure that the interviews covered all of the important topics, an interview guide was developed to direct the process; however, the researchers did not restrict themselves to the interview guide.

All interviews were conducted with only one respondent at a time. For the FGD, the respondents were collected and the discussion was conducted in the village office. All interviews and the FGD were conducted in Kiswahili and local language. This was done in order to avoid the risk of misunderstandings and to limit the respondent's language. This is in accordance with Bryman, who suggests that interviews should be conducted in the respondent's primary language since the communication is likely to be more effective. In addition to the interviews, the study also made intensive use of secondary information and this consisted of books, reports, articles, conference papers and the website by using suitable phrase and search words. The methods are illustrated as follows;

Documentary Review. This is conducted by collecting information from a diverse source of documents or electronically-stored information (Kombo and Tromp, 2006). The study used secondary data obtained from a variety of books, both soft and hard covered, TV, journals, magazines, presented papers, newspapers, speeches, and films, depending on accessibility. These documents were useful serving as a platform for this study.

Interviews. This is an oral administration of a questionnaire or an interview schedule. The interview is thus a data collection technique that involves oral questioning of respondents. It is a face-to-face encounter (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999:83). Kombo & Tromp (2003) were used to obtain primary data from local and national government leaders, politicians, community elders, youth, traditional healers and police officers.

Questionnaire. A questionnaire is a tool that is used to measure attitudes, emotion, cognition, intention, behavior and knowledge. It consists of a number of questions printed or typed in a definite order on a form or set of forms. The questionnaire was mailed to respondents who are expected to read and understand the questions and write down the reply in the space meant for the purpose in the questionnaire itself (Kothari, 2004).

Ethical Issues. The researcher concurs with Mugenda & Mugenda (1999) that researchers are people genuinely concerned about other people's quality of life. Therefore they should be people of integrity who do not conduct research for their personal gain or conduct researches that have negative effects on others psychologically or physically. They have to respect the participants and the sites for research. Thus, a researcher should be aware of the moral implications of the work (Creswell, 2003).

After completing data collection, the researcher has to make sure that apart from him or her, no one has access to the data except co-investigators. Confidentiality was promised and kept. The respondents' names have not been revealed. The purpose of the study was well explained to the respondents. The researcher asked for the consent of the respondents to participate in the research. Acknowledgement of others' work was taken into consideration by citing the authors. The researcher had an official letter from the Norwegian University of Life Sciences (UMB) and the Mtwara district office.

### **3.8. Data Processing, Analysis and Presentation**

Data processing was done through editing, clarifying and tabulating information obtained in the field. Reports may refer to specific periods, occurrences, events or subjects, and may be communicated or presented in oral or written form (Business Dictionary, 2012).

According to Levine (1997), data analysis is a body of methods which help to describe facts, detect patterns, develop explanations, and test hypotheses; it is used in all of the sciences, business, administration and policy.

The data that was collected and edited so as to detect errors and omissions was then analyzed. Percentages and frequencies were worked out in relationships and comparisons among established variables. Data was presented by using tables and percentages for quantitative data. Qualitative data collected from the field through employed techniques and tools is subjected to thematic analysis, which is carried out by designed detailed descriptions of the case study, using coding to put themes into categories.

### **3.9. Reliability and Validity**

The information obtained must be reliable and valid. The questionnaires should be constructed and tested as a pilot study. When the instruments are found to be ambiguous, this must be rectified so as to maintain validity and reliability. Afterwards, the instruments will be retested to see if they remain reliable and valid for this study. Thus, the respondents to be involved in the study will be deliberately sampled as participants who will provide valid information as though they were experts in social research and not otherwise. Truth will be the foundation of this study so as to insure internal consistency.

### **3.10. Conclusion**

This chapter has focused on research methodology in which area of the study, research design, sampling procedure/techniques, sample size, data collection strategy/techniques, data processing, analysis, presentation and reliability and validity have been dealt with. The next chapter (Chapter Four) deals with data analysis and discussion of the investigation.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

### **4.1. Introduction**

This chapter presents the findings, data analysis and discussion of the observations. The data were collected by means of data collection methods mentioned in chapter three. The collected data have been presented in frequencies and percentages. Tables are used to elaborate such data. The questions were based on the reality, causes, trend, extent of gas conflict and their impact on society and the way forward in accordance with specific objectives which are as follows:

- (i) To explore the trend and causes of gas conflict,
- (ii) To investigate the impact of gas conflict in Mtwara district,
- (iii) To determine strategies to deal with gas conflict in Mtwara District.

Data were collected from 6 local and national government officers, 1 religious leader, 1 politician, 36 youth, traditional healers, community elders and 36 students.

Many of the respondents interviewed participated fully and positively. They filled out and answered all questions and returned them to the researcher. They also promised to be ever ready to give full cooperation to the individuals who happen to require information about the gas conflict and its impact on society in the Mtwara municipality.

### **4.2. Characteristics of the Respondents**

#### **4.2.1. Distribution of Respondents by Sex**

The word sex when used as noun means the state of being either male or female. But when it is used as a verb it means discovering whether an animal is a male or female (Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 2003). In this study, this word has been used to mean the number of male and female respondents participating. Sex has been considered important in this research because the researcher wanted to avoid sexual bias. This gave an opportunity for both men and women to participate in giving their views and opinions about the gas conflict in Tanzania and its impact on society in the Mtwara district.



**Table 4.1: Distribution of the Respondents per Sex**

Category of respondents	Sex	
	Males	Females
Local and national government officers	4	2
Politicians	4	1
Traditional healers	2	1
Community elders	8	6
Community members	17	21
Youth	15	10
Religious leaders	4	-
Police officers	4	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>Percentage</b>	<b>58%</b>	<b>42%</b>

*Source: Fieldwork Survey, 2013*

#### **4.2.2. Distribution of Respondents by Age**

Age means the period of time someone has been alive or something has existed or the length of time that a person or a thing has existed (Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 2003). In this research, age was considered because it has a great influence on someone's activeness, thinking capabilities, life experiences and critical views on assessing the gas conflict in Tanzania and its impact on society in Mtwara Municipality, as well as suggestions for solving the problem. Respondents' age ranges from 15 years old and above. The following table presents the categories of respondents from whom data were collected:

**Table 4.2: Distribution of Respondents by Age**

Category of respondents	Age groups				
	12-18	19-25	26-32	33-39	40 and above
Local and national government officers	-	-	1	2	3
Politicians	-	-	1	2	2
Traditional healers	-	-	-	-	3
Community elders	-	-	-	-	14
Community members	6	8	10	10	4
Youth	10	15	-	-	-
Religious leaders	-	-	-	-	4
Police officers	-	-	1	3	1
<b>Total</b>	16	23	13	17	31
<b>Percentage</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>23%</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>17%</b>	<b>31%</b>

*Source: Fieldwork Survey, 2013*

The above table of respondents shows that 26 (33%) were aged between 12 and 18 years; 10 (12%) were aged between 19 and 25 years; 14 (17%) were aged between 26 and 32 years, 19 (24%) were aged between 33 and 39, and 11 (14%) were aged 40 and above.

