Media Narratives and Agrarian Conflicts: Unveiling the Discourse on Farmer-Pastoralist Tensions in Tanzania

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Abstract: *This paper explores the portrayal of farmer-pastoralist conflicts in Tanzanian media, focusing on how these narratives influence public perception and policy. Despite significant contributions to the economy, pastoralists face negative media depictions that exacerbate tensions with farmers. Using Norman Fairclough's model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the research examines the language and framing in media articles to uncover biases and their societal impact. The paper employs a qualitative methodology, analyzing headlines, lead paragraphs, and lexical choices in media representations over the last 30 years. Findings reveal that media often depict pastoralists as violent, irrational, and obstructive to development, which marginalizes them and reinforces societal prejudices. Positive portrayals, though less frequent, highlight their roles as peaceful, environmentally conscious, and politically significant. The discussion delves into the political economy of media in Tanzania, showing how dominant socio-political groups' interests are served at the expense of pastoralists. Conclusions stress the need for balanced media representations to foster understanding and sustainable coexistence between farmers and pastoralists. Recommendations call for media practices that reflect the complexities of pastoral life and contribute to more equitable policy frameworks.*

1. Background Information

Tanzania's agricultural backbone is significantly supported by small-scale farming and livestock production, which are vital for food security and economic resilience. As of 2020, agriculture accounted for 26.9% of mainland Tanzania's GDP, with livestock contributing 7.1%. The economic relevance of livestock is underscored by its growth from USD 2.4 billion in 2014 to USD 4.2 billion in 2018, reflecting its resilience despite environmental and technological challenges (TanzaniaInvest, 2020). Livestock production, incorporating commercial ranching, pastoralism, and agropastoralism, remains central to Tanzania's economy and cultural identity. The significant increase in meat exports by 65.6% in the first quarter of 2023 further highlights the economic potential of this sector (Sanga, 2023; Michael *et al.,* 2018).

In rural Tanzania, agro-pastoralism, which merges crop and livestock farming, has emerged as a predominant livelihood strategy. This integration supports crop yields through animal draft power and manuring, enhances income via the sale of milk and meat, and provides feed for livestock from crop residues. Despite challenges like drought and environmental degradation, innovative strategies such as unilocal, bilocal, and multilocal resource utilization are essential for sustaining these livelihoods (Kavana *et al.,* 2023; Krätli *et al.,* 2012). However, the coexistence of farmers and pastoralists is marred by intensifying land conflicts due to population growth, land privatization, and climatic changes, with notable disputes occurring in the Kilosa district. These disputes are exacerbated by unclear land tenure rights and the impacts of climate change, emphasizing the urgent need for effective conflict resolution and sustainable land management strategies (Falanta & Bengesi, 2018; Ntumva, 2022a; Ntumva, 2022b). The persistent conflicts between farmers and pastoralists, despite various intervention efforts, underscore the complexity of these issues. The establishment of pastoral villages in the 1990s, criticized for poor location choices and inadequate resource allocation, highlights the ongoing struggles faced by pastoralists in these designated areas.

Given this context, it is crucial to understand how these conflicts are portrayed in the media and how these portrayals influence public perception and policy. This paper aims to conduct a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of media narratives about these conflicts to offer alternative perspectives and solutions. By examining how the media constructs the identities and societal roles of pastoralists and the depiction of farmer-pastoralist conflicts, this paper seeks to provide insights that could guide more effective resolutions (Boone, 2015b; Boone, 2019; Krätli & Toulmin, 2020). This analysis aims to enhance the understanding of conflict, development, and media representation in Tanzania,

providing valuable insights for policymakers, development practitioners, and scholars committed to fostering sustainable coexistence between agricultural communities.

This paper explores the portrayal of pastoralists in Tanzanian media and their impact on farmer-pastoralist conflicts, employing Norman Fairclough's model of CDA to dissect the dynamics at play. Through this lens, we examine how media representations shape public perceptions and contribute to social dominance and inequalities, critically analyzing the narratives that influence policymaking and societal attitudes toward pastoralists. The significance of this paper lies in its potential to inform more equitable policy frameworks and foster sustainable coexistence between these communities.

