

**Cultural Endangerment vs. Resource Endangerment; A discourse in
the conflicts surrounding land conservation in Tanzania**

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Abstract:

Conservation is a deeply complex political topic in Tanzania. With conservation and the designation of protected areas such as National Parks and Nature Reserves, come benefits for the country, but also risks to indigenous communities. While neither resource conservation nor indigenous land rights is new, the conflict between them continues to draw rifts between communities, outside actors and governments. Tanzania provides a perfect example of the struggle between balancing resource conservation and indigenous rights. As international knowledge and awareness of indigenous rights have increased this thesis looks at how land use strategies have not adapted to depolarize tensions between the different sectors. Despite increased international protections Tanzania has not followed through with their international obligations to indigenous communities due to the financial and political pull of outside actors. By breaking down the polarization and working with competing value sets it's important to allow all actors to be able to advocate for their needs and desires. This can be seen by the successful implementation of the Certificate of Customary Rights of Occupancy amongst a few indigenous communities in Tanzania.

Introduction:

When competing values conflict, how do you decide whose values are more important? Conflicts surrounding indigenous rights and conservation have come back to this question. With the rise of protected areas came increased human rights violations against indigenous communities. When resources are scarce, and indigenous communities are slowly losing their cultures due to loss of land and increasing pressures, the issue comes down to choosing between resource scarcity or cultural endangerment. This thesis aims at answering the question, how do we start to approach and navigate the conflict between resource endangerment versus cultural endangerment?

To break that question down I focus in on Tanzania, a country whose abundance of natural resources and its diverse indigenous makeup, make for interesting conflicts over land

use. In an attempt to grapple with the balance of conflict I sought to answer the question, how has discourse around priorities between indigenous rights and conservation in Tanzania evolved? To which I argue that despite increased international protections Tanzania has not followed through with their international obligations to indigenous communities due to the financial and political pull of outside actors. By breaking down the polarization and working with competing value sets it's important to allow all actors to be able to advocate for their needs and desires. This can be seen by the successful implementation of the Certificate of Customary Rights of Occupancy amongst a few indigenous communities in Tanzania.

Road Map:

First I'll provide relevant background information to ease the process in breaking down this issue. This will start by discussing conservation and land management processes on a global scale. Then I'll look at the emergence and thus following evolution of international law as a method for protecting indigenous communities. From there I'll look to Tanzania and look at how their conservation, land use and indigenous rights have progressed. After receiving a well-rounded background of the issues, I'll move into describing my methods in a four part process. My results will then bring us to a discussion that then leads us back to the bigger question on how we should approach conflicts that include balancing competing value sets. In this particular thesis we'll grapple with the idea of resource endangerment and cultural endangerment and how those opposing value sets can have drastic impacts on the other.

Background:

In a day and age where land conflicts are becoming common this thesis analyzes a small case study before applying it to the bigger picture. With continuing external factors like climate change, droughts, population growth and various other factors there is a need for fair and equitable solutions to land management issues (Homewood 2009). While I focus on indigenous land rights, similar land conflicts occur across the world with different competing actors. I chose

to focus on indigenous land because of the prevalence of international protections for their interests despite their continued discrimination from governments and other groups (Dowie 2009). Tanzania is particularly of interest because of the number of actors involved in land use decisions which include the government, indigenous groups, international non-governmental organizations (NGOs), foreign countries as well as international companies (Dowie 2009, Homewood 2009 and Smith 2014). Historically with competing interests, these conflicts polarize the issues amongst actors leading to complex solutions that often overlook one or more essential sets of interests.

Definitions

It's important to be on the same page about words and phrases I'll use frequently. I frequently mention conservation but in this case I am not discussing the actual process of preserving materials but rather describing the use of land to preserve the landscape. The industry includes the influences of tourism, the hunting industry and other interests in protecting land. I frequently refer to protected areas as a method for conservation. But protected areas themselves warrant their own definition. I will use the international definition issued by protected areas governing body, the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), "A protected area is a clearly defined geographical space, recognized, dedicated and managed, through legal or other effective means, to achieve the long term conservation of nature with associated ecosystem services and cultural values." ("International Union for Conservation of Nature" 2017) I also frequently refer to international law which in this case generally refers to treaties, international court decisions, declarations and other well regarded pieces of international literature that has been released by respectable international bodies such as international courts, the UN, and special international committees. International law rests upon the consensus of many countries, rather than individual decisions.

Global Land Use

Land management has proven to be a complicated matter worldwide. Choosing the way land gets managed and for which uses can be complicated. Indigenous groups, federal

authorities, economic interests, and local communities are some commonly found interests that need to be balanced. While these groups all have valid interests, the process of dividing out which actors get what, can be complicated. Local groups and communities clearly have legitimate interests in the land that surrounds them however actors from other locations may too have legitimate interests in that area (McClosky 1998). These distant actors may rely upon these areas for recreation or ecosystem services (McClosky 1998). Together both groups, local and distant, rely upon the lands successful management in order to be able to coexist amongst each other.

Global Conservation

The beginning of the modern era of land conservation started in the United States when Yosemite was gazetted to become a protected area in 1864 (Dowie 2011). Yellowstone became the first national park in 1872 (Dowie 2011). In order to establish a physical distance between man and the flora and fauna in national parks, indigenous communities were moved off their land. This is an example of the idea of partitioned nature, where a physical boundary separates humans from what is deemed to be natural. With indigenous people removed from the national park system scientists were able to study the organisms and understand biodiversity better without consistent human interference (Dowie 2011). Traditionally white upper class elite enjoyed “the wild nature” found in national parks (Dowie 2011) with the absence of indigenous communities that were perceived as dirty and rudimentary. Thus the idea of exclusionary conservation exploded and was spread across the globe. When humans separate themselves from the environment, it socially constructs the idea that landscapes are natural without human presence. This idea makes it easier to support and believe that more biodiversity and success of species is a more “natural” concept. However, this kind of framing has consequences for humans. Other western nations were quick to adopt the national park model, and brought the idea to their African colonies as a way to create serene hunting grounds for their political elite (Neumann 1998).

The National Park movement in combination with the environmental movement energized the creation of environmental non-governmental organizations (NGOs) as a method to continue to build upon and advocate for the separation between the “natural” flora and fauna and humans. Organizations sprung up worldwide in between the 1940s and early 1970s. A few gained power and monetary sponsors quickly. This included the Nature Conservancy which was started in 1946, and the African Wildlife Foundation and World Wildlife Fund, both started in 1961 (Dowie 2011). All of these were created to protect land and to help ensure humans’ moral obligation to wildlife was complete. But work with NGOs quickly became an outlet for multinational corporations to join and clean the appearance of their brand, like ExxonMobil (Peluso and Lund 2013). As a financial powerhouse, conservation NGOs have historically been aggressive in pushing for partitioned nature and having the power in wealthy backers to fuel them (Dowie 2011 and Peluso and Lund 2013).

The IUCN has become the international regulatory body for matters of conservation. It’s composed of 218 nations and government agencies, more than 1,100 conservation NGOs and over 16,000 individual experts spanning from more than 160 different countries (“International Union for Conservation of Nature” 2017). In their mission they hope “Influence, encourage and assist societies throughout the world to conserve the integrity and diversity of nature and to ensure that any use of natural resources is equitable and ecologically sustainable” (“International Union for Conservation of Nature” 2017). The UN General assembly in 1962 created the World List of National Parks and Equivalent Reserves which created standardization for classifications of all protected areas (Adams 2014). The standardization was then adopted worldwide leading to protected areas being conformed rather than adapting to local lifestyles and desires. Protected areas reach has expanded now reaching the boundaries of every country and increasing by land mass quickly (Adams 2014). In 1990 the World Parks Commission set a goal of protecting 10% of the worlds land surfaces (Dowie 2011) which has been already been surpassed. In 1990 8.211% of global land was protected but that has since grown to 14.813% of all land as of 2014 (World Bank 2017).

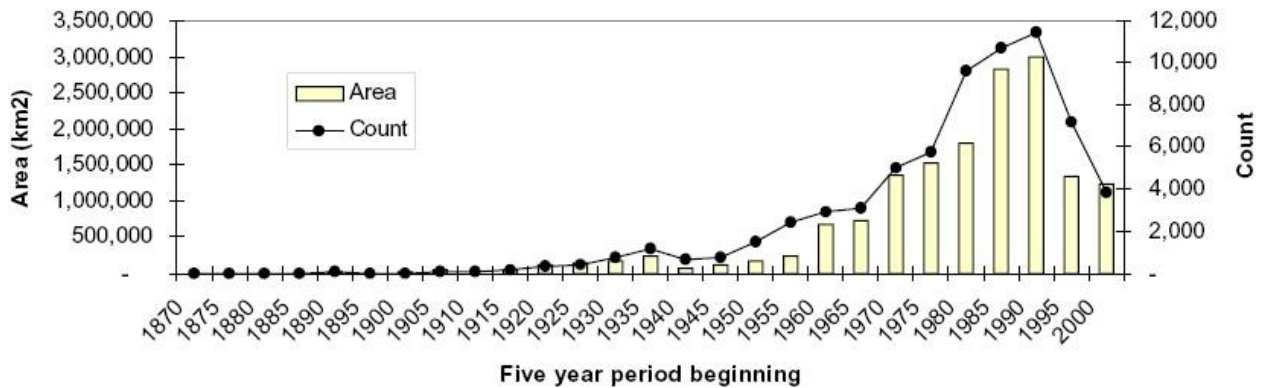


Figure 1: The number and area of protected areas globally throughout time (West, Igoe, and Brockington 2006).