#### **4.2.3. Distribution of the Respondents per Level of Education**

According to the Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary, education is a process of teaching or learning in schools or colleges, or knowledge that someone gets from this. In this sense the term education in this work has been used to mean the level of knowledge the respondents had during the time of data collection. The level of education is an important factor in a person's life because it has a great influence on someone's thinking, reasoning,

interacting with others, reflecting, judging, and ability to make solutions or decisions with regard to the problems someone happens to encounter in his or her life.

**Table 4.3: Distribution of the Respondents per Level of Education**

Category of respondents	Level of education				
	Not attended	Primary school	Ordinary level	Advanced level	University/College
Local and national government officers	-	1	2	1	2
Politicians	-	-	-	1	4
Traditional healers	2	1	-	-	-
Community elders	4	7	2	1	-
Community members	5	10	10	9	4
Youth	2	11	8	2	2
Religious leaders	-	-	1	1	2
Police officers	-	-	3	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>Percentage</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>24%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>15%</b>

*Source: Fieldwork Survey, 2013*

The table above discloses that the level of education of the majority of 36 (45%) of the respondents was of secondary school, since these are the ones who are directly affected by the performance of school management and teachers at large. The entire picture shows that the level of education of the respondents was as follows: 30 (37.5%) of the respondents had a university education, 14 respondents (17.5%) had college education and 36 (45%) of the respondents had secondary school education.

### **4.3. Objective One: Reality Trend and Extent of Gas conflict**

The first aim of this study was to find out the reality, trend and extent of gas conflict. This objective was realized based on the question that was asked to investigate the subject. This question was answered by asking a series of questions of local and national government officers, religious leaders, traditional healers, police officers, community members, youth, politicians and community elders. Their responses and responses' compatibility with the objective of the study will be clearly presented, explained and discussed here below:

### **4.4. The reality of natural gas conflict**

The colonialists used the south coast regions as a recruitment center for laborers and the post-independence governments didn't take the trouble of building social services for the locals, despite the region hosting freedom fighters from Southern Africa for many years. Mtwara has clearly been the victim of its own history.

The discovery of gas reserves in 1982, and their subsequent exploitation in 2006, didn't spur the growth of manufacturing and processing industries in the region which would have ultimately brought economic prosperity to the area.

The much-advertised decision from the government reached in early 2000 to develop the southern development corridor, an initiative aimed at promoting trade, investment and tourism of the region with its neighboring countries through the integration of infrastructure, remains a pipe dream and President Jakaya Kikwete's promise to transform the area into an industrial region is still a distant hope.

Extreme poverty, high illiteracy rate and broken promises given by the politicians, coupled with high youth unemployment which have historically defined Southern Tanzania as the most marginalized area may have contributed to the deepening riots in Mtwara region as fear intensified that the crisis could build up and threaten security and investment interests of the country.

In most of the media and press sources which were reporting the developing situation in Mtwara (few and far between), there has been a regular suggestion that the unrest was caused by the content of the Energy and Minerals budget of 2013 delivered by Minister of Energy and Minerals, Sospeter Muhongo.

The budget announced by Muhongo confirmed the construction of a pipeline from Mtwara to Dar-es-Salaam, which he said was funded again by a low-cost loan secured from the Chinese government, thus creating industrial jobs in processing the gas outside the Mtwara region.

In the same parliamentary session, Muhongo also announced that around 0.3% of the revenues from natural gas sales would remain in Mtwara to enhanced social service provisions and fulfill the largely empty promises of ‘corporate social responsibility.’

The minister’s announcement seen to have sparked the violent unrest in spite of the fact that public television networks mysteriously went off the air in the Mtwara region that afternoon, and remained unavailable for the duration of the budget announcement.

Nevertheless, TV channels allowed some in Mtwara town to view the proceedings, leading to outrage and violence toward government offices, properties and investments, with some of the houses of state staffs burned to the ground. The groups of protestors set up road blocks and fought running battles with the army and police on the streets of Mtwara-Mikindani and other areas. There have also been reports that journalists were attacked and their houses burned down because they failed to accurately report the level of discontent in the area of the study. In response to the violence and riots, the police and soldiers used tear gas in an attempt to disperse crowds.



**Source:** *Fieldwork Survey, 2013*

The figure above shows one among the many of Mtwara community protests against government by destroying roads.

The respondents were asked whether there were gas conflicts in Mtwara Municipality. Answers are clearly shown in table 4 below.

**Table 4.4: The respondents' answers on the reality of gas conflict in Tanzania.**

<b>Answers</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	100	100%
No	0	0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

*Source: Fieldwork Survey, 2013*

Table 4 above implies that 0 (0%) out of 100 respondents who answered the questions said that there were no gas conflicts in Tanzania (Mtwara district), whereas 100 (100%) who are the total number of the respondents agreed that there were gas conflicts in Mtwara District. This implies that society has denied their right to own resources for their benefit. This was supported by all categories of the respondents who were expected to answer this question. Respondents included local and national government leaders, religious leaders, community members, community elders, youth, politicians, police officers and traditional healers.

#### **4.5. History of the Problem of Gas Conflict in Tanzania**

Various groups of the respondents, namely local and national government officers, police officers, politicians, traditional healers, youth, community members, community elders, and religious leaders were expected to give their responses on the question requesting them to specify when the problem of gas conflict began in Mtwara Municipality. Due to some constraints, ten respondents, including police officers, could not respond to the request, and so only 90 respondents answered the question. Therefore, the sample size was reduced from 100 to 90 respondents. They gave various answers which are summarized in the following table.

In most of the media sources reporting the developing situation in Mtwara (few and far between), there has been a regular suggestion that the unrest was caused by the content of the Energy and Minerals budget delivered by the Minister of Energy and Minerals, Sospeter Muhongo in the parliament session of 2013.(Daily news 25.05.2013)

The national budget confirmed the construction of a pipeline from Mtwara to Dar es Salaam, funded again by a loan secured from the Chinese government, thus creating industrial jobs in processing the gas outside the Mtwara region. (Ibid)

**Figure 1: shown below observe the protest of the Mtwara community, especially the youth, toward the government of Tanzania on transferring of gas to Dar-es-Salaam**



*Source: Fieldwork survey 2013*

Nevertheless, television channels allowed some in Mtwara town to view the proceedings, leading to outrage and violence, with government offices and some of the houses of their staff burnt to the ground.