2.0 Theoretical Framework and Approach

This paper employs Norman Fairclough's model of CDA to explore the dialectical relationships between discourse and societal structures (Fairclough, 1992; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002). Within the post-structuralist tradition, discourse transcends textual boundaries, operating across various institutional sites, and plays a pivotal role in shaping human subjectivities and social actions (Marston, 2004). Discourse functions as a crucial form of social practice, influencing the construction of social identities, relationships, and knowledge (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002). Fairclough's framework provides a robust method for analyzing how societal power relations and social changes are mediated through language. This framework examines three primary dimensions: the text, discursive practice, and social practice (Fairclough, 1992, 1995). The analysis begins at the micro-level, focusing on the language used in media representations of pastoralists and their conflicts with farmers, exploring the extent to which these representations may perpetuate social dominance and inequalities.

In recent years, significant shifts in Tanzania's socio-political landscape, such as changes in land tenure policies and escalating environmental challenges, have intensified the conflicts between pastoralists and farmers (Boone, 2019; Krätli & Toulmin, 2020). These changes necessitate a reevaluation of media narratives to understand their impacts on public perception and policy-making. By analyzing the portrayal of pastoralists in selected media articles, this paper aims to uncover the underlying ideologies and potential distortions in these narratives, which may influence the ongoing conflicts. Fairclough's approach underscores the interconnectedness of texts with broader social contexts, asserting that texts derive meaning not only from their content but also from their intertextuality and the socio-economic conditions under which they are produced and consumed (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002). The paper, therefore, extends beyond textual analysis to include an examination of the socio-cultural practices that frame these discourses, which Fairclough (1995) refers to as macro-level analysis.

To address these complex dynamics, the paper incorporates recent statistics and developments in Tanzania's agricultural and environmental sectors. For instance, the Ministry of Agriculture has launched new initiatives aimed at balancing agricultural development with environmental conservation, which could influence the framing of farmer-pastoralist conflicts in the media (Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries, 2022). Through this analytical lens, the research critically assesses how media discourses contribute to shaping the identities and relations between farmers and pastoralists in Tanzania, potentially guiding more effective conflict resolution strategies and policies that acknowledge the legitimate needs and rights of both groups.

3.0 Methodology

This paper uses qualitative research methods that employ a CDA of media articles on farmer-pastoralist conflicts in Tanzania. Marvast (2004) defines qualitative research as a research practice that provides a detailed description and analysis of the substance or human experience by the use of non-numeric data. On the other hand, while discourse analysis entails a close study of language, CDA provides a sociological explanation of language with a particular interest in "ideology, social relations and the relationship between text and context" (Marston, 2004:38; Wetherell *et al.,* 2001).

This research leverages secondary data to examine the recurrent conflicts between farmers and pastoralists in Tanzania. Past studies have highlighted the challenges inherent in accessing documents, often exacerbated by bureaucratic hurdles (Sarantakos, 1998). To mitigate these challenges and enhance the reliability of data, this paper utilized media articles from publicly accessible sources. Notably, a comprehensive media search was conducted using the FACTIVA database, focusing on keywords such as *'farmer and nomad** or *pastoral** or *herd* conflicts'* to capture relevant articles within a Tanzanian context from the last 30 years. This period is critical as it encompasses numerous documented clashes, including those between 1990 and 2010, which were particularly violent and resulted in significant fatalities (Baha *et al.,* 2008; Luhwago, 2008).