Protected areas provide benefits to society from withholding over 15% of the world’s terrestrial carbon to ensuring production of food, clean water and medicine in the future (“International Union for Conservation of Nature” 2017). The IUCN campaigns protected areas as an essential location for providing the world clean water, food security, medical supplies but also ecosystem security. They claim that 1/3 of the world’s 105 largest cities get their drinking water from a forested protected area. Protected areas give shelter for species, both large and small, ensuring that ecosystem functions like pollination and the future of game continue to exist in the future. Protected areas are known as ecosystem stabilizers, providing ecosystem services like reducing the effects of climate change, providing clean water and offering refuge for natural disasters (“International Union for Conservation of Nature” 2017).

Despite these benefits protected areas have drawn skepticism. The IUCN addresses these concerns by putting an emphasis on protected areas benefits.

Protected areas also suffer from the perception that they are outmoded, or at worst, do not benefit, but cause negative impacts on people. While there may be instances where practice has been less than optimal, and these should be addressed, there is an increasing body of evidence of the significant contributions of protected areas to economy and society. Communicating this value of protected area systems is crucial for securing investment by governments, the avoidance of impacts through development and for raising and sustaining awareness and support by communities and the public at large. (“International Union for Conservation of Nature” 2017)

Global Indigenous Rights

International law today is known as indigenous communities' essential weapon from defending themselves against governmental and industry related mistreatment (Kleinfeld 2016). The shift in regulation and inclusion for indigenous groups has brought widespread changes to the way land is used and managed (Renwick et al. 2017). The current age of international law has shaped community priorities by creating a change in the way the communities think and react (Kleinfeld 2016). The new international recognition of indigenous rights is due to new international laws which now advocate their interests, the creation of international instruments to protect their interests and successful litigation in international human rights courts (Kleinfeld 2016). Indigenous communities have been especially affected by natural resource development for three reasons, a large portion of the available natural resources exist upon tribal land, a recent peak in global demand for natural resources, and the costs and barriers to entering the global natural resource market are currently low, allowing for transnational businesses to go to places that they weren't able to go before (Kleinfeld 2016). This has created increased conflicts between natural resource related interests and indigenous communities.

The desire for partitioned nature has been driven by deep pockets backing the conservation movement which has overpowered the rights of communities. It has been acknowledged by researchers that biodiversity coexists well with tribal traditions, customs and cultures whose intricate knowledge of the ecosystem has been passed down for generations (Renwick et al. 2017). While the indigenous rights movement didn't take the international front until 1975, it has quickly become a well-recognized and now well-regulated field (Adams 2014). While it took many years for the UN general assembly to make and pass, the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) released in 2007, it has become one of the more important and influential pieces in international indigenous human rights law (Dowie 2011). Amongst the relevant articles, Article 26 states, "Indigenous peoples have the right to the lands,

territories and resources which they have traditionally owned, occupied or otherwise used or acquired.” (UN Declaration on the Right of Indigenous Peoples 2007)

The creation of the UNDRIP rests upon the right for indigenous groups to be able to maintain their native lands (Kleinfeld 2016). This acknowledges that these communities think of the land as more than a physical possession but rather regard it as an essential piece of their livelihood. Discussions between countries and indigenous groups have been opened up due to UNDRIP and its authority through the requirements of consultation and free, prior, informed consent (Kleinfeld 2016). Its messages have been backed up by other treaties, agreements and court decisions as well. The International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), The Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the Convention on the Rights of a Child include some of the international agreements that provide protections for rights violations that indigenous communities have experienced (Laltaika 2013).

While UNDRIP is fundamental in the world of indigenous rights, it has laid a path for the creation and use of other international instruments to aid in the process of protecting rights. The use of international regional human rights courts has proven to be an important enforcement mechanism in ensuring compliance within international communities. Examples of these include courts such as the Inter-American Court of Human Rights and African Court on Humans and Peoples Rights. Regional courts have been successful as they consist of people from like value sets and allow groups or individuals to challenge their government (Lutz and Sikkink 2001). It's been found that countries that have and utilize regional courts have fewer human rights violations (Lutz and Sikkink 2001). In Ecuador oil companies encroached on the land of the Sarakuru people without consultation which the Inter-American Court of Human Rights found illegal for excluding indigenous groups to their right to consultation (“Ecuador: Inter-American Court Ruling Marks Key Victory for Indigenous Peoples” 2014).

Tanzania

Tanzania is the modern day combination of two former countries, Tanganyika and the Peoples Republic of Zanzibar from when they joined together on April 26th, 1964. Nestled into the East African landscape, Tanzania shares borders with Kenya, Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, Democratic Republic of Congo, Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique. Its capital remains the coastal city of Dar es Salaam. Tanzania had a population of 53.47 million people in 2015 with an annual growth rate of 3.13% (The World Bank 2017). On current trajectories it's expected that Tanzania will have the 5th largest population reaching 275 million people by 2100 (Caro and Davenport 2016). They have an annual GDP of 45.628 billion dollars per year in 2015, which contributes to Tanzanias reputation for being economically and politically stable (The World Bank 2017). The tourism industry accounts for 13.3% of the annual GDP in 2016 ("WTTC Data Tool" 2016). It employs 11.6% of the national job market in Tanzania ("WTTC Data Tool" 2016). Known for its outdoor adventures, Tanzania attracts visitors from across the world that come in search of its diverse wildlife populations or in quest of climbing the highest peak in Africa, Mt. Kilimanjaro.

Tanzania Land Use

Tanzania consists of 942,600 sq. km (Ministry of Lands and Human Settlements Division 1997) with its land mass spanning 885,800 sq. km (The World Bank 2017). With a rise in population, it is constantly facing land management issues and the government is trying to determine a better route to navigating its complicated landscape. With land use desires from pastoralists, agriculturists, the government, internal and external actors, land management has become a very contentious issue in Tanzania. As an attempt to control the situation the National Land Policy Act of 1997 bestowed the Tanzanian government with the ownership of all of the land (Ministry of Lands and Human Settlements Division 1997). Its purpose was "To promote and ensure a secure land tenure system, to encourage the optimal use of land resources, and to facilitate broad-based social and economic development without upsetting or

endangering the ecological balance of the environment” (Ministry of Lands and Human Settlements Division 1997). In order to support the National Land Policy, two laws were enacted in 1999, the Land Act of 1999 and the Village Land Act (Laltaika 2013).

The Land Act of 1999 quickly became the foundation for Tanzania's land management. It laid out Tanzania's three different classifications for types of land; general land, village land and reserved land. Reserved land includes land set aside for conservation in addition to areas that are necessary for country development like highways (Laltaika 2013). In these previous acts, verbiage was included stressing the importance of indigenous groups to have the right to their land. But the mechanisms for land distribution were often corrupt, or not properly administered. After the release of the Land Use Planning Act of 2007, the restrictions for creating and implementing land use planning became more expensive as well as labor and time intensive (“Ujamaa Community Resource Team” 2017). It was only then that the Ujamaa Community Resource Team (UCRT), a local non-profit community conservation activist group, teamed up with communities and national authorities in 2011 to create an alternative method for indigenous groups to gain their customary rights to their land by creating a group Certificate of Customary Rights of Occupancy (CCRO) (“Ujamaa Community Resource Team” 2017). CCROs are different than previous policies and rights as it gives a group title for communal land and has proven to be a stronger tenure agreement than previous policies. Essentially, CCROs have become the legal framework in Tanzania for documenting and formalizing indigenous land holdings (“Ujamaa Community Resource Team” 2017). The law formally addresses two groups eligible to claim a title, registered groups, like a trust or a society, or a traditional institution, like the Maasai elders. However, there is an “extraordinary exception” that also encompasses communities like hunter gatherers. As of 2014 only eight CCROs had been given to communities (“Ujamaa Community Resource Team” 2017). While this type of land management has proven to be successful its current reach is extremely limited.

Tanzania Conservation

Conservation in Tanzania revolves around the tourism industry. With a wide range of exotic and rare creatures, Tanzania benefits heavily from the safari industry. Protected areas first began to rise up in the 1860's during the colonial rule by Britain. British elite found Tanzania's protected areas to be a desirable location for vacation due to its "wild" landscape. Since then Tanzania's protected land mass has grown to incorporate 32% of their land in 2014 (World Bank 2017). But despite high levels of protected areas, Tanzania still ranks the worst in terms of the number of threatened bird species, 47, and the number of threatened fish species, 176, in Africa as of 2016. Both the numbers of threatened mammals, 38, and threatened plants, 602, are also some of the largest numbers of threatened species in Africa (The World Bank 2017).