*Figure 2*



*Source: Fieldwork survey 2013*

The protestors set up road blocks and fought running battles with the militia police and army on the streets of Mtwara and Mikindani. (Tanzania Daima 27.05.2013)

What springs to mind is that if the government were in the final stages of completing a draft strategic plan and use of natural gas policy, which laws are they relying on to sign the contracts now? What is the motive behind building the pipeline from Mtwara to Dar-es-Salaam, a length of more than 500 kilometers?

Yet local people living in these marginalized regions are claiming brutality from the central government. The perception of the marginalization and exclusion of these parts of the country in the sharing of national resources has been on their minds since Tanzanian independence.



**Table 4.5 Origin of the problem of gas conflict in Mtwara municipality**

<b>Answers</b>	<b>Frequen cy</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
After the budget announcement of 2013	24	27%
After beginning construction of gas pipes	20	22%
Since the end of the year 2012	40	44%
I don't know	6	7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>100%</b>

*Source: Fieldwork Survey, 2013*

The answers given by the respondents varied as to when the problem of natural gas conflict began in Mtwara District. 24 respondents representing 27% of all respondents said the problem began after the announcement of budget by the ministry responsible for minerals on 22 May 2013. However, 6 respondents, representing 7% of all respondents, said they didn't know when exactly the problem began. Meanwhile 20 (22%) respondents said natural gas conflict began after the construction process of gas pipes began in various areas of Mtwara and Lindi.

Moreover, 40 respondents representing the highest percentage (44%) said natural gas conflict began at the end of the year 2012. The reality of this argument is supported by the information released, which says that inhabitants of Mtwara started to show their opposition to the extraction of gas being piped from Mtwara to Dar-es-Salaam at the end of December, 2012. They renewed their opposition again on May 22, 2013 so as to push the government to agree to their demands, but what happened was the death of more than 12 people, their property destroyed, rape of women and some of the police participating in looting properties. This can be repeated in other provinces in Tanzania if the government does not act.

On December 27 last year, thousands of Mtwara and Lindi residents marched for about 10 kilometers protesting the pipeline construction. Other demonstrations have since followed but the most recent one of Masasi district was the most violent yet.

The looming strike comes at a time when the Minister of Energy and Minerals tabled the new gas policy for thorough debate by legislative members in Dodoma. It also comes at a time

when the same ministry plans to table its budget for the year 2013/14 in which some MPs have vowed to shoot down some ministers as revenge for the arrogance of top ministry officials.

On May 22, 2013 protests and street battles erupted in the southern Tanzanian regions of Mtwara and Lindi in response to the government’s handling of mineral resource wealth and the contracts it has signed with various international actors without transparency and the participation of the natives.

#### **4.6. The Causes of Gas Conflict in Mtwara Municipality**

The respondents from different groups as mentioned above were requested to mention what they know to be the main causes of gas conflict in Mtwara Municipality. They came up with two main answers plus the other minor one presented by a few respondents. Many respondents correlated the two main answers which led the researcher to lend credence to their responses.

*Table 4.6: The causes of natural gas conflict in Mtwara Municipality*

<b>Answers</b>	<b>Frequenc y</b>	<b>Percentag e</b>
Transfer of natural gas through pipe from Mtwara to Dar-es-Salaam	32	
Denial of promises of President JAKAYA KIKWETE to Mtwara society	30	
Lack of enough information/education to the community about natural gas project	18	
Political interference	8	
Lack of commitment from government leaders	8	
Traditional beliefs	4	
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

*Source: Field work Survey, 2013*

All 100 respondents who answered the question gave several answers as the causes of natural gas conflict in Mtwara municipality.

Research found that the Mtwara municipal community makes many assumptions but relies a lot on two main ones which, working together, to a great extent caused the conflict over the natural gas. About 32 respondents (32%) did not agree with the transfer of gas through pipe line from Mtwara to Dar-es-Salaam, while 30 respondents (30%) responded harshly to the denial of presidential promises to the society of Mtwara.

The other major concern in the problem is the fact that none of the few promises made by national leaders on development projects have actually materialized.

The key question raised by the natives from Southern regions (Mtwara and Lindi) was how the discovery of massive deposits of gas in their area would benefit them socially and economically and built their case on that. These ordinary folks queried the wisdom behind the construction of a \$1.2 billion pipeline from Mtwara to Dar-es-Salaam, leaving them in the cold despite the fact that the gas reserves are in their ancestral land.

A brief examination report from the energy sector and the acute shortage of electricians mentioned by a research think tank about 'Research on Poverty Alleviation' (Repoa), published in 2010, states that Mtwara faces a significant shortage of trained technicians and that public and private vocational training institutions are not sufficiently equipped to address the shortfall. The study points out that 77% of students who passed the primary education examination in 2003 were unable to continue with their education due to lack of secondary schools, meaning they couldn't qualify for any job in the long run.

Unveiling the report of the TCDD, executive director Dr. Hebron Mwakagenda said, "Mtwara residents hope that President Jakaya Kikwete will personally visit and address them so they can air their concerns to him personally as the head of state. They are really longing for a solution to the stalemate," Mr Mwakagenda noted. The report released by TCDD said Mtwara residents however felt that the government had no genuine intention to develop the area, which has been neglected since independence. They went on saying the stabilization of the harbor, marine transportation and its infrastructure, which would bring employment for youth and citizens in general, was also promised by the government. According to TCDD's report, hotels, airports, free health services, free education and electricity were some of the things promised by the ruling party in the last election campaigns, and which have not been

implemented. “People lose faith in their government when they feel they are being played for a sucker,” noted a part of the report.

A 62-year-old Mtwara native named Salum Namkulala, now working in Dar-es-Salaam, said the government has consistently neglected regions in southern Tanzania by leaving them at the abject poverty line: “Mtwara and Lindi are the least developed regions in the country.” Namkulala told the researcher that since Tanzania’s independence they have had no roads, schools, hospitals or access to water, and employment is a nightmare. From that point of view, Mtwara is a symbol of poverty in our country beyond its richness of natural resources.

A few years ago, God decided to bless our neglected region by giving us gas. This is our blessing from the ancestors. With irony he told the researcher that the government comes to befriend us but maintains the poverty line for us by transporting our gas to Dar-es-Salaam. In capital letters we say ‘no’ and it will remain ‘no’ to this.”

In order to generate employment, distribute the national wealth equitably and empower social services, the government should build infrastructure to convert the gas into electricity in Mtwara and then transport it to other areas of the nation, Namkulala said.

Mtwara resident Eligius Nakapanya, aged 48 years, said the discovery of natural gas in the region is an opportunity for local development rather than the consolidation of resources and opportunities in the congested capital.

Developing sectors and creating jobs in Mtwara and other regions would ease the pressure of migrants who head to Dar-es-Salaam in search of jobs. “Investors are given more rights than locals. Our policies must be wrong somewhere, somehow. Mtwara [residents] have learned from what happened in the Buhemba Gold Mine in the Mara region and they do not want to fall into the same trap,” he told Sabahi.