In addition to FACTIVA, this paper also sourced articles from The Daily News and The Guardian, prominent newspapers within Tanzania. The Daily News, a government-run publication, serves as an essential channel for official narratives, while The Guardian offers a private sector perspective, providing a balanced view of the identities and conflicts involving pastoralists (Sarantakos, 1998). These sources are invaluable for their extensive reach and impact on public perception, making them crucial for understanding how media narratives construct and influence conflict dynamics. Moreover, studies suggest that the farmer-pastoralist conflicts are not merely about resource competition but are deeply entwined with historical, socio-political, and environmental factors (George *et al.,* 2021; IFAD, 2014). The inadequacy of existing land dispute resolution mechanisms further complicates these conflicts, often sidelining the needs of both farmers and pastoralists and necessitating a re-evaluation of conflict resolution frameworks (Eldis, 2019). Therefore, this research not only

draws from historical media portrayals but also integrates contemporary analyses to offer a nuanced understanding of the conflicts, supported by both local narratives and broader geopolitical and environmental contexts. The media articles analyzed in this study are attached as Annex 1.

The analysis of media articles began with a detailed examination of article headlines and lead paragraphs. Recent studies reinforce the foundational idea that media representations are organized by principles of relevance, guiding reader perceptions through headlines and initial paragraphs (Santoniccolo *et al.,* 2023). This methodological approach aligns with Van Dijk's (1983) and Bell's (1991) assertions about the orienting power of news headlines and leads. The initial scrutiny of these elements is crucial as they not only convey key information but also subtly influence reader interpretation through specific linguistic styles and choices, echoing Fairclough's (1995) observations about language and power dynamics in media.

Moving deeper into the articles, the focus shifts to the lexical choices throughout the text. Lexicalization, as described by Fowler *et al.* (1979), plays a significant role in encoding ideologies within news discourse, confirming Van Dijk's (1991) and Matheson's (2005) findings on the topic. This paper's analysis revealed a pattern of over-lexicalization when describing powerless groups. This excessive use of specific vocabularies often attaches a stigma to these groups (i.e. farmers and pastoralists), reflecting biased perceptions and judgments, which is consistent with the broader literature on media bias and representation (Ramasubramanian & Murphy, 2014; Dixon *et al.,* 2017). The compiled data was organized into a straightforward table format, listing extracted words or phrases in the first column against their interpretations or discussions in the second column. This tabular arrangement facilitated a clearer understanding of the repetitive framing used across different articles, allowing for the identification of a dominant narrative frame concerning the pastoralist-farmer conflicts.

4.0 Results and Discussion

This section presents the findings from an analysis of media representations regarding farmer-pastoralist conflicts. The media articles scrutinized for this paper reveal that portrayals of pastoralists and their conflicts with farmers are multifaceted, with a dominant tendency towards negative depictions. These portrayals have been categorized and summarized under three main themes: Negative Perceptions of Pastoralists, Positive Perceptions of Pastoralists, and Representation of Conflicts. Each category is detailed in tables that synthesize the themes, descriptions, illustrative quotes, and specific articles that showcase these perceptions. The "Negative Perceptions of Pastoralists" section addresses various stigmatizing portrayals, ranging from violence and irrationality to corruption and obstructionism towards development. In contrast, "Positive Perceptions of Pastoralists" highlights the less frequent but significant portrayals of pastoralists as non-violent, environmentally conscious, and politically relevant entities. Lastly, "Representation of Conflicts" examines how conflicts are depicted in terms of environmental concerns, ethnic disputes, and issues of governance.

4.1 Negative Perceptions of Pastoralists

The media portrayal of pastoralists is overwhelmingly negative, emphasizing characteristics that align with societal fears and prejudices. These articles frequently depict pastoralists as aggressive and violent, often using sensational language that highlights instances of conflict and harm, such as armed attacks or property destruction. This not only frames pastoralists as a direct threat but also as outsiders or invaders, a portrayal that undermines their legitimacy and rights to land, casting them as alien to the established social order. Furthermore, the characterization extends to portrayals of irrationality, where pastoralists are shown as disorganized and primitive, which subtly undermines their cultural practices and lifestyle. Accusations of selfishness and corruption suggest a moral failing among pastoralists, portraying them as individuals who prioritize personal gain over communal or environmental well-being. Finally, these portrayals culminate in the depiction of pastoralists as obstacles to development, resistant to modernization efforts and therefore hindering societal progress. These media narratives serve not just to inform but to shape public perception, where the repetition of such themes can deeply influence societal attitudes towards pastoralist communities. Table 1 categorizes the negative perceptions of pastoralists as identified in media articles.