The conservation industry in Tanzania has been influenced and funded by outside actors usually in the form of NGOs for a long time. *"In the post-colonial period, the dominant conservation NGOs in Tanzania were funded predominantly by upper-middle class Europeans and Americans who were driven by a sense of responsibility to educate poor African countries about the importance of conservation and to protect African wildlife from the threats of poaching and encroachment by rapidly expanding human populations."* (Levine 2002) Since then most of Tanzania's protected areas have remained funded and managed by outside actors, who work with the Tanzanian government and international development agencies (Levine 2002). In a Tanzania National Park Memo from the 1970s the goal from the creation of national parks was published as "the earning of foreign exchange in the same way that one looks upon the exports of coffee, sisal, cotton, tea or diamonds" (Neumann 1998). Tanzania's hunting industry still remains strong and still attracts foreign actors, especially Middle East elite, who have funded private game reserves in order to ensure their continued use of the landscape (Smith 2014).

Tanzania Indigenous Rights

Despite Tanzania's acknowledgment of the importance of indigenous rights, its actions have not always supported that. Specifically we can look at the Ngorongoro Conservation Area Act of 1959 and the Wildlife Conservation Act of 2009 (Laltaika 2013). The Ngorongoro Conservation Area was created in 1959 as a multiple land use area, an area that theoretically implied that indigenous groups could live amongst the wildlife. The catch remained that control of the land was vested to the Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority rather than the customary village authorities (Laltaika 2013). This leaves indigenous groups, specifically the Maasai in this area, to be without a voice in land use decisions. This is especially relevant because the Ngorongoro Conservation Area Act limits cultivation in the area and other essential cultural behaviors. The Wildlife Conservation Act of 2009 came after the international discussion on indigenous rights became prevalent however; it systematically set the precedent that evictions of indigenous communities were lawful by evicting all human settlements from game controlled areas (Laltaika 2013).

There are mechanisms in place to support indigenous communities such as regional courts, NGOs and provisions in Tanzania's laws. On the ground efforts have included work by NGOs like UCRT. NGOs have provided resources for indigenous communities to get access to resources needed to navigate the political processes in order to receive proper representation, such as receiving land titles for their tribal land (Igoe 2003). However, all of these mechanisms have their limitations and in the end haven't thus far been able to fix the transgressions altogether.

Specifically I look at a few case studies to see how widespread violations amongst indigenous communities have been. I'll look most specifically at the Maasai as they have had numerous evictions and required lifestyle changes from conservation and land use programs through Tanzania's history (Homewood 2009). The Maasai are pastoralists whose life purpose is to serve their cattle. Wealth is regarded by the number of cattle and they historically have remained nomadic in their lifestyle moving to find the best available grazing. Their traditional

range stretched across most of interior Kenya and Tanzania (Homewood 2009). Development, colonialism and the conservation industry across both countries has significantly reduced their traditional lands, making it harder to reach their traditional grazing locations. Because of this and pressures from the government they have shifted to a more sedentary based lifestyle (Homewood 2009). This has entailed sending their young men out to graze the cattle, sometimes for months at a time, before returning home when the grazing gets better near their home front. As a tribe the Maasai have a fascinating history and well understood relationship with their traditional land (Goldman 2003). This makes their case specifically interesting because they often regard to themselves as being a part of the ecosystems essential function, a view not shared by the traditional Western belief that nature has a distinct physical divide between “the environment” and people which has driven the conservation industry in Tanzania.

It's worth mentioning the Waarusha, an agriculturalist society, traditionally from northern Tanzania who are often clumped into the same tribal affiliation as the Maasai. The two groups coexisted in close proximity and shared a lot of the same values, cultural practices and language (Kuney 1994). But through the creation of National Parks the Waarusha and Maasai were pushed into closer proximity (Kuney 1994). While this created conflict, it also became necessary for some Maasai to join the agricultural lifestyle. After independence the tribes joined forces to advocate for each other so in some instances the term Maasai was used to represent both (Kuney 1994). As Maasai in urban areas have moved to be more like agriculturalists, it has become harder to distinguish the two tribes despite them having two separate histories and lineages. There is internal resentment and conflict amongst the tribes and frustration from years of immigration into each other's lands (Kuney 1994). While I'll discuss both tribes, it's important to understand that both have suffered land conflicts due to the conservation industry.

In addition I'll look at the Hadzabe tribe, one of the last remaining hunter gatherer tribes in Africa. Located in the Eyasi region their population has plummeted in recent years with only about 1,500 individuals remaining (Peterson, Baalow, and Cox 2013). The government has long

been pursuing their urbanization as their lifestyle has been deemed inappropriate and too primitive. But as conservation areas have continued to expand into Hadzaland the Hadza are facing imminent issues with maintaining their traditional ways of life including spending their days foraging and hunting with bow and arrows to obtain their food (Peterson, Baalow, and Cox 2013). As their land becomes smaller and more crowded by other immigrating communities, their landscape is struggling to keep up in being able to provide their necessary means. Despite international human rights agreements set forth for example by UNDRIP, Tanzania has continued to violate the rights of the Hadza (UN Declaration on the Right of Indigenous Peoples 2007). On the brink of cultural extinction (Katiba 2017), there are some serious questions and concerns to answer regarding the ethical argument of pushing a culture to extinction over the desire to fuel the conservation industry to maintain tourism income. This is why it's important to start having these discussions as the implications of conservation have more affects than just land loss.

While these are just a few tribes that have been affected by the conservation industry in Tanzania it's important to see why this is relevant. While the international community has created international human rights laws and expectations, there are still abuses occurring. While these conflicts don't always correspond with the conservation industry, the conflict between conservation and indigenous rights is interesting in that it showcases a conflict caught between two different cultures. Many indigenous cultures have lived amongst their environments and consider themselves a part of their natural ecosystem. This is in direct conflict to those that grew up with the idea of partitioned nature. When two cultures come together in direct conflict with each other and both believe that they have the rights to their ideologies, how do we decide whose rights are more deserved? While the answer is not clear, these case studies show us that historically at least in the case of Tanzania; the cultures that are backed with money are more likely to succeed even after regulations to prevent rights to be based off of financial incentives.

The concepts and trends we observe in local land use can then be used to determine the extent of the problem in other areas. When there are competing cultures in any kind of

decision the process in how we break down whose values are more important could lead to detrimental consequences in the future. While this is true for indigenous rights, we can expand this further to political resolutions as well. We frequently see political conflicts that pit one set of ideologies against each other. Perhaps by using the patterns we have seen in indigenous conflicts we can start to learn how to work with cultures beyond our own to come up with a new way to resolve conflicts that don't immediately fall back onto power and financial incentives.

Theoretical Frameworks:

To approach these issues, I start by looking at the indigenous solutions model and comparing it with developmental orthodoxy to try to break apart the two main rifts seen in land use issues in Tanzania. The indigenous solutions model is frequently used and advocates that local indigenous people are best able to advocate for the lands best interest (Homewood 2009). While developmental orthodoxy relates to the thought that encourages that Western ideals are the best for ensuring that the land is properly cared for (Homewood 2009). Using these models from both perspectives can be used to help breakdown how the indigenous solutions model hasn't necessarily unseated the kind of thought that developmental orthodoxy is built off of.

Methodology:

To account for the complex nature and bipolarity of conflicts regarding conservation and indigenous rights this thesis incorporates multiple methodologies in attempt to receive a well-rounded view of the conversation. This included looking historically by comparing major events in the realms of indigenous rights, conservation and Tanzania put together on a single timeline. In order to obtain local perspectives from affected tribes an interview was conducted with Maasai elders that reside on the border of the Serengeti National Park who are currently trying to obtain a CCRO. To supplement that, I look at surveys conducted in a suburb of Arusha that shows how perspectives of conservation differ from tribe to tribe after years of being pushed to

urbanize indigenous groups by the government (Homewood 2009). I also conducted an informal interview with a woman in the conservation and tourism industry. Lastly, I compiled by date the number of news articles and segments that pertain specifically to conflicts between conservation and the indigenous communities in Tanzania. Plus I look at a Google N-Gram of the number of times indigenous rights and conservation have been mentioned in books since the 1800s.

The timeline was created by compiling influential and important events mentioned in scholarly papers and books that had shaped one of these three realms on both national and global scales. These include indigenous rights, conservation and Tanzania in general. Events deemed important had influenced major decisions or issues in their respective industry. This includes being a catalyst for change, conflict or big policy decisions. All six categories were color coded before being combined to formulate a single timeline.

To supplement the historical look, I conducted an interview with several Maasai elders. We discussed how the land has physically changed over time and their intentions and desires for the land in the future. I met up with these elders close to their village in Soit Orgoss, which is located on the northeastern border of the Serengeti National Park. This interview was quite informal and questions and answers were responded to in a round robin type manner. The interview was translated by bilingual guides and then transcribed into a field notebook so that the quotes could be used in the future. In addition, I spoke with a conservation leader, and asked her questions regarding citizens' use and impacts on the land. This was also an informal interview conducted on the coast near Pangani. Some questions were brainstormed before the interview while others were worked into the flow of conversation.