Parliamentarian Nimrod Mkono told through a phone interview that he fully supports Mtwara residents’ position, because Tanzanian government economic policies have failed to protect local interests and favors to natives. Meanwhile, since the government opened its economy in 1987 to attract investors to our land, it has focused on developing laws and policies to protect investors and foreign companies, he said. In his example, a private company extracted gold from Mara for almost ten years, between 1994 and 2004, but afterwards the region continues

to be among the least developed in the country, with few schools, few tarmacked roads and very few hospitals.

Mtwara Mjini constituency parliamentarian Hasnain Mohamed Murji said he also supports residents' push to distribute opportunities equally. "Our leaders are saying our resources are for the entire nation and no one disputes that argument, but what we are saying is that the nation is not only Dar-es-Salaam," he told Sabahi. "Our young boys are [hawkers] in Dar-es-Salaam and in other regions with high economic quality. We need them to come back to Mtwara and become factory managers."

Again 4 respondents (4% of them) said the main cause of natural gas conflict is the traditional belief that the presence of natural gas in their land is the blessing of their dead elders who always prayed. The overthrow of such things will be invidious to them, for through their tradition known as Bibi Samoe Mtiti (106), the gas is impossible to transfer, and Bibi Mtiti promised to change gas into water if an attempt is made to transfer it. Most of the people in Mtwara followed this line of traditional beliefs to convince the government not to overthrow the natural gas from their land made blessed by their dead who were buried the area where gas was discovered.

Below is the picture of traditional elder Bibi Samoe Mtiti (106), who made the headlines on the issue of natural gas in Mtwara, Tanzania nearly throughout the situation.



Along this line, 8 respondents representing 8% of the respondents affirmed that the political agendas of most opposition parties such as NCCR, CHADEMA and CUF planted the seed of

conflict over natural gas in Mtwara. Through a phone interview, the Minister of Energy and Minerals Sospeter Muhongo said the gas issue is being politicized and Tanzanians should avoid injecting politics into serious matters of national interest because they risk sending the country into violence. Muhongo said that when the government successfully solicited a \$1 billion loan from Exim Bank last year to build the pipeline there were no voiced objections. How come when we reach in this implementation stage fracas starts from them? I can smell politics, and this cannot be healthy for the nation, he said. Muhongo went on saying that opposition parties use this loophole to garner mass popularity for their political interests as reported one elder from Mikindani Street in the area of Mtwara.

Furthermore, the same 8 respondents representing 8% of total respondents affirmed that lack of commitment from most of the government leaders made the problem hard to deal with. Ms Hawa Ghasia, Mtwara Rural MP and the minister responsible for regional administrative and local government, said local leaders were to blame for not enlighting people on the matter. She continued to say that the MPs were sent to Trinidad, Tobago and Thailand while the Lindi regional commissioner, his regional administrative secretary (RAS) and other leaders in the local government were sent to Norway for a similar mission. Why didn't they communicate back their finding (asked Minister Ghasia)? (Daily news Monday 7 January 2013)

Similarly, 18 respondents (18% of them) said the main causes of such problems is lack of enough information or education in the Mtwara community concerning natural gas projects. The Tanzanian government has failed to educate Mtwara residents about how the proposed gas pipeline project will be engaged and implemented; therefore, the situation lead to unrest in the area The local newspaper reported that Prime Minister Mizengo Pinda said on Tuesday January 29<sup>th</sup> that he admits the government has been the cause by not involving and educating wananchi [citizens] on the benefits which will be obtained from the gas sector in boosting the economy of the people of Mtwara and surrounding areas where the gas has been discovered (The Guardian January 29 2013).

A survey done by a researcher in Mtwara shows that people were not opposed to the project being implemented by the government; rather, the sentiments were due to a lack of clear information on how the project would bring them tangible benefits. When interviewed on different occasions, various people at the grassroots level in the region claimed that they never participated in the feasibility study for the extraction of natural gas.

#### 4.7. The Participants of Gas Conflict in Mtwara Municipality

In recent months, as it has been stated above, the society of Mtwara and the government have been affected by the fighting concerning natural gas. In order to know the individuals involved in the whole issue of natural gas violence, the respondents were asked to mention people who were involved in this fighting. Most of the youth were much engaged as they were fighting to enable them to have the opportunity of employment from the potential of gas extraction in Mtwara. The youth were fighting as compared with the adults who stayed at home making a silent cry.

The figure below shows a group of young men demonstrating to block the gas transfer to Dar-es-Salaam.



*Source: Fieldwork Survey, 2013*

Some politicians became involved in this conflict as they tried to convince people to engage in the movement against gas. Some of these politicians are from an opposition party, while others are from the ruling party (Chama cha Mapinduzi, CCM), notably Mtwara Mjini. Constituency parliamentarian Hasnain Mohamed Murji said he also supports residents' push

to distribute opportunities equally, since the case of government participation in the conflict once they announced on 22 May 2013 the construction of a pipeline during the budget session.

**4.8. The current trend of natural gas conflict in Mtwara Municipality**

The question was asked to trace the current trend of gas conflict in Mtwara Municipality as to whether it was unpredictable, constant, decreasing or increasing. Respondents from different social groups were requested to answer this question. Below is the summary of their answers:

**Table 7: The Current Trend of Natural Gas Conflict in Mtwara Municipality by Multiple Choices.**

<b>Answer</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Decreasing	59	59%
Increasing	0	0%
Constant	0	0%
Not predictable	40	40%
I don't know	1	1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

*Source: Fieldwork Survey, 2013*

The table above implies that a majority of the respondents (59%) said the problem of natural gas conflict in Mtwara municipality was decreasing. Their only reason was that there was no frequent news about the conflict covering the riots, demonstrations or any meeting about natural gas. None of them said the same problem was increasing or constant, but 40 respondents (40%) aired their opinions that the problem was not predictable since society seemed completely not agreed with the solution taken to silence them through the use of military force. Still, they fear that the conflict remains in their hearts, so the conflict is not predictable. Meanwhile 1% of the respondents had no opinion about it.



## 4.9. The Impact of Gas Conflicts in Mtwara Municipality

### 4.9.1. The Consequences

The second specific objective of this study was to explore the impact of gas conflict on society. The objective had then to be achieved based on the question asked; what is the impact of gas conflict on society in Mtwara Municipality? From that question, the impact had to be explored by considering three basic spheres of life in society. These include economic, social and political life. The victims are permanently placed to suffer economically, politically and socially hardship.

In order to answer this question, it was intended to collect data from 100 respondents categorized as follows: local and national leaders, religious leaders, politicians, traditional healers, youth, community elders, community members and police officers.

However, due to some inconveniences, only 93 respondents, and not 100 as was expected, answered the question. Community elders and 2 community members were unavailable to answer this question.