Table 1: Negative Perceptions of Pastoralists Identified in Media Articles

Theme	Description	Illustrative Quotes	Article Reference[1]
Violence and Aggression	The portrayal of pastoralists as inherently violent and aggressive.	"herdsmen armed with knives, spears and clubs invaded the village..." "Maasai herdsman attacked the farmers using clubs"	[Article 1], [Article 7]
Outsiders and Invaders	Depiction of pastoralists as intruders on established territories.	"Those who are opposing the idea are only invaders and thus do not have development at heart "invaders left after the attack"	[Article 15], [Article 1]
Irrational Behaviour	Representation of pastoralists as disorganized and irrational.	"do your activity in an organized way" "It is customary for pastoralists to wander seasonally across regions"	[Article 1], [Article 11]
Selfish and Corrupt	The media portrays pastoralists as selfish and engaged in corrupt practices.	"it was rare in Kilosa district for a farmer to win a case in court if it involved pastoralists" "The herdsmen who for almost eight years had wanted to turn the area"	[Article 1]
Obstacle to Development	Seen as resistant to modernization and development.	"pastoralists, as a minority group...maintain a high sense of solidarity directed towards preserving their norms and customs"	[Article 3]

[1] Refer Annex for details on the media articles used in this study.

4.2 Positive Perceptions of Pastoralists

In stark contrast to the largely negative depictions outlined in Section 4.1, this section highlights a modest array of positive media portrayals of pastoralists, which, though fewer in number, offer a nuanced perspective on their societal roles. These representations paint pastoralists as peaceful advocates for their rights through legal means, as evidenced by their willingness to engage in litigation to address grievances, a far cry from the violent characterizations in previous sections. Moreover, pastoralists are shown as stewards of the environment, with portrayals emphasizing their commitment to wildlife and habitat preservation. This role as an environmental advocates aligns with traditional pastoral practices, which often involve sustainable management of land and resources, indirectly challenging the negative stereotype of irrationality and disorganization from Section 4.1. Additionally, the positive perceptions underscore the political and social significance of pastoralists, depicting them not just as marginalized figures but as influential voter bases within political landscapes. This recognition of their socio-political relevance offers a counter-narrative to the otherwise pervasive portrayal of pastoralists as societal outcasts and highlights their integral role in the socio-political fabric. Table 2 summarizes the fewer instances of positive media portrayals of pastoralists.

Table 2: Instances of Positive Media Portrayals of Pastoralists

Theme	Description	Illustrative Quotes	Article Reference
Non-violent Resistance	Pastoralists are portrayed as peaceful and law-abiding.	"Should the government fail to intervene, the Maasai will institute litigation against the state and the company"	[Article 6]
Environmental Advocates	Shown as protectors of the environment.	"the project would disturb wild animals...this is despicable and shameful not only to Tanzanians but to people all over the world who care for wildlife and the environment"	[Article 6]
Social and Political Relevance	Recognized as a significant political entity.	"they form a big part of your voters in a ruling political party"	[Article 5]

4.3 Representation of Conflicts

Media narratives frame conflicts primarily through environmental concerns, ethnic disputes, and governance issues. These portrayals, while diverse, often connect directly to the negative perceptions outlined in Section 4.1, reinforcing a complex narrative of pastoralist interactions. Environmental concerns are frequently highlighted as a core element of conflicts, suggesting that disputes over land and resources are not merely territorial but deeply rooted in sustainability and environmental degradation. This mirrors the negative depictions of pastoralists as threats to the environment, yet it shifts the focus from individual behaviour to broader, systemic challenges. Ethnic disputes further emphasize the portrayal of pastoralists as outsiders or invaders, as seen in the media's emphasis on ethnic lines defining access to and control over land, thereby exacerbating tensions. Finally, the aspect of poor governance ties into the narratives of corruption associated with pastoralists, but on a larger scale, pointing to systemic failures rather than individual misdemeanours. The portrayal of conflicts is summarized in Table 3.