While in Tanzania I created a survey that was designed to be given while walking around the city of Olasiti. One hundred surveys were conducted in Kiswahili and then back translated into English. The questionnaire was divided into three sections, demographics, involvement and value of conservation. In the survey there were both qualitative and quantitative questions. The quantitative questions allowed general ideas and demographics whereas the qualitative allowed the opportunity to see how individual responses varied on a personal basis. In order to

fully grasp the complexities of the questions that were asked, qualitative responses were the only way to properly encompass the variability while accurately representing the individuality of the responses. In order to obtain a diverse set of answers, sampling was done randomly throughout the village. Three groups of two went out; one person in the group was a community member that was university aged student that had studied English. They acted as translators for a Lewis and Clark College student that was paired with them. The full list of questions administered is shown in Appendix A.

After the results were collected, the three groups met back up together and created a combined data. The data was accumulated into an Excel spreadsheet. The answers to the value of protected areas were then sorted into buzzwords that were seen throughout the answers. This grouped like answers so that they could be displayed cohesively. I then used this data and compared answers amongst corresponding groups according to self-described tribal affiliations. Based on tribal affiliations we then compared answers to see how representatives of different tribes responded differently to the various questions.

Lastly, using LexisNexis, an article database that stores newspaper articles and law reviews from around the world, I searched and compiled a list of articles that directly mentioned the conflict between conservation and indigenous tribes in Tanzania. In order to yield the most accurate results I used the search term "Tanzania land conservation indigenous conflict". I then went through every listed article to find if they mentioned Tanzania, an indigenous tribe and conservation specifically in their article. If they did I entered them in the excel spreadsheet along with their date, the name of the publication it appeared in and if it was a local or distant news source. In order to look at the international context, I created a Google N-Gram that looks at the number of times a word or a phrase appears in Google Books from the 1800's to 2008. I used the terms "Indigenous Rights" and "Conservation" to make a comparison in the prevalence of the two.

Conclusively, all of these methods were then pulled together to analyze the full complexity of the situation at hand and to evaluate how the discourse and action around indigenous rights and conservation has evolved over time.

Results:

Timeline

While not conclusive with all influential or important events, this timeline gives contextualization for the transformation that both, indigenous rights and conservation, industries have had across time on both national and global scales.

[Click here for the timeline.](#)

Figure 2: This timeline lists notable events in the transformation of both Tanzania and international changes in indigenous land rights and conservation.

The timeline shows striking trends in both international and national scales for both conservation and indigenous rights. As a reminder the five categories of events correspond to Tanzanian indigenous rights (marked in orange), international indigenous rights (marked in red), Tanzania conservation (marked in teal), international conservation (marked in blue) and Tanzania in general (marked in magenta). To start off lets first notice the gradient that has evolved. The beginning of the timeline shows a lot of events that were influential in conservation in Tanzania. This was especially true in the 1920s through the early 1950s as land was being gazetted for protected areas. But in 1950 a major shift in conservation policies removed the component that allowed indigenous communities to coexist. While previously protected, with the 1954 National Park Ordinance, the president gained authority to prohibit activities that he deemed fit (Neumann 1998). The early 50s started an age of editing previous policies that had originally encouraged inclusivity with indigenous peoples (Homewood 2009, Neumann 1998 and Maasai elders interview). The early 1960s marked the start of the age of conservation NGOs and the solidification of conservation in the international realm (Adams 2014, Homewood 2009 and Dowie 2011). Mid 1960s were focused more on the transformation

of Tanzania as it worked to become an independent nation (CIA 2017). The mid 70s is when the international community was began creating legislation and spreading awareness of indigenous land rights that has continued on through to today. From the mid-70s until the end of the 2000s we can see incidents in which indigenous communities have their land rights violated through evictions, assaults by public authorities, extreme undernourishment from the ban on cultivation and other events in Tanzania (Adams 2014, Galvin 2006, Benjaminsen 2013, Butt 2012, Homewood 2009 and Dowie 2011).

Interview with Maasai Elders

While talking with Maasai Elders the first thing that they said was, “White people have cheated us out of our land.” They described the change in the physical presentation of land from a place that was rich with species and limited with people to today where sightings of Arabian hunters are frequent and species are less common. When asked which pressures have changed their interactions with their land they responded that they constantly fear that the hunters will take their land away. But they also added that the change of rain patterns which has shortened rainy seasons is also another fear as well. The elders talked about how they have to go far to graze their cattle because the villages have been overgrazed. Due to growing populations, they’ve also had to increase their agricultural farms so that they can feed their people. When asked how the Maasai impact the land they described how population growth has created a lot of issues especially when combined with rain shortages. They expressed their desires to acquire a title for their land by getting a CCRO from the government and then creating a land use plan that incorporates everyone’s interests. They want to set aside areas for livestock, white people and businesses. They’re currently in the process of working with UCRT to try and receive a CCRO. The men believe that without changes their traditional way of life will not be able to exist.

Olasiti Survey

In total there were 100 individuals surveyed across the course of three days. The self-identified tribal affiliations by individuals represented a total of 16 different tribes that come from all over Tanzania.

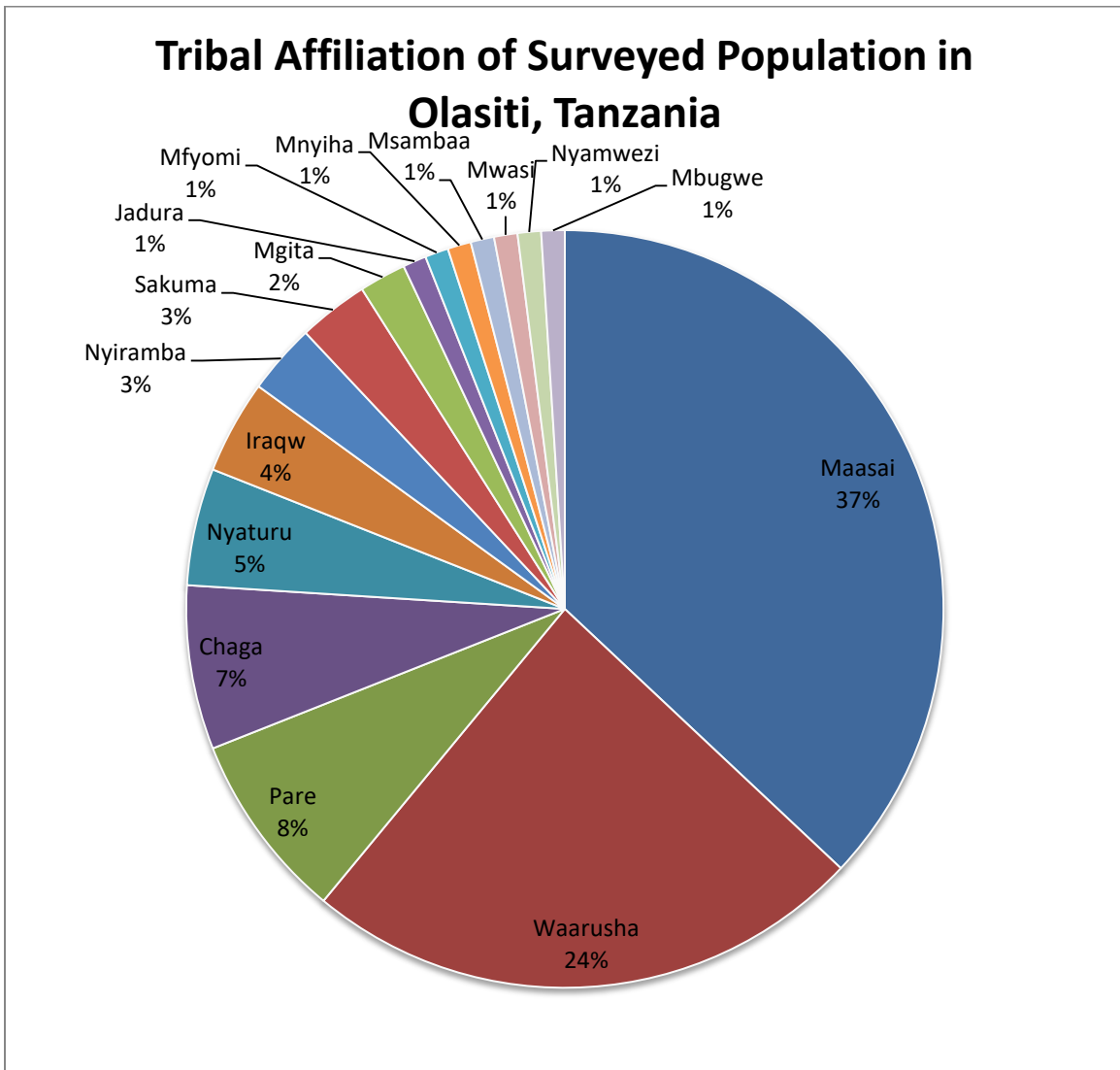


Figure 3: This chart represents the total number of surveyed individuals by their self-described tribal affiliation in Olasiti, Tanzania.