The respondents answered the questions by mentioning the impact of gas conflict. Their responses were summarized as follows:

**Table 8: The Impact of Gas Conflict**

Answers	Frequency	Percentage
Loss of lives and injuries	45	45%
Loss of manpower (human resources)	3	3%
Loss of property	23	23%
Fear, sadness and loss of peace	13	13%
Poor cooperation between the government and community	10	10%
Decline of economy	6	6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

*Source: Fieldwork Survey, 2013*

Table 8 above displays the impact of natural gas conflict on society as mentioned by the respondents. Among 100 respondents, 45 (45%) of them mentioned loss of lives of innocent people of Mtwara as the impact of natural gas conflict. Mtwara area where Tanzania discovered large natural gas deposits was witnessed bloody violence as local natives protested

the government decision to pipe the gas to Dar-es-Salaam for refining and eventual sale instead of building a refining plant in Mtwara or Lindi. More than thirteen people are reported to have died and more than 26, including a police officer were injured during the protests. Tanzanian police have made sweeping arrests after a day of protests in which one person was killed in a southeastern town over a gas pipeline project.

Mtwara Regional Medical Officer Dr Saduni Rashidi Kabuma states that police killed three people including a pregnant woman shot at close range, and injured dozens of other people. A pregnant woman was reportedly shot dead and at least three houses were razed in the Magomeni area.

A medical officer at Ligula referral hospital, Mr Mohamedi Kodi, said through telephone interview that at least 18 people including three policemen were receiving treatment from gun wounds resulted from violence. Blood pressure dipped in some and spiked in others due to gas canister blasts. Moreover, some shops were looted and burned down and women and children took refuge in Ligula hospital buildings.

Fatuma Mohammed who was six months pregnant died on the spot according to Dr.Kaduma's report, further more he states that the hospital received 30 injured people and half of them with big wounds from live bullets. Fatuma Mfaume claimed anti-riot police beats up and harassed innocent people, frog-jumped and threatened to shoot me as they found me preparing fish. I had to seek shelter in the bush for two days, me and my two children, she told the researcher. Police did not use common sense in handling the dispute, commented Omari Abilai, Magengeni Ward Council adding that, they used force instead of negotiation. He went on saying, If the police found you in a group of three, they tossed a teargas canister to scare you and ordering you to disappear. The tension appeared to be rising steadily in Mtwara town as stakeholders tried to put together a solution that would be acceptable to all.

Three (3%) of the respondents said the conflict on natural gas that happened in our society has caused loss of labor force or human resources without which we cannot speak of national development. This is in line with James (2003), who says that development needs a sustainable work force. This is what can make a remarkable change in any country. So, loss of work force means loss of national development, which in turn makes people poor.

As well, 23 (23%) of the respondents said natural gas conflict creates loss of property. Among the property that was destroyed mentioned to be shops, houses belonging to some prominent politicians with high posts in national level and in the region as well as the houses owned by people who were seen to support the government. Government and private vehicles including two ambulances and a court building was torched along with all the documents in it. Protestors destroyed 11 vehicles belonging to the Masasi District Council and set fire to a court building, district education offices and several local government officials' homes.

Furthermore, 13 (13%) of the respondents said the conflict brought fear, sadness and loss of peace among the community members following the death of their fellow community member who was killed by a bomb. Police who fired teargas to break up the riots had arrested more than 90 people and the town is now calm and under strict control by state force. Some schools were forced to remain closed, while some teachers ran away from both schools and their homes. Other people ran from their residences due to fear.

Additionally, 10 (10%) said that the cooperation between government and the citizens of Mtwara was broken following the misunderstanding between the two sides. Government granted no freedom to the citizens and then the community did not participate in national events like the movement of the national torch.

Six (6%) said the conflict brought the decline of the economy in Mtwara Municipality as most of the time this year shops were closed and public transport and grocery/hotel operations stopped because of the chaos. The protests in Mtwara Region have caused a loss of more than 1.5bn/-Tanzanian shillings and more than 750m/- is needed to restore government structures as initial probe findings show that the mobs which took part in the acts were hired.

**4.9.2. The Affected Parties of Gas Conflict in Mtwara Municipality**

The respondents were requested to mention the parties who are affected most from the gas conflict. Due to some inconveniences only 98 instead of 100 respondents answered this question. The following table summarizes the findings.

**Table 4. 9: The Affected Parties by natural gas conflict in Mtwara municipality**

Answers	Frequency	Percentage
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The government	<b>41</b>	<b>42%</b>
The whole society	<b>57</b>	<b>58%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>100%</b>

*Source: Fieldwork Survey, 2013*

The study revealed that, among 98 respondents who responded to this question, 41 respondents, corresponding to 42%, said the ones who were affected most by gas conflict were the government, as they lost some property like the burning of some offices (primary court and police central were burned by society as a protest against the government).

Also the government is totally affected as the confidence of society in government was denied and any government activities were ignored by the society. As with the coming of the national torch the people of Mtwara did not engage.

On the other hand, 57 respondents, corresponding to 58% of total respondents, considered the whole society or nation as the one that experienced the effect of natural gas conflict, because the transferring of gas from Mtwara touches society as a whole, since they feel bad about their government; therefore they are conflicted personally as well as with the government.

In that case people had great expectations with the gas discovery but what happened was the power of the government to transfer gas as well as to silence them by police using guns and bombs. This spread fear and guilt toward the government to the whole society.

#### **4.10. Measures taken to combat the Gas Conflict in Mtwara Municipality**

##### **4.10.1. Interventions of Combat in the Natural Gas Conflict**

The third objective invited the respondents to unveil measures which were taken to combat the problem of natural gas conflict in Mtwara municipality according to their knowledge.

The results of the measures taken to solve the conflict show that there were not many steps taken to combat the problem of natural gas conflict in Mtwara municipality; rather, the government used military force strategies to solve the problem, as indicated by many respondents who responded to this question. About 95 (95%) who were able to respond to the question argued that the overuse of military force was a great mistake for which the government would repent one day. The government should understand that by pouring the military into the streets they expose them to things they had never heard about. They see, hear and understand a lot from the locals and government shouldn't be taken by surprise if one day

those military personnel refuse to return to their bases and start seizing the areas with resourceful. Removing them from those areas would cost a lot. Maybe I'm just talking nonsense, and Tanzanians will not expect what happened in Mtwara to recur, for whatever reasons (said one respondent).

Killing each other for any reasons doesn't get us far. For our country's welfare, wisdom is required to solve our problems. Emotions, anger and force to achieve objectives do not go with our tradition inherited. The Mtwara people and you who are in power know that Tanzania is one and we all have equal rights.