Theme	Description	Illustrative Quotes	Article Reference
Environmental Concerns	Conflicts linked to environmental issues.	"Maasai up against Arabs destroying their environment" "a land dispute at the heart of which are environmental concerns is brewing"	[Article 6]
Ethnic Disputes	Framed as ethnic struggles for land and resources.	"Maasai up against Arabs" "We cannot just sit and watch the Arabs take our land"	[Article 6], [Article 11]
Governance Issues	Associated with poor governance and corruption.	"corruption oiled the wheels of government" "issuance of presidential hunting licences had been constantly abused"	[Article 6] [Article 6]

5.0 Discussion

Having in Section 4 exposed how 'talks' around the pastoralist category and conflicts with farmers are manifested in the 'media texts', this section brings attention to the discursive practices of these 'talks'. In particular, this section focuses on the production, distribution and consumption of texts/articles on one side and social cultural analysis on the other. This section, therefore, explores two major questions; (1) whose interests are being served in these representations? and; (2) what are the effects of this discursive representation of pastoralists and their conflict with farmers? In answering these questions, the discussion returns to Fairclough's theorizing of discourse analysis that was previously stated in Section 2 (Fairclough 1992). The discussion starts with the first question.

5.1. Whose interests are being served in these representations?

To answer this question, the discussion focuses on the production, distribution and consumption of media texts in Tanzania, particularly in relation to: (i) the political economy of the media within Tanzania; and, (ii) the discussion of the global political economy, particularly focusing on the 'development' paradigm that is hegemonic within Tanzania. Fairclough (1992:72) suggests that to have a better understanding of how discourse was developed, including its production, distribution and consumption, it is necessary to gain knowledge of the political, economic and institutional settings upon which the discourse emerged. In the light of Fairclough, the two points above are now discussed.

i. The Political Economy of the Media in Tanzania

The political economy of media in Tanzania encompasses complex interactions between government ownership, private media sectors, and consumer engagement within the broader socio-political and economic frameworks. This landscape is significantly influenced by both domestic policies and global economic forces. Ownership of the media in Tanzania is split between the government and private entities. Recent reports indicate a vast and dynamic media environment with 257 newspapers, 200 radio stations, 46 TV channels, and numerous online platforms (RSF, 2023). This diversity ostensibly provides a broad spectrum of information sources, yet the prevailing influence of powerful political and economic groups can lead to selective representation in media content, often sidelining minority groups like pastoralists.

The government's influence on media is extensive, with President Hassan's administration making notable political reforms which have potentially shifted the media landscape towards greater openness and reduced censorship (Human Rights Watch, 2024). However, the historical context of media manipulation and the alignment of media content with majority interests suggest a continuity in the ideological functions of media. This alignment supports the interests of dominant socio-political groups, often at the expense of marginalized communities such as pastoralists, who constitute a small percentage of the population and are typically less represented in media narratives. Moreover, the Tanzanian media's focus on serving a demanding audience has fostered a competitive environment that emphasizes content which aligns with popular opinion and majority interests, thus attracting greater readership and advertising revenues. This trend is evident in the proliferation of media outlets focusing on entertainment and general news, often neglecting in-depth political analysis or minority issues (DataReportal, 2023).

ii. Development Paradigm that is Hegemonic Within Tanzania

In Tanzania, the concept of development remains deeply intertwined with the idea of 'progress'. The pervasiveness of 'progress' as an ideology is evidenced by its widespread acceptance across different societal layers, becoming almost a 'common sense' notion that resists scrutiny. As articulated by Shanin (1997), this ideology has permeated every stratum of the community, making it challenging to introduce or even consider alternative post-colonial development paradigms. Recent developments further consolidate this view. The World Bank (2023) notes Tanzania's economic resilience, with a growth of 5.2% in 2023, largely driven by the services sector, highlighting a focus on modern economic metrics such as financial services, transport, and trade (World Bank, 2023). This economic trajectory emphasizes modernization and prosperity as key developmental goals, sidelining traditional livelihoods and practices, particularly among pastoral communities.