The makeup of surveyed individuals consisted of Maasai and Waarusha combined for a majority of 61%. All other tribes had no more than 8 individuals that were surveyed.

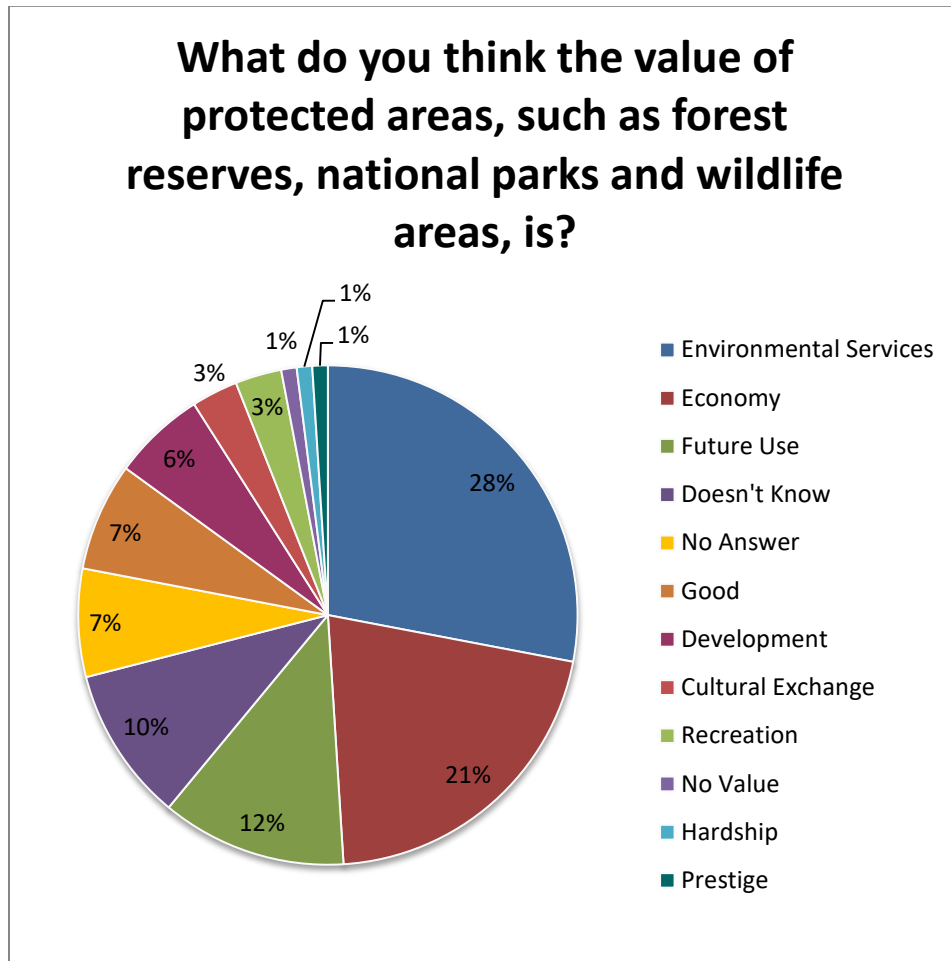


Figure 4: This chart represents the overall response to the question of what the value of protected areas was to surveyed individuals in Olasiti, Tanzania.

The citizens were asked what the value of protected areas, such as forest reserves, national parks and wildlife areas, was. This chart shows the response from all 100 individuals interviewed. Due to trends seen in answers, buzzword categories were based specifically off of what people said. When they responded economy, they usually mentioned the tourism industry and the financial benefits it brings. There were a large number of responses that indicated that protected areas were good but did not specify as to why they were good. The development category indicates the expansion of infrastructure that protected areas bring

through the building of roads, buildings, and other physical structures. Environmental services included responses that talked about an increase in clean water, clean air, timber or other natural resources.

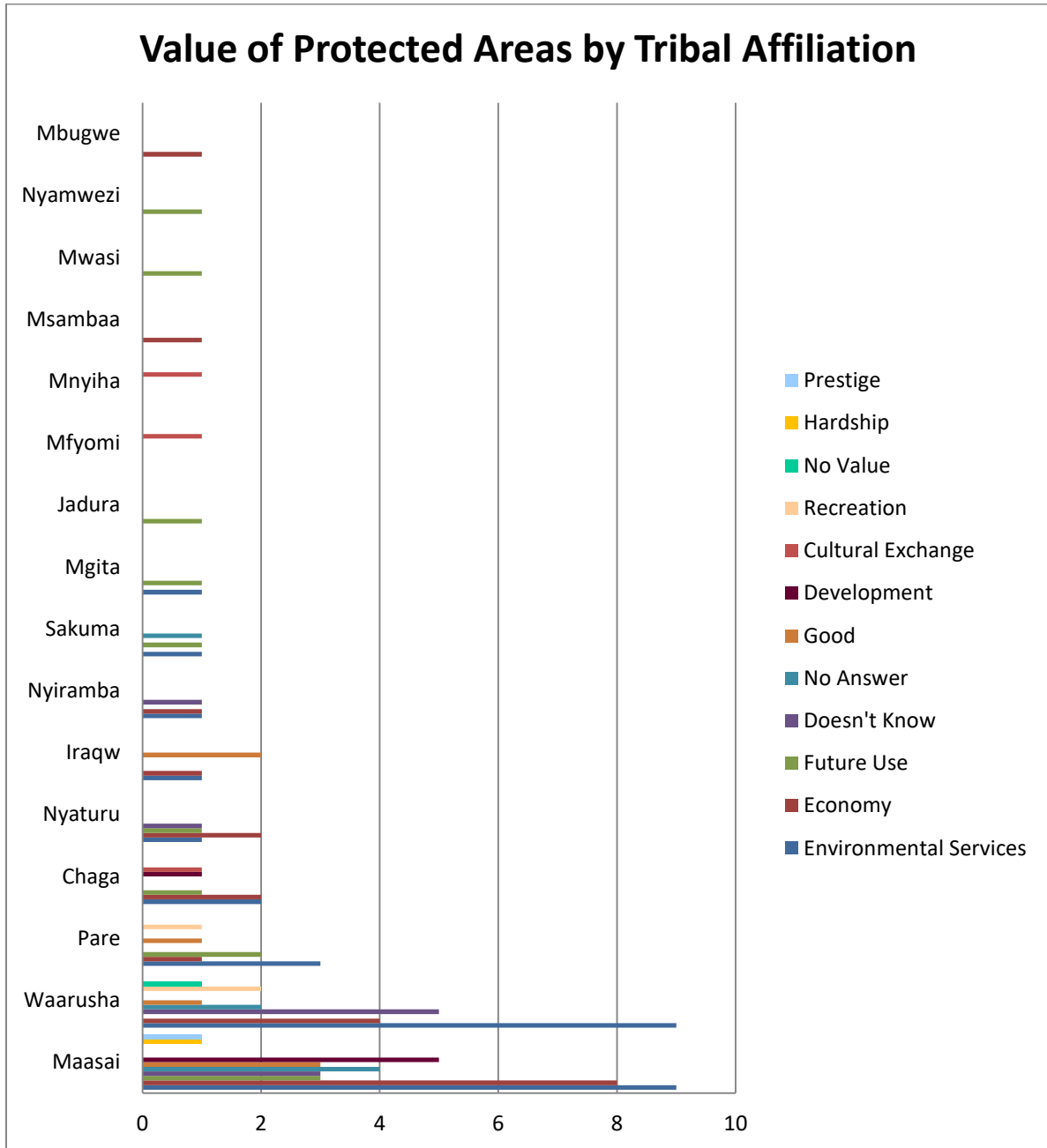


Figure 5: This chart shows surveyed individuals responses to the value of protected areas by their self-described tribal affiliation in Olasiti, Tanzania.

While hard to read, this chart shows the number of responses per category by tribe. The main thing here is to focus on the number of responses by Maasai and Waarusha in comparison to the other tribes. Specifically look at the number of responses to categories that could be perceived to be specifically opposite of what the traditional National Parks model aims to create. This would include categories like doesn't know, hardship, development, the economy and no value. While there is still a higher number of Maasai and Waarusha surveyed it is interesting to see how a lot of their views of conservation seem to be specifically rooted in the creation of an industry. Although both Waarusha and Maasai had 9 individuals each that did regard to their benefits being environmental services that protected areas provide. While not a large percentage of the overall belief it is interesting to see that both Maasai and Waarusha are the only tribes that indicate negative value responses like no value and hardship.