**4.10.2. Whether the measures taken are satisfactory**

This study also aimed at finding people's opinions on current measures taken against natural gas conflict, whether they are satisfactory or not. Thus, the question was asked of 100 respondents who were grouped into nine categories: local and national government leaders, politicians, youth, religious leaders, community elders, community members, police officers and traditional healers.

The respondents have different views on the measures taken. 75 respondents (75%) said the measures which are currently taken are not satisfactory, 6 (6%) had the opinion that the measure are somehow satisfactory and 19 (19%) respondents had it that, such measures are satisfactory.

**Table 4.10: Answers about the Satisfactory and Unsatisfactory quality of the measures taken against natural gas conflict in Mtwara Municipality**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage
No	75	75%
Somehow	6	6%
Yes	19	19%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

*Source: Fieldwork Survey, 2013*

From the answers above we can see that many (75) respondents say the measures taken are not satisfactory. This means that the government and other well-wishers in cooperation with

society are to take more serious measures to combat the problem of natural gas conflict in Mtwara Municipality and Tanzania in general.

**4.11. Challenges against success in the eradication of gas conflict**

Despite the efforts made by the central and local government, religious leaders and other well-wishers to end the problem of gas conflict, it was concluded that there were some challenges which hindered success, so respondents were requested to answer the question inquiring about such challenges. Some of the respondents apologized that they could not participate. About 100 respondents in various groups answered the question. Their responses are summarized in table 11 following.

**Table 4.11: Challenges against success in the eradication of natural gas**

Answers	Frequency	Percentage
Lack of education	36	36%
Beliefs in witchcraft	20	20%
Lack of seriousness for government leaders	17	17%
Extreme poverty	15	15%
Political pressure	12	12%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

*Source: Fieldwork Survey,2013*

Table 11 above reveals that about 36 (36%) focused on poor education as the reason for conflict. Lack of education for most Tanzanians is especially prevalent in Mtwara society, where most are assumed to have ignorant ideas in their minds. Poor understanding of the people creates the difficulty in making the society of Mtwara understand about the project. Most believe that the natural gas is their own property and should benefit them since they are poor compared with other regions in Tanzania. Due to such assumptions the government finds difficulty in solving the problem.

Also 20 (20%) respondents argued that the belief in witchcraft held by some society in Mtwara creates a limitation on solving the problem. There are assumptions made by the elders under Bibi Samoe Miti who is the leader of the protest over the transfer, as it seems the natural gas is a gift from buried elders who pray to the Ghost, and to allow the gas to be moved is a betrayal.

While 17 (17%) respondents suggest lack of seriousness in government leaders limits the process of solving the problem, initially government leaders exhibited weakness in failing to provide education as well as information, especially after some of them were sent to various parts of the world to acquire knowledge about natural gas projects. Most of them did not provide enough knowledge to the community of Mtwara, even though government spent a lot of money to transport them to Norway and other countries. At the moment government shows a lack of seriousness in solving the problem, since it attempted to solve the problem following the demand for benefits from society.

Again, 15 (15%) said that the extreme poverty in the most of Mtwaran society serves as a root for continuous conflict, apart from efforts made to solve the problem. Most of Mtwaran societies are poor, there is no economic opportunity in Mtwara, harbors are not well developed, and overall food production is not evident in the markets. In that case the people lose hope, they need natural gas to make a revolution in their lives, they need employment, good infrastructure, schools and other things various cities in the world have which monopolize natural gas.

The last suggestion was made by 12 (12%) respondents, who told the researcher that, political pressure follows a hidden agenda of the opposition parties. This seems to be the greatest challenge to solving the conflict over natural gas in Mtwara Municipality. The Tanzanian Minister of Energy and Minerals Sospeter Muhongo announced that the gas issue is being politicized and Tanzanians should avoid injecting politics into serious matters of national interest because they risk sending the country into chaos and hinders national development.

He said, when the government successfully solicited a \$1 billion loan from Exim Bank last year to build the pipeline no one voiced objections. How come when we reach the implementation stage people starts this fracas? I can smell politics and personal interests; hence this cannot be healthy for the nation.

#### **4.12. Respondents' suggestions for the prevention of conflict**

Finally, the respondents were asked to suggest some suitable measures which they thought could lead to a permanent solution of the problem of gas conflict in Mtwara municipality. This question was asked of all groups of the respondents whose total was 100 but only 90 respondents were available and answered it. Their answers are summarized as follows:

**Table 4.12 Respondents' suggestions on the prevention of conflict**

Answer	Frequency	Percentage
Government listening to the people	19	21%
Expert to visit Mtwara and educate people	14	16%
To show physical benefit from natural gas	8	9%
Transparency and negotiation	12	13%
To stop the project of natural gas transfer	37	41%
<b>Total</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>100%</b>

*Source: Fieldwork Survey, 2013*

The results show that 19 respondents, making 21% of those who answered the question, said that government listening to the people would best prevent conflict. Opposition leaders from CHADEMA, CUF and NCCR have also urged the leaders heading to Mtwara to listen to the people as opposed to talking and issuing directives.

Speaking in Dar-es-Salaam the parliamentarian Zitto Kabwe said the leaders must show Mtwara people how they would benefit from gas mining in the region if they want to end the



current chaos. Kabwe who also chairs the country's energy and minerals house committee asked the government to transparency and publicizes the details of the contract it had entered with China saying the cost was suspected and hidden by officials. He accused the government of misleading people on the exact demands by Mtwara residents saying what they are asking for, is to be assured that they would benefit from the resources discovered in their area.

Another 14 respondents 15% including Prof Humphrey Moshi of the University of Dar-es-Salaam advised the government to form a team of experts that does not include politicians and that would visit the area of conflicting and educate locals on the benefits of the natural resources available within them. There should be consultative sessions that involve residents so as to create awareness rather than using state forces. Poverty alleviation executive and director professor Samwel Wangwe also underscored the need to first sensitize Mtwara residents before embarking on construction of the pipeline.

Eight respondents (9%) said the government should explain the benefits that people will get from the natural gas. Chairman of the second main opposition party in Mtwara, Professor Lipumba, called on the government not to ignore the protests by the people of Mtwara region against the decision to transport gas from Mtwara at Mnazi Bay area to Dar-es-Salaam since they touched on their development aspirations.

Prof Lipumba also called on the government to analyze the advantages and disadvantages of the gas pipeline project since its construction was in the preliminary stages, making changes possible.

He recommended that the project should be implementing in phases with the first phase being the construction of the pipeline to Somanga – Kilwa in order to increase the capacity of transporting gas from Songosongo to Dar-es-Salaam (Guardian 31 December 2013).

A group of 12 (13%) of the respondents affirmed that to prevent this Tanzania needs to first create a culture of transparency. They told the researcher that negotiations between companies and the government usually take place behind closed doors and contracts remain a secret with few officials from the government. Doing this we encourage corruption in a country which has a historical prevalence for rent-seeking behavior and short-term gains by politicians and other public officials. The drilling and exploration of natural gas could exacerbate these problems without effective monitoring and open debate in the public spheres instigates little hope for improving the current situation.