For instance, the portrayal of development in media has often been tied to narratives of modernization. According to West and Fair (1993), since the colonial era, mass media has been a tool for propagating modern practices, a trend that continues to influence contemporary policy and media discourse. In Tanzania, the media plays a crucial role in shaping public opinion towards embracing a 'modern' lifestyle, often at the expense of pastoralists' traditional, nomadic ways. This media influence aligns with government policies aimed at transforming traditional societies into modern economic participants, often neglecting the unique challenges and needs of pastoral communities. Thus, the political economy of media in Tanzania tends to exclude pastoral voices, preferring narratives that align with the majority non-pastoralist populace. The focus remains on development as synonymous with modernization and economic prosperity, largely mirroring colonial ideologies of progress (World Bank, 2023; IMF, 2023).

5.2. What are the Effects of this Discursive Representation of Pastoralists and the Conflicts with Farmers?

This second question describes the various 'effects' of the discursive representation of pastoralists and the conflict they have with farmers; it considers the impact of language centred on 'pastoralist talk' and 'conflict talk'. Fairclough (1992) lists the three constructive effects of discourse as; (i) construction of social identities, (ii), construction of social relations and (iii) construction of systems of knowledge and belief or 'ideational functions'. Thus, through these constructive effects, discourse is involved in transforming society. Additionally, the effects of discursive representation of pastoralists and the conflicts with farmers by Tanzanian media revolve around the three aspects of identity, relationship and ideology. Each of the three aspects will now be illustrated.

I. Effects on the Identity of Pastoralists

Media representations in Tanzania significantly shape the social identity of pastoralists through pervasive labelling, as Section 4.1 highlights. These labels, portraying pastoralists as "violent," "irrational," and "anti-development," contribute to a skewed public perception that significantly distorts their identity. Such media-driven stigmas not only marginalize pastoralists within the societal framework but also impact their self-perception and inter-community relations (Ntumva, 2022b). A deeper analysis reveals a binary representation where the pastoralists' identity, constructed 'from below'—from their own rationality, traditions, and social practices—is often overshadowed by the dominant media narrative. This bottom-up identity is rooted in their coherent social systems and environmental adaptations, which are critical for their survival and cultural continuity (Kavana *et al.,* 2023). The

pastoralists derive strength from a unified community identity, fostering resilience against socio-economic pressures and aiding in their collective struggles for resource access and recognition.

However, the hegemonic influence of media discourse, as illustrated by the newspapers, often undermines this internal identity construction. This top-down portrayal can erode the community's confidence in their cultural practices, potentially causing a generational shift where the youth might forsake pastoralism for urban life, leading to internal conflicts regarding life choices and economic strategies (Blaser *et al.,* 2004). Such distortions in media representation can deter the youth from continuing traditional practices, thus threatening the sustainability of pastoral livelihoods. Furthermore, the impact of these media portrayals extends beyond the pastoralist communities, influencing how other demographic groups perceive and interact with them. The portrayal of pastoralists as 'outsiders' and 'others' exacerbates their marginalization from democratic processes and socio-political integration. This results in a myopic view among the broader populace, who, influenced by the media, may see pastoralists merely as troublemakers rather than as organized and rational managers of communal and environmental resources (Maganga *et al.,* 2007).

Recent statistics from the Tanzanian government and credible international organizations suggest a growing recognition of the socio-economic contributions of pastoralists, which contrasts sharply with their media representation. For instance, livestock contributions to the national GDP have shown resilience and growth, underscoring the economic importance of pastoralists in the national economy (Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries, 2022). In revising the narrative around pastoralists, it is crucial to integrate these positive contributions into the media discourse, promoting a more balanced and nuanced portrayal that reflects both the challenges and the vital roles pastoralists play within Tanzanian society. This approach can help in gradually dismantling the negative stereotypes and fostering a more inclusive understanding of pastoralist communities.