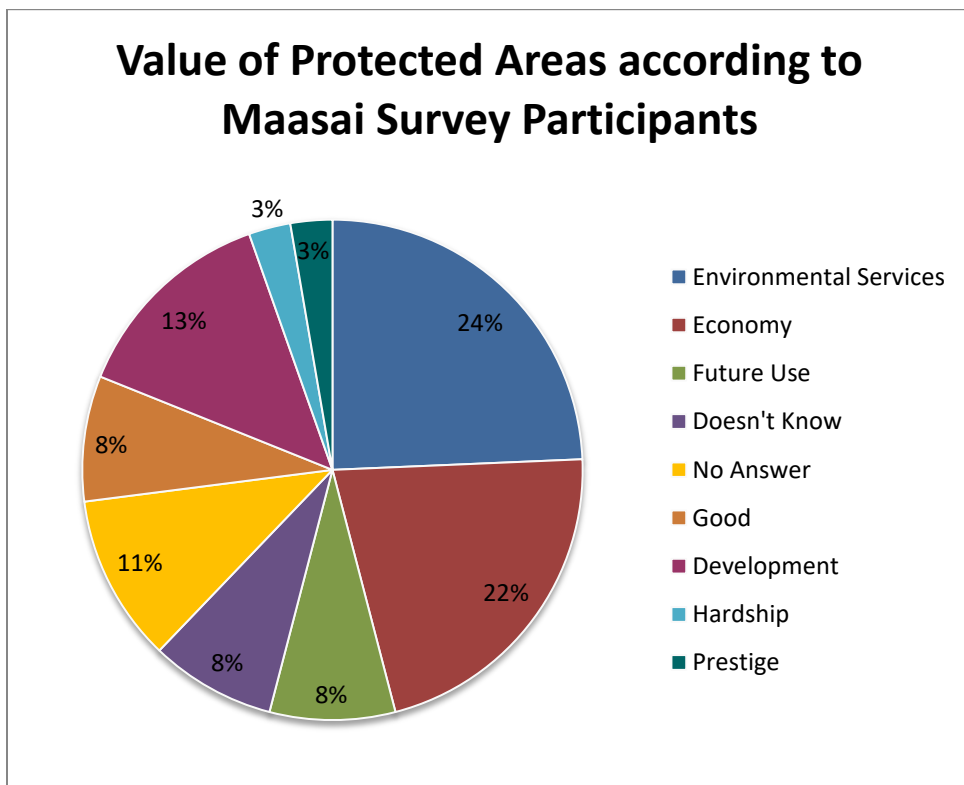


Figure 6: This chart represents the value of protected areas by survey participants who self-identified as being Maasai in Olasiti, Tanzania.

In the case of the Maasai, they seem to be pretty similar with the survey averages except for a couple of areas. The first major noticeable difference is that 13% believe that protected areas purpose is development instead of the survey average of 6%. None of the respondents noted cultural exchange or recreation as their value. One person was the only surveyed individual who said protected areas value was to create hardship amongst people.

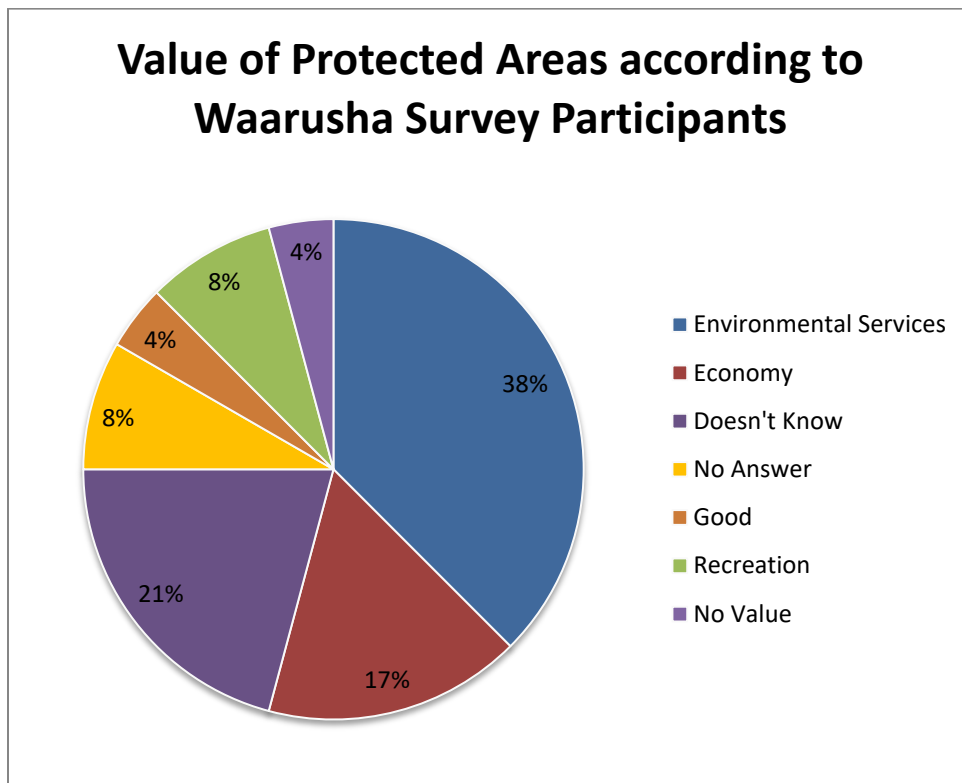


Figure 6: This chart represents the value of protected areas by survey participants who self-identified as being Waarusha in Olasiti, Tanzania.

The Waarusha on the other hand had 38% that said that they benefitted from protected areas environmental services which was much larger than the survey average of 28%. There was a higher percentage that responded that they didn't know or had no answer with 29% than the surveys average of 17%. No Waarusha individual indicated that the value of protected areas was to maintain for future use, development, or cultural exchange. However, one respondent or 4% of the surveyed Waarusha population considered that there was no value to protected areas.

Interview with Friends of Maziwe

I spoke with a representative, who asked to remain anonymous, behind a non-profit organization, Friends of Maziwe, which works to increase education about the management and continuing protection of the Maziwe Island Marine Reserve. She lives full time in the coastal community of Ushongo and she has worked extensively with the local communities and the government to fight for the continued protection of the reserve. In the ten years that she has lived in the area the landscape around the island has changed dramatically in response to changes in policy direction. I asked her, what the citizens' relationship with the ocean was and thus what their involvement with the marine park was as well. She responded that for many community members this is their only real interaction in their lives with conservation concepts. She explained that the ocean served as a material source for citizens, meaning that it provides them with fish. The fish are what they sell in markets and thus their source of income. The ocean is seen by residents as a resource, not a recreational activity. The kids don't know how to swim nor do the fishermen that rely on swimming for their livelihood.

She then discussed why citizens were okay with dynamite fishing and destructive behaviors and their lack of concern about the long term effects. The citizens told her that God would never fail them by not providing a limitless supply of fish. In their beliefs the ocean is limitless in its resources because God knows that they depend on it for a happy and successful life. The pressures that surround environmental protection, tourism and community livelihoods are complex. But they are made even greater with corruption and the lack of clarity and visibility from the government. Friends of Maziwe has tried to provide the community with physical benefits so that they had reason to take their fishing elsewhere, but because it is a National Marine Reserve, the finances go through the government, which is not returned to the surrounding communities.

Articles through Time and Google N-Grams

Searching “Tanzania land conservation indigenous conflict” yielded a total of 321 articles. Of those articles, 25 actually mentioned conservation and a Tanzanian indigenous conflict in the article.

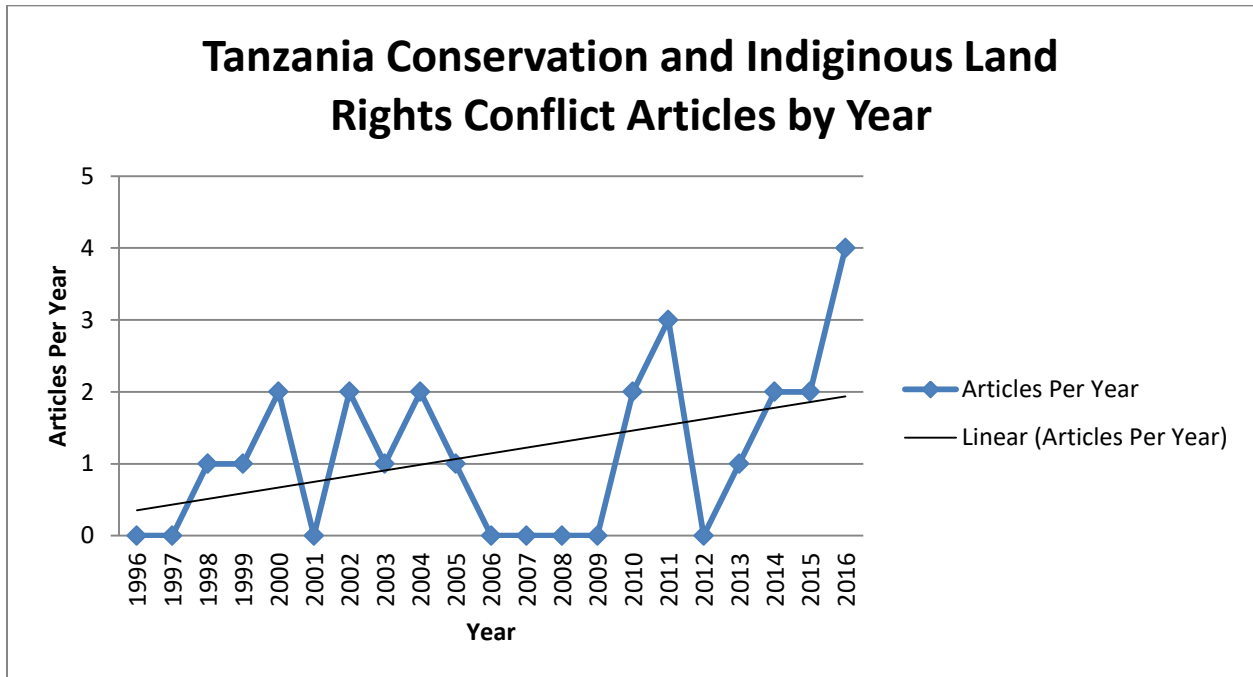


Figure 7: This chart shows the number of articles released by year on LexisNexis that discusses a conflict in Tanzania that mentioned indigenous and conservation specifically. The linear slope shows the trend years through time.