CCM Secretary General Honorable Abdulrahman Kinana has voiced to the Mtwara gas saga urging the government to open discussions with residents in the region regarding utilization of the natural resource and to take to task all troublemakers.

Mr Kinana said it was in the interest of all peace-loving Tanzanians to see an amicable solution to the saga is reached. He took a swipe at some ‘irresponsible’ politicians whom he said were out to capitalize on the matter for selfish ends.

Mr Kinana’s statement came as the Prime Minister Honorable Mizengo Pinda and other senior government officials flew to Mtwara to meet various stakeholders in the area of the study. A source from the Prime Minister’s Office is today expected to issue a statement on the crisis which is connected to protests against the government plans to pump natural gas to Dar-es-Salaam. (Daily News may 2013)

Unveiling the report TCDD’s executive director Hebron Mwakagenda said, Mtwara citizens hope that the President of Tanzania will personally visit them so as they can air their concerns to him personally as a head of the state. Mtwara people are really longing for a solution to the stalemate Mr Mwakagenda noted.

Kigoma legislator Zitto Kabwe urged the government to listen to the concerns of southern people. The government needs to show by facts how Mtwara communities will benefit from this project, he said. The government must not turn a deaf ear or politicize the issue of Mtwara it must re-examine carefully and respect people’s views to solve the problem.

The government was supposed to be wise, educating Mtwara residents because the minister’s statement is contrary to talks between prime minister and Mtwara resident’s right after the violence this year when the prime minister assured them that a gas plant would be built around their area. Again I am so saddened that the government incurs great losses for failing to educate Mtwara citizens until we have reached the point of losing our four soldiers due to our government’s laziness. This personally touched me, said Zitto Kabwe.

The government might have explained to the residents of Mtwara and Lindi how they would benefit from the natural gas found in their region. Undoubtedly, it was necessary for the former to convince them to appreciate the initiatives for the crucial natural resource.

Another 47 (47%) did not completely agree with the transfer of gas from Mtwara to Dar-Es-Salaam via pipeline. They need their gas to remain while electricity should be transferred to

Dar-Es-Salaam and other areas. They did not agree with the start of construction of the pipeline for gas transfer.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **5.1. Introduction**

The major objective of the study was to assess the trend and the impact of natural gas conflict in Mtwara Municipality in Mtwara region. The specific objectives focused on: the exploration of the trend, extent and causes of natural gas conflict in the study area, the impact of natural gas conflict in Mtwara Municipality and strategies to deal with natural gas conflict in Mtwara Municipality.

This chapter presents the conclusions and recommendations descending from the main findings of this study. It also suggests areas for further research.

### **5.2. Summary and Conclusions**

#### **5.2.1. The trend and extent of natural gas conflict in Mtwara Municipality**

All the respondents affirmed that there were natural gas conflicts in Mtwara Municipality. Their affirmation goes hand in hand with various reports delivered from different sources worldwide. However, with regard to when this problem began, respondents had diverse views. Some of them (44%) described the problem as a new catastrophe which began since the end of the year 2012. Others (27%) held the opinion that the problem of natural gas conflict arose immediately after the announcement of the natural resources and mineral budget on 22, May 2013. Others (22%) said natural gas conflict came after the process of constructing gas pipe from Mtwara to Dar-es-Salaam began, while 7% said they didn't know exactly when the problem of natural gas conflict began.

The main causes of natural gas conflict were mentioned. Some of the respondents (32%) said the transfer of gas through pipeline to Dar-es-Salaam as imposed by the government made the society of Mtwara clash with the government and then it led to high conflict since they protested such a project. Other respondents (30%) thought that the natural gas conflict arose as a result of the denial of presidential promises for Mtwaran development. The region was promised development in the social and economic sphere through the establishment of

industries, roads and other projects, but the government did not act on that. Other causes mentioned are lack of enough information or education to the community about natural gas conflict (18%), political agenda (8%), lack of commitment from government leaders (8%) and traditional beliefs (4%).

Those involved in natural gas conflict are from different social groups and statuses, such as politicians, especially those who are hungry for power; also women, children, elders and in the most cases youth who were looking for economic opportunity following the natural gas discovery in Mtwara. The conflict actually is with the government, which forces the project of transferring natural gas to Dar-es-Salaam.

About the trend of natural gas conflict in Mtwara Municipality, the majority of respondents (59%) said it was decreasing, while no one said it was increasing or constant. Furthermore, 40% said it is not predictable because no critical measure has been taken to accomplish the problem. Only 1% of them said that they had no answer.

### **5.3. The impact of natural gas conflict in Mtwara Municipality**

The problem of natural gas conflict in Mtwara Municipality has affected society in many ways, both the society and the government. The main impact of natural gas conflict is the loss of innocent lives and thus the loss of one's right to life. Many people were killed by the police by gun and torture at Nalyendele prison (Guantanamo) by police. Sometimes the one killed is either one of the parents or in a family or a young man who is also a very important economic pillar (human resources) of the respective family. So his or her absence leads to the economic bankruptcy of the family concerned. Others remain permanently injured due to gun wounds.

Natural gas conflict creates loss of property. Among the property that was destroyed were government and private vehicles, including two ambulances, court building, shops, houses belonging prominent politicians figure. It was revealed in other area that protestors destroyed more than 11 vehicles belonging to the Masasi District Council, torched a court building, district education office and several local officials' homes; said one community member.

The conflict brought fear, sadness and loss of peace among community members following the death of their fellow community member who was killed by a bomb. Police, who fired teargas to break up the riots, arrested more than 90 people and the town is "now calm and under control by the military using strong weapons like tanks and the like."

The cooperation between government and the citizens of Mtwara was broken following the misunderstanding between the two sides. Government allowed no freedom to the citizens and then the community did not participate in national events like the movement of the national torch.

The economy declined in Mtwara Municipality from the end of last year several times, shops were closed, public transport and grocery/hotel operations stopped because of the chaos. The communities even failed to attend the open meeting to discuss the issue of cashew nuts after the harvest.

#### **5.4. Recommendations**

The recommendations that emanate from the major findings of the study are as follows:

The problem of natural gas conflict in Tanzania should not be dealt with by Tanzania alone. The UN secretary Ban Ki-Moon condemned natural gas conflict in Tanzania saying that it is a very serious issue “Under the Same Sun” (2009). Therefore the problem is internationally known. The UN therefore should intervene and put stress on the Tanzanian government to seriously deal with the natural gas conflict.

The community should be involved in the whole process of natural gas projects. But care should be taken to retain their benefits to avoid the conflict. The government should ensure that the benefits of natural gas are clearly known and utilized by the community. If this can't be well practiced they may be harmed in various ways and this would hinder the success of the whole process of prevention of the natural gas conflict.