Ii. Effects on Farmers-Pastoralist Relations

The discourse surrounding pastoralists, pastoralism, and conflicts with farmers is deeply ideological within media outlets, influencing the dynamic between these groups significantly. Section 1 has illustrated how historically intertwined and mutually dependent the lives of pastoralists and farmers have been. Over time, however, these relationships have evolved from being complementary to competitive, and ultimately conflictual (Hussein, 1999). Media language plays a critical role in this evolution by embedding specific signifiers that contribute to the restructuring of these historical relationships. Recent studies confirm that media representation is generally biased, often worsening rather than ameliorating tensions between these groups (Ntumva, 2022a; Ntumva, 2022b).

Pastoralists find themselves continually marginalized in a discourse that predominantly favours farmers. This imbalance in media portrayal not only influences public perception but also informs policy directions that seldom address the pastoralists' concerns adequately (Falant &

Bengesi, 2018). For example, recent policy reviews suggest that despite the Tanzanian government's initiatives to mediate conflicts, there is a significant leaning towards agricultural (crop sector) development at the expense of pastoral livelihoods (Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries, 2022). Fairclough (1992) argues that through discourse, more powerful societal groups exercise their dominance, perpetuating their power over less dominant groups. In the Tanzanian context, this is evident as farmers generally receive more favourable media coverage, which aligns with the larger agricultural development agenda pushed by both governmental and non-governmental bodies. Consequently, pastoralists continue to face significant challenges in maintaining their way of life amidst a narrative that often depicts them as backward or anti-modern (Kratli *et al.,* 2020).

Moreover, studies (e.g., Boone, 2019) indicate a rise in conflicts between these groups due to resource scarcity, exacerbated by climate change and population growth. The media's focus on sensationalizing these conflicts without providing a balanced view further alienates the pastoralists, making coexistence increasingly difficult. Thus, the effects of this skewed media discourse are profound, influencing the socio-political landscape and exacerbating the marginalization of pastoralists. This situation demands a re-evaluation of media practices and a more balanced representation to foster better understanding and cooperation between farmers and pastoralists.

5.2. Ideational Effect: Impact on Knowledge and Beliefs about Pastoralists, Pastoralism, and the Conflict with Farmers

The discourse surrounding pastoralists in Tanzanian media continues to shape societal beliefs, attitudes, and practices in significant ways. As Fairclough (1992) notes, the interplay between the internalized discourse participants' resources and the textual cues provided by media constructs an ideational effect, shaping ideologies subconsciously and sometimes consciously (Fairclough, 1992, p. 80). This ideational influence is multifaceted, leading to several key misconceptions. First, there is the prevailing portrayal of pastoralist mobility as inherently disorganized and detrimental, which has been disputed by recent studies highlighting the ecological benefits and rational planning inherent in pastoral movements. These movements allow for the natural rejuvenation of pastures and are aligned with the cyclical availability of resources, contradicting claims of their chaotic nature (Schilling *et al.,* 2021).

Second, media narratives often polarize perceptions of pastoral wealth, with some segments of society viewing pastoralists as wealthy due to their livestock, while others perceive them as economically vulnerable, especially in times of drought or market instability. This dichotomy ignores the complexities of pastoral economies, which require maintaining livestock numbers to ensure sustainability and resilience against climatic variances (Homewood, 2021). Third, there is a critical discourse on the relevance of indigenous knowledge in pastoral communities. While the media often depict such traditional practices as outdated, recent programs initiated by the government and non-governmental organizations emphasize the integration of

indigenous strategies with modern agricultural practices, recognizing their value in sustainable livestock management (Ministry of Agriculture, 2022).

Furthermore, media representation has also influenced the strategies adopted for addressing pastoralist-farmer conflicts. Descriptions of these conflicts are often simplified in media portrayals, ignoring the underlying socio-economic and environmental complexities. This simplification can lead to ineffective or one-sided policy interventions that favour sedentarization over mobile pastoralism, despite evidence suggesting that mobility can be a critical strategy for sustainability and conflict avoidance (Kratli & Schareika, 2020). These media-induced misconceptions contribute to the marginalization of pastoralists by framing them in ways that justify restrictive policies and overlook their economic and environmental contributions. This ongoing discourse necessitates a more nuanced media approach that recognizes and incorporates the diverse perspectives and knowledge systems of pastoral communities (Sendalo, 2009).