The first article recorded on LexisNexis was in 1998 but since then there has been a relatively consistent display of publications in the following years except for 2001, 2006-2009 and 2012. The year with the highest number of recorded articles was in 2016 with a total number of four articles. There is a positive trend line indicating that the number of articles released is in fact increasing over time, while not drastic it increases annually by about one article per twelve years. It should be noted the two highest spikes with three and four articles were recorded in the past decade, 2011 and 2016 respectively.



Figure 8: Google N-Gram comparison between prevalence in Conservation and Indigenous Rights from 1800-2008.

In this N-Gram both search terms for indigenous rights and conservation were compared side by side. While it appears that indigenous rights is borderline not occurring, refer to Figure 9 for more detail on that line. The y axis is displayed in relative frequency that the terms appeared by percentage over the search period from 1800-2008.



Figure 9: Google N-Gram on indigenous rights prevalence from 1800-2008.

This Google N-Gram looks just at the prevalence of indigenous rights in google books over time.

Discussion:

It becomes clear that overtime the international community has increased the publications on indigenous land rights throughout time. As seen through the Google N-Gram, indigenous rights, while small in comparison to conservation have dramatically increased in prevalence since 1975. But the increase in international law has not been reflective in a change of behavior from Tanzania. During the beginning of colonialism indigenous communities were allowed to interact with protected areas however, this is no longer the case in most areas. This change was partially driven by Europeans disappointment that the tribes did not live in their version of harmony seen through partitioned nature (Neumann 1998). Since then protected areas have been built to cater to various financials actors such as European and Saudi Arabian hunters (Smith 2014 and Walley 2004).

Tanzania has been successful in some ways though. In the creation of the CCRO with work from UCRT and the local communities, there is a potential for indigenous groups to have a voice in land use decisions. While the success of CCROs has been influential, only eight communities had been able to receive the title as of 2014. This in itself makes the CCRO process essentially useless in terms of getting widespread protections for all indigenous communities in Tanzania. While it has certainly increased individual protections for a select few, the number of communities that could apply for a title would most likely overwhelm the system, and potentially overwhelm the land use management system as well. While creative problem solving and the governments full cooperation would be required to solve this conflict, the CCRO process did finally give communities proper representation in land use, which is one of the rights that has been continually overlooked by the Tanzanian government.

Drawing from the Olasiti surveys I look a little more into the Maasai and Waarusha perspective. Olasiti in this case offers an interesting perspective as it's not only an area that has been directly impacted by the conservation industry but it's also a huge tourism hub. This in and of itself is a conflict potentially. Most of the makeup of Olasiti is immigrants, many of whom are Maasai who have sought out the agricultural lifestyle after being forced from their

lands. But with the influence of the tourism industry many of these individuals are also in direct contact, if not employed themselves, by the industry. Thus they are likely to have a higher understanding and appreciation for the conservation industry than the average person in Tanzania.

With that said the Maasai and Waarusha were the only tribes that responded that protected areas had no value or that it created hardship. While statistically not significant due to the small sample size their responses to the value of conservation seem to tell their histories in a way. 13% of Maasai surveyed believed that protected areas bring development. Historically this makes sense, as they saw their landscape change from grasslands to National Park institutions with roads, buildings and tourist shacks. For the Maasai especially, they saw development when outsiders saw the preservation of flora and fauna. Going back to the idea of partitioned nature, Westerners think of the “natural environment” as places in where people visit but do not stay. The development of National Parks includes the construction of roads, bathrooms, picnic areas, and other infrastructure so that visitors can enjoy them without having to be inconvenienced from a lack of luxuries. Maasai on the other hand see their “natural environment” as grazing their cattle amongst the wildebeest, untouched by infrastructure but with humans living amongst the landscape. This speaks directly to the differences in culture and ideologies.

Looking at the survey responses from the Waarusha we can see similar trends that may correspond with the tribes’ historical progression and transition with conservation. The Waarusha, being agriculturalist society, relied upon good soil to create good crops. This in turn relies heavily on rain and various other environmental factors. So when the government came to try to push the Maasai into smaller areas and try to transition them to a more agricultural lifestyle, the colonists were living side by side with the Waarusha teaching them how to make more efficient and productive crops (Kuney 1994). It would make logical sense that they would pay special attention to the environmental factors that could affect their crops. While this is speculative at best, it would make sense that the Waarusha rely on environmental services to help strengthen their crops.

While talking with a representative from Friends of Maziwe we take a different approach by approaching it from the conservation lens. Rather than looking from just the indigenous groups' perspective we instead look at the reasoning that Tanzanian citizens have to want to continue to use the resources that historically have been in their control. Through her description the local people rely and survive on the resources that the ocean produces. They fathom that they've never run out of fish because God has given it to them so that they can survive. With the creation of Maziwe National Marine Reserve they were then told they couldn't fish on the island. However, outsiders still came in the middle of the night and took fish through any means possible. So for locals they were told they couldn't fish in that area but if they didn't, fishermen from other areas would come and sell their fish. The locals don't receive benefits from the reserve and thus there are very few reasons for locals to feel as though their livelihood is threatened enough to not fish there. While certainly a frustrating situation for conservationists and Friends of Maziwe, this story is much like the Maasai or any indigenous tribe where the land was left in the locals control for a long time and then through the influence of conservationists and their wealthy NGOs (Dowie 2011 and Levine 2002) land use was slowly devolved to government control without providing their justification to surrounding communities. As an outsider, the conflict seems simple, their livelihoods cannot be supported by the current resources but in the citizens perspective they have never had a reason to doubt that the ecosystem or God in this case, would fail them. This brings us back to competing cultures with competing values argument at least in the case of Maziwe this has resulted in the government seizing control of the land and external actors reaping the benefits from the protected areas.

My use of LexisNexis to create a representation of the number of articles released every year was rather inconclusive. Out of 321 articles, only 25 distinctly talked about the conflict in Tanzania. That means that less than 8% of the results actually discussed at some length the disparity between indigenous communities' rights and conservation. Where this becomes more interesting is the number of articles that discuss Osama Bin Laden (with his involvement in the bombing of US Embassy in 1998), various species on the brink of extinction, former US President Barack Obamas visit to Tanzania, ivory trade, and discussion over the prevention of

resource degradation. This is telling in that when you search specifically to garner articles that discuss indigenous rights there are relatively few materials released and there are more articles released that focus on traditionally Western ideals. The content of the articles that actually mentioned the conflict were approached from more of an indigenous rights perspective. With a better database of articles this might be a trend worth looking into. However due to the constraints of LexisNexis this sample is clearly not telling on the literature surrounding this area.

International law has said that indigenous groups have the right to their land, culture, traditional practices (UN Declaration on the Right of Indigenous Peoples 2007) and basic human rights such as the right to food, public participation, and housing (Laltaika 2013). The main takeaway from my interview with the Maasai elders however was the idea that they feel as though they've been silenced. *"White people have cheated us out of our land."* In accordance to the UNDRIP the Maasai are given rights under Article 26, *"Indigenous peoples have the right to the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned, occupied or otherwise used or acquired"* (UN Declaration on the Right of Indigenous Peoples 2007). This in correspondence with Article 32 which gives them the right to determine and develop their traditional lands provides them the basis of a good legal argument for why it is unfair for them to be continually left out of the land use decision process. Article 32 directly states; *"1. Indigenous peoples have the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for the development or use of their lands or territories and other resources. 2. States shall consult and cooperate in good faith with the indigenous peoples concerned through their own representative institutions in order to obtain their free and informed consent prior to the approval of any project affecting their lands or territories and other resources, particularly in connection with the development, utilization or exploitation of mineral, water or other resources"* (UN Declaration on the Right of Indigenous Peoples 2007)."

