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The logo for the International Institute of Social Studies, featuring the word "Erasmus" in a stylized, cursive script.

**NEGOTIATING RECOGNITION OF
“INDIGENOUS PEOPLES” IN TANZANIA:
DEVELOPMENT, CONFLICT AND RIGHTS
STRUGGLES**

A Research Paper presented by:

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(Tanzania)

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

Human Rights, Conflict and Gender: Social Justice Perspectives (SJP)

Specialization: **Conflict and Peace Studies**

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The Hague, The Netherlands
December 2017

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This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

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List of Acronyms

AA	Authorised Association
ACHPR	African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights
CHRAGG	Commission for Human Rights & Good Governance
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GCA	Game Controlled Area
IPs	Indigenous Peoples
ISS	International Institute of Social Studies
IWGIA	International Group on Indigenous Affairs
LGAs	Local Government Authorities
MKUKUTA	National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty
MP	Member of Parliament
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OBC	Ortello Business Corporation
PINGO's Forum	Pastoralists' Indigenous NGO Forum
SADC	Southern African Development Community
TASAF	Tanzania Social Action Fund
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
WMA	Wildlife Management Area

Acknowledgements

First, I am grateful to the Almighty God for his helping hand in compiling this study. It was not easy, but his grace was sufficient.

In a very special way, I extend my sincere gratitude to my thesis supervisor Dr. Helen Hintjens and second reader, Dr. Dubravka Zarkov for their insightful comments, moral support, and wise counsel from the initial stages to the completion of this work.

I thank my family, especially my mother and my father (Mrs and Mr. Ferdinand Lutatenekwa) for their prayers and well wishes during the entire time of pursuing my studies abroad.

I am indebted to Mr. Elifuraha Laltaika, Miriam Laltaika, Jamila Sullu, Edward Porokwa, Navaya Ndaskoi, Erick Chansa, Gideon Samago, Vivian Method, and Endeko Endeko for sharing their knowledge and insights in all stages of compiling this work.

Lastly, I thank my friends Naomi Wambui, Sheila Makena, Hoffman Sanga, Precious Akodi, Tasnuva Kalam Tonny, and Molefi Ndlovu for giving me a hand throughout the process of producing this work and practically complement the saying “victory has many fathers”. And to my dear fiancée, Diana Msofu for her love and prayers which kept my mind focused in this tiresome journey.

When all is said and done, the author assumes full responsibility for any shortcomings associated with the outcome of this work.

Abstract

This study is about negotiation for recognition of indigenous peoples (IPs) in Tanzania. It analyses the conflictual relationship over recognition and equitable sharing of natural resources between the Tanzanian state and indigenous peoples, from the early years of independence, and especially in the past decade or so. As indigenous struggles for recognition have become more organised politically, the NGO sector has engaged in advocacy for recognition of indigenous peoples. This notion of 'indigenous peoples' is strongly contested by the Tanzanian state, resulting in formal non-recognition of the indigenous communities by the government. There have been numerous violations of indigenous peoples' basic rights and fundamental freedoms. For their part, indigenous peoples have struggled to gain formal recognition and to enjoy their rights, whilst preserving their traditional ways of life. Applying Nancy Fraser's framework for analysing persistent social injustices, two elements of her analysis are applied to the conflict between the state and indigenous peoples: recognition and redistribution. Drawing on fieldwork and secondary sources, this study found that, despite not being formally identified in national policies and in legislations, including in the National Constitution (1977, as amended from time to time), indigenous peoples do exist in Tanzania. Land is central to their conflicts with the state. The role of private investors is also explored through case studies including the 'Loliondo case.' Overall the study is intended to help inform policy makers about recognition as the basis for respecting diversity and overcoming historical marginalisation for indigenous communities in Tanzania.

Relevance to Development Studies

The study considers the relationship between social justice and injustice, and human rights of indigenous peoples in the context of nation building and a dominant 'development' approach that emphasises single and unitary citizenship. In this context, the study poses the dilemma of recognition and the need for redistribution in order to compensate for historical disadvantage of communities defining themselves as indigenous. Resistance to recognition and redistribution on the part of the state are explained through applying Nancy Fraser's framework to case studies based on fieldwork and secondary sources.

Keywords

Indigenous peoples (IPs), recognition, redistribution, worldviews, conflict, social justice, development, human rights.

|Chapter 1: The Research Problem

1.0 Introduction

This chapter introduces the study and the research problem, recounting conflicts between the state and negotiation for recognition of IPs¹ over formal recognition of their status as indigenous community. Land is often central to their conflicts with the state,² and this is also the case in the Loliondo conflict, one I have chosen to illustrate the on-going conflict situations between the state and IPs in Tanzania today. In this case a private investor is also involved as third party. Such situations involve contesting notions around recognition of identity and the relations of power between the two – or sometimes three – unequal parties. The conflict also displays a uniform manner in which the state understands development. By bringing in different discourses around development, rights and the causes of conflict, the points of contact between the state and IPs are highlighted. This sheds light on cultural, socio-economic, political and material conflicts of interest and ontological differences and divergent ideologies that may lay beneath the conflict between the two.

The Loliondo example also brings into play the main theoretical approach adopted for this study, which revolves around recognition and redistribution, an approach pioneered by Nancy Fraser (Fraser 1995; 2000; 2003). This study will rely heavily on this theory as the main approach to analysing field data and the cases that inform the whole study. The questions explored will revolve around how the state and IPs, understand notions of recognition and redistribution. Notions of human capabilities and social inclusion by Sen (1999; 2009); respectively, as well as human rights based approach to development by Gauri (2012) will also be addressed in relation to Fraser's as they also help in the addressing and understanding incidents of injustice.

Since the theory by Fraser (1995; 2000; 2003) finds its origins in social justice perspectives, it could be instrumental, I suggest, in helping IPs in Tanzania collectively identify and access their human rights as propounded by Sen (1999) and Gauri (2012). In their perceptions, these rights are consistently violated by the state. Quoting Baldry in "*The Revival of Social Justice*" (2010), Leanne Ho writes,

¹ According to Cobo (1987), indigenous peoples, are those which, having historical continuity with pre-invasions and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, considered themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of the society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories and their ethnic identities as the basis of their continuous existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system.

² The indigenous people have distinct spiritual relationship with their lands. Any initiative to take their lands contravenes with both, their traditional uses of land for the socio-economic and political aspects, and their cultural practices such as language and sacred sites that they believe should be responsibly upheld for their future generations (UNDRIP Article 25; Barume 2010:51-52).

“social justice, which involves a consideration of both joint and individual rights and obligations, is essential to ensure people who need to claim human rights but do not have the ability, capacity or position to do so, can” (2011:1).

A moral call by the IPs to realize their cause is a manner in which numerous other conflicts also find expression. The contextual background of the research, its justification, objectives and the questions that guide it, are all presented in this chapter, prior to describing briefly the contents and structure of the research as a whole.

1.1 An example: the Loliondo conflict

The ongoing conflict of Loliondo in Northern Tanzania involves the Maasai community, the government, and an investor known as Ortello Business Corporation (OBC). In 2016, evictions by the government took place in legally registered Maasai villages, covering 1,500 square kilometres for the purposes of establishing a Game Controlled Area (GCA). The villages on the other hand, had been seasonally used by the OBC for hunting investment. The latter had persuaded the government to grant them exclusive occupancy of the land for more than 20 years. The conflict has been there for many years, and was noted for its grave human rights violations whereby the properties of the Maasai community have been destroyed, community members have been tortured and treated in various degrading and violent ways. The initiatives by government to acquire the 1,500 square kilometres of Maasai land have been opposed not only by the Maasai community, but also by their local allies and by international human rights organisations for many years (IWGIA 2017:514). Following a broad advocacy campaign for the rights of the indigenous Maasai community, the approach of OBC failed to produce the hoped-for outcome.

In the year 2013, the situation became serious that it awakened outside advocacy involvement because of breach of peace and violations of human rights. The then Prime Minister of Tanzania Hon. Mizengo Peter Pinda (MP) paid a visit to Loliondo in an attempt to bring an end to the conflict. He ensured the villagers that the land belonged to them and that at the time, the government was looking to “balance” the interests of both the Maasai community and the potential investors, OBC. For three years, from 2013 to 2016 the conflict was dormant. Then in 2016, when the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism tried to evict the Maasai from the villages, the conflict again reoccurred. The Maasai refused to be evicted from the land which they have claimed is theirs legally. Being ancestral land, they also said the land served both as their cultural and as their religious symbol. The new Prime Minister Hon. Kassim Majaliwa (MP), and the Arusha Regional Commissioner Hon. Mrisho Gambo paid a visit to the area in trying to resolve the conflict. Considering the fact that the land legally belongs to the Maasai community, the government suggested that it needed to involve the community members themselves in discussing ways of putting their area of 15,000 in better use for development and progress of the country (IWGIA 2017:14).

The on-going situation is somewhat confusing for the Maasai community as they are in the verge of losing their land since the government is adamant about turning the entire area into a Game Controlled Area (GCA). This means economic gains for OBC and revenues for the government, but a restriction to

human activities within the GCA. Most of the Maasai leadership would instead propose turning the area into a Wildlife Management Area (WMA) meaning they will not be prohibited or excluded from the area. This would at least ensure they receive their overall control over the area, giving them the ability to maintain their livelihood by securing much of the revenue from touristic use of their land.³ However, this proposal is not supported by the entire community, most of whom “as a community remain steadfast that they want their land to remain village land under their management” (Anonymous informant, communication November 2017). Even so, there have been incidents of human rights violations to the pastoralist communities in various WMAs in Tanzania (IWGIA 2017:15). The negotiations to resolve the way forward are still underway so the Loliondo conflict remains contentious.

1.2 Contextualising the Problem

Tanzania is estimated to have over 120 ethnic groups with a total country population of over 42 million people.⁴ Among these ethnic groups, there are those which still embrace their traditional ways of life. There are hunter-gather communities and they include the Hadzabe and Akie. There are also pastoralists such as the Maasai and Barbaig communities. Approximately, it is estimated that the Maasai are about 430,000, the Barbaig belong at 87,978, the Hadzabe belongs at 1,000 and the Akie are 5,268 (IWGIA 2017:508). The indigenous status of these four groups has been endorsed by the African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights (ACHPR) (IWGIA 2012:4). In its project report *The African Commission Work on Indigenous Peoples in Africa*, the ACHPR gave the overall characteristics of groups identifying themes as IPs. These characteristics are:

“Their cultures and ways of life differ considerably from the dominant society, and that their cultures are under threat, in some cases to the point of extinction. A key characteristic for most of them is that the survival of their particular way of life depends on access and rights to their traditional lands and the natural resources thereon. They suffer from discrimination as they are regarded as less developed and less advanced than other more dominant sectors of society. They often live in inaccessible regions, often geographically isolated, and suffer from various forms of marginalization, both politically and socially” (ACHPR 2006:10).

The notion ‘indigenous peoples’ is strongly contested by the state, of Tanzania, and consequently lead to denial and violation of their basic rights and fundamental freedoms. On their part, the IPs have been struggling for formal recognition and the enjoyment of their rights as a cultural community which has decided to preserve their traditional way of life.

³ According to one well-informed anonymous commentator “conflicts abound because once an area is declared a WMA, grazing is prohibited, and management shifts to an entity called Authorized Association (AA), which receives funding and takes part of it to the community. While some elected leaders see WMA, route is the lesser evil, indigenous peoples cannot see the distinction, they see it as just another form of land grabbing. They are thus steadfast and consistent that their land should remain under their own management as village land”, (personal communication 11.11.2017).

⁴ Tanzania National