4.0 Conclusions and Recommendations

This paper, utilizing Fairclough's framework of discourse analysis, has systematically dissected the representation of pastoralists within the Tanzanian media, highlighting the substantial influence media narratives exert on public perceptions and the conflicts between pastoralists and farmers. The analysis illustrates a predominantly negative depiction of pastoralists, characterizing them as violent, irrational, and antagonistic towards development. These portrayals not only stigmatize pastoralists but also obscure the underlying socio-economic and environmental dynamics of their lifestyle, aligning instead with a modernization paradigm that favours agricultural expansion.

Two critical questions have guided this investigation: First, whose interests are served by these representations? It appears that the media, influenced by the political economy within Tanzania, predominantly echoes the voices of the more populous and politically influential crop-farming community, thereby marginalizing pastoralists. This imbalance in representation benefits the political and economic status quo, which is tilted towards modern agricultural practices as a hallmark of 'progress' and 'development.' Second, what effects do these representations have on society? The paper finds that the negative framing in the media not only shapes public perception negatively towards pastoralists but also exacerbates the conflicts with farmers. This portrayal has tangible consequences on the identity of pastoralists, influencing both their self-perception and their perception by others, which can lead to real-world marginalization and conflict.

In response, this paper argues for a more nuanced representation of pastoralists in media, one that fairly portrays the complexity of their interactions with the environment and their agricultural neighbours. Such representations could contribute to more informed public discourse and, potentially, to more equitable and sustainable policy approaches addressing the needs of both pastoralists and farmers. The need for media to transcend the traditional narratives and instead highlight the interdependencies and mutual benefits of both lifestyles is urgent, as is the critical

re-evaluation of the dominant development paradigms that currently favour sedentarization over nomadic pastoralism. Likewise, the paper not only brings to light the skewed media portrayals but also calls for an overhaul in the narrative structures used by the media to report on conflicts between pastoralists and farmers. It underscores the potential of balanced media discourse to foster a more inclusive understanding of pastoralists, promoting societal cohesion and sustainable development.

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APPENDIX 1: The List of Media Articles

Article Number	Author/Source	Year	Title	Publication
Article 1	Xinhua News Agency	1999	Tanzania PM calls for halt to haphazard cattle grazing	Xinhua News
Article 2	British Broadcasting Corporation	2004	Some 300 were left homeless after pastoralists, farmers clashed in Northern East Tanzania	The British Broadcasting Corporation
Article 3	The Guardian	2008	Settle the pastoralists	IPP Media
Article 4	Luhwago, R	2008	The horrifying killings in Kilosa district	The Sunday Observer, IPP Media
Article 5	Kisembo, P	2010	MPs divided over pastoral, farming issues debate	The Guardian, IPP Media
Article 6	Odhiambo, N	2000	Maasai up against Arabs destroying their environment	All Africa
Article 7	British Broadcasting Corporation	2002	Renewed clashes reported between farmers and pastoralists	British Broadcasting Corporation
Article 8	Rwegayura, A	2000	Tanzanian farmers, and herders in running battles over land	All Africa
Article 9	Mwakalebela, L	2010	Two livestock bills on the pipeline: house told	Daily News Online Edition
Article 10	Beyadi, A	2009	Magufuli discourages pastoralism	Daily News Online Edition
Article 11	The Guardian	2008	Alarm over rising livestock diseases in southern regions	IPP Media
Article 12	Paul, G	2001	Maasai held up after peasants, and pastoralists clash	All Africa News
Article 13	British Broadcasting Company	2000	Three farmers were killed following a dispute with nomads	The British Broadcasting Corporation
Article 14	Xinhua News Agency	2000	Tanzanian govt. suspends officials responsible for fatal land disputes	Xinhua News
Article 15	Jacob, M	2009	Serengeti villagers want herders out of open area	Daily News Online Edition