Tanzania has also given jurisdiction to the African Court on Human and Peoples Rights to entertain cases from individuals or NGOs in Tanzania (Laltaika 2013). This allow for individuals or groups to specifically seek retribution from the government. Since it's a third party court, it

doesn't have the same likelihood to get muddled away through corruption. Regional courts have become extremely influential in the process of getting indigenous rights recognized.

The history of transgressions against indigenous communities is lengthy and span from evictions to lack of representation. Evictions became common in the mid-1950s. In some cases indigenous communities lacked the communication methods to understand what was happening. This was the case when the Maasai that resided in the western Serengeti were forced to sign documents saying they'd move despite the fact that they did not read, write and they spoke a different language (Homewood 2009). In at least one case a tribe challenged the Tanzanian court system in attempt to get their land back. In 1999 the Mkomazi tribe challenged their eviction from their ancestral land in the Tanzania High Court. Where ultimately they ruled that the evictions were illegal but they offered no compensation or ability to overturn the decision. They told the tribe that it was "wrong to claim long term tenure" and that they did not qualify for ancestral rights (Adams 2013). While some of these violations come with progress in mind, such a banning cultivation in the Ngorongoro Conservation Area in 1975, the ill affects to the people are often overlooked. In that case in 1992 the government reopened the area for cultivation after people began suffering from extreme malnutrition (Galvin et al. 2006).

However, part of the reason Tanzania may continue to infringe upon indigenous rights is the role of outside actors and the minimal consequences to international law. Despite the protections that have been recognized by the international community Tanzania has not changed their wide scale treatment of indigenous communities because of the financially lucrative influence and political pull from outside actors. From my interview with the Maasai elders they discussed their desire to control their land, and the sense of ownership they still feel like they have with it despite continual conflicts. Since all land is owned by Tanzania, CCROs are the indigenous groups' only real way of acquiring the rights to do with their land as they please (Wily 2003). Once receiving a title the village council is responsible for creating a land use plan, and as they expressed they want to incorporate all actors interests. While theoretically this might sound great, in practice it's very difficult. First of all the government makes the process extremely hard to obtain (Wily 2003) hence why so few have been issued

(Morlin-Yron 2016). But more importantly Saudi Arabia has some serious ties and political pull (Smith 2014). Through the creation of the Village Land Act of 1999 it would appear that the government was becoming more open to working with the Maasai however these steps have quickly become overturned in the presence of distant political elite (Smith 2014).

Which in turn if we look at the influence of tourism and its 13.3% share of the national GDP, this makes sense. More than 90% of the tourism industry is dependent on wildlife (Caro and Davenport 2016). Looking at the Google N-Gram the conservation industry gets a lot of public attention, much more in fact than the realm of indigenous rights. Tanzania has been reliant on outside actors to fund their development since colonialism (Levine 2002). Tanzania benefits greatly from having outside actors working to better conservation and development projects (Levine 2002, Smith 2014). It would then make sense for these external actors to have some pull in land use decisions so that they can continue to benefit and continue to fund Tanzania.

Clearly outside actors have a lot of political clout and due to the limitations in international law, international protections are never guaranteed. The methods in dealing with international human rights transgressions are extremely limited due to the lack of enforcement materials. However, there are several strategies for ensuring that international law is not simply forethought to countries decisions. The use of naming and shaming from NGOs publicizes violations and can create extensive pressure from communities worldwide (Meernik et al. 2012). Naming Shaming has become the basis of social media campaigns, like Standing Rock in the United States (Print et al. 2017). Some campaigns are more successful than others however; nothing guarantees how the country will react. Continued appeals to regional human rights courts and programming by NGOs will also continue to get publicity and apply external pressure to the government to comply with indigenous rights norms. Technically, countries don't have to comply with any of these options due to the lack of enforcement mechanisms. However, Tanzania has given jurisdiction to the African Court on Human and Peoples Rights and if they did not listen to the courts decisions they would set a dangerous precedent regarding the courts legitimacy which in turn could be detrimental to human rights across Africa. It is against

their best interest to do so. Additionally, social power through NGOs and the media have created changes to human rights norms in the past and thus it is possible to do so in Tanzania (“Victories” 2017).

Bringing it back together, we can see that the industries of indigenous rights and conservation have changed drastically over time. But with those changes Tanzania has remained ignorant on providing its indigenous communities with the rights put forth by the UN by continuing to disclude them from conservation and land use decisions. This can be seen on my timeline with the repeated evictions and reported human rights abuses despite increased international laws defining expectations. The exclusive land management practices have since then created distrust in the conservation system as seen with my discussion with the representative from Friends of Maziwe. This distrust can then be combined historically to be reflected by indigenous groups values of protected areas like seen in Olasiti or with the group of Maasai elders I talked with. To then contextualize the affect I look at the Google N-Gram which shows the disparity between literature on indigenous rights and conservation. With all that, we can conclusively say that the Tanzanian governments shift to restrictive conservation legislation has also promoted that conservation is more important to the country than providing indigenous communities with their fundamental rights.

Implications:

At a time period when a lot of different factors are impacting land conflicts continued inaction could have consequences. I’ll specifically look back at the Hadzabe. While we’ve already discussed the role that the conservation industry has had on their loss of land, we can further this discussion by drawing on the results as well. Threats to the Hadza have included not only the designation of protected areas but also the emigration that that has caused, with numerous tribes moving into their traditional Eyasi region (Katiba 2017). The Hadza are known for their little impact living, which in turn has made it easier for the government and other tribes, searching for land to use whether for cultivation or for grazing, to overlook (Katiba 2017). As one can imagine the more populated the area, the harder it is for tribes that rely on

nomadic movement to provide for their daily needs. This is the issue the Hadza see today despite having received a CCRO other factors have continued to move other tribes into their land (Peterson, Baalow, and Cox 2013). As conservation continues to push people out of areas, and as population grows, how do we ensure that tribes are able to live on their traditional land as the UNDRIP has promised?

With less than 1,500 individuals left and mounting pressures and obligations from the Tanzanian government to urbanize, the future of Hadzas traditional culture is uncertain (Katiba 2017). Their children are sent to boarding schools instead of following their parents on their hunts and learning the idiosyncrasies of their culture. While they will agree that they want their children to be educated, and that they want access to health care, allowing their kids to go to schools and their people to be treated by doctors have continually opened themselves up to the influences of globalization. While there is no concrete process in ensuring a culture survives, is there an ethical responsibility for us to consider a cultures future as a consequence of our actions?

This trend of indigenous abuses expands past the realm of conservation as well. In recent years public outcries have rallied social media for indigenous rights abuses. A good example of this is the public campaign that hit social media in fall of 2016 when the Dakota Access Pipeline was moved to run through the Standing Rock Indian Reservation in North Dakota instead of a suburban town due to fears that it would contaminate the towns water supply (Print et al. 2017). While the not in my back yard mentality is not new, it's still disappointing that there is a motivating force to exploit our underrepresented communities that don't have the financial backing to back their words up. If humans continue to view conflicts with an us versus them mentality, it's only likely to keep repeating the history that's been well recorded. Like I have suggested before perhaps by using the patterns seen in indigenous conflicts we can start to learn how to work with cultures beyond our own to come up with a new way to resolve conflicts that doesn't immediately fall back onto power and financial incentives.

What Tanzania did with the creation of CCROs was a step in the right direction. Allowing for all interests to be heard and represented evenly is essential to minimizing conflict. When the CCROs are given, the indigenous community has to work with the surrounding actors to create a land management plan that works for everyone. Ensuring that all voices get heard, and that all actors enter on a level playing field has, at least in the case of CCROs, led to more successful land management tenure.

If we continue down the road of repeated conflicts with one side that has increased financial resources dominating the other, we're likely to continue to see extended abuses. Who's going to be the one to decide if resources or cultures are more important? As environmental factors continue to change and a general lack of action from government continues to exist, the responsibility is on us as citizens. While there may not be any steadfast answers, the need to start to break down the barriers to our conflicts will be essential in starting to limit history from continuing to repeat.

Appendices:

Appendix A:

These were the questions asked in the Olasiti survey.

1. Demographics:
2. What tribe are you affiliated with?
3. Did you go to school? What was the highest level you completed?
4. How old are you?
5. What is your job/livelihood?
6. Value of Conservation, Nature, etc.
7. What do you think the value of protected areas, such as forest reserves, national parks, wildlife areas is?
8. If tourists didn't come to Tanzania to see protected spaces (like Ngorongoro and Serengeti) would they still be worth protecting?
9. What is conservation?
10. What do you think the value of conservation is?
11. On a scale of 1 to 10 (1 being not caring at all, 10 being very upset) how would you feel if there were no more elephants in Tanzania?
12. Involvement/experience with the above.
13. Have you ever been to a National Park?
 1. If no, why? Do you want to go?
 2. If yes, why? What did you think about it?
14. Do you or anyone in your family work in the wildlife tourism industry?
15. On a scale from 1-10 (1 being not at all 10 being greatly) do you benefit from conservation?
16. Are you aware of any conservation efforts (e.g. anti-poaching, community based conservation, etc.)?
 1. Are you involved?
 2. Do you want to be?

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