Religious leaders are vitally important in preventing the conflict over natural gas in Mtwara Municipality as in Tanzania as a whole. They live spiritually with people in all corners of the country and their followers are obedient and loyal to them. If they are well involved in conducting seminars and educating people on the project of natural gas, they can have a reasonable impact on the problem.

Policy-level initiatives are needed in developing countries dependent on extractive industries to address the potential causes of resource-related conflicts. One major study looking into the broader issues surrounding these concerns was the World Bank Group's report, “Extractive Industries and Sustainable Development: An Evaluation of World Bank Group Experience” Liebenenthal et al. (2003). Though the World Bank found that most of its projects financing investment in extractive industries (oil, gas, and mining) were successful in terms of increased production, increased private investment and improved productivity, there was not sufficient

attention to the developmental needs of the poorly performing resource abundant countries and the challenge remained to develop “strategies for transforming resource endowments into sustainable economic growth and put more directly absent efforts to link the benefits of oil and gas extraction in positive ways with the well known challenges facing developing countries like unemployment, environmental degradation, poverty, weak governance and observation of human rights. The oil, gas and other natural resources sector will continue to be associated with some of the underlying dynamics associated with conflict.

Problems associated with natural gas wealth that can lead to or exacerbate conflict need to be addressed by a wide array of social and civic groups. Assistance for local NGOs or other independent host-country groups should be combined with other initiatives from the international community that aim to encourage and facilitate an open dialogue at all levels of society.

Given the confirmed commercially viable quantity of natural gas, the government should recognize and treat Tanzania as a resource-rich country. To that end, it is high time the government takes note of the country’s current requirements and works to coordinate a national consensus-building process intended to figure out the national development vision, well-developed and informed by Tanzania country experiences and environment in which the oil, gas and other extractive industries are recognized as engines to realize that vision of national development.

The government should strive to ensure that every Tanzanian is informed and well aware of issues related to natural gas exploration, development and exploitation. The information package about natural gas should be seen comprehensible, accessible and available to all Tanzanians as means to help people link their private and public development and investment plans to ongoing natural gas developments, in effect fitting into the national development vision.

Much as natural gas is a strategic resource, the policy, laws, regulations and institutions designed to regulate natural gas industries in the country must be strategically crafted and fitted. To that end, the government must act quickly to establish adequate and appropriate natural gas policy, laws, regulations and institutions; introduce proper strategies for reinforcing compliance to transparency and accountability standards in the course of regulating the resources; and move to introduce natural gas knowledge content in and at all levels of the Tanzanian education system.

Various economic opportunity such as industries, as well as social services like hospitals, schools and roads have to be well established to give the society of Mtwara opportunity for

employment and improved development, bringing it in line with other regions of the country. On having those essentials, it can enhance more development rather than always fighting with the government.

Above all the government has to forget about the use of force against society when it happens that there is a misunderstanding between them. The use of force like the military army as happened in Mtwara municipality associates bad feelings not only in society against the government, but also in the international community, as Tanzania was understood to be a peaceful model of African countries since independence.

Article 2 of C169 explains the national government's responsibility to ensure benefits to the people on an equal footing and eliminate socioeconomic gaps that may exist between them and other members of the population. The government also has responsibility for promoting the full realization of these people socially, economically and culturally rights with all their defining identity.

In this sense, the national government has a responsibility to preserve these people's identity and not least to allow them to benefit equally from all socioeconomic opportunities available in society. However, in promoting socioeconomic development it should consult them through appropriate procedures and involve all relevant stakeholders so they can participate and be able to reach consensus on the end objective (Article 6 and 7).

## **5.5. Areas for Further Research**

The study concentrated on the natural gas conflict and its impact on society in Mtwara Municipality. The researcher suggests further research should be done on the impact of political interference on the development of all natural resources available within the country. Further study should also be done on an exploration of the reasons behind natural resources conflict in Tanzania in comparison with other African countries. It is suggested that another study should be conducted on an assessment of social and psychological effects of forced establishment of a community project. This will help deepen understanding of the problems of natural resources conflict in Tanzania. On the basis of this, viable solutions could be provided.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1: Questions for ordinary community members, elders, youth, religious leaders, politicians, police officers and traditional healers

#### Introduction

I am a student at the Norwegian University of life Sciences pursuing Masters' Degree in International relationship. Currently am doing the research, which Titled “**NATURAL GAS CONFLICT IN TANZANIA AND ITS IMPACTS TO THE SOCIETY OF MTWARA MUNICIPALITY**”

Please help me to get information of this problem. Kindly enough read the following questions and answer them clearly.

#### *Part One: Personal Particulars*

- 1) Sex.....
- 2) What is your age? (Tick where appropriate)  
15- 21 ( ) 22 – 28 ( ) 29 – 35 ( ) 36 – 42 ( ) 42 and above ( )
- 3) What is your education level? (Tick where appropriate)  
Primary level ( ) Secondary level ( ) Certificate ( ) Graduate ( )

#### *ABOUT THE CAUSES AND TREND OF GAS CONFLICT*

1. Are there gaseous conflicts in Mtwara?  
Yes ( ) No ( )  
(b) If yes when did this problem of gaseous conflict arise in Mtwara?  
.....  
.....
2. What are the main causes of gaseous conflict in Mtwara?  
.....  
.....  
.....
3. Why the people of Mtwara did not agree with the overthrown of gas to Dar-es-Salaam

.....  
.....  
.....  
4. Mention one group of people mostly involved in the conflict of gaseous in Mtwara?

.....  
.....

5. How does this conflict occur in Mtwara?

.....  
.....  
.....

*ABOUT THE IMPACT OF GASEOUS CONFLICT IN MTWARA*

6. Mention any impact of gaseous conflict in Mtwara?

.....  
.....  
.....

7. Mention a group of people you think are the most affected by the conflict of gaseous in Mtwara?

.....  
.....

8. In few words state how they affected?

.....  
.....

9. What are the future consequence/results of the conflicts problem?

.....  
.....  
.....

10. Is there any relationship between the discovery of gas and Mtwara development?

.....  
.....

*ABOUT STRATEGIES USE TO DEAL WITH GASEOUS CONFLICT IN MtwARA*

11. (a) Do you think the governments fail to control gases conflict in Mtwara? Tick where appropriate Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) If Yes or No explain

.....  
.....  
.....

12. Mention any measures taken to combat the problem of gaseous conflict in Mtwara?

.....  
.....  
.....

13. (a) Do you think the measures taken to combat the problem of gaseous conflict are satisfactory? Tick where appropriate Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) If Yes or No explain

.....  
.....  
.....

14. What are the major challenges on solving the gaseous conflict in Mtwara?

.....  
.....  
.....

*Thanks for your cooperation*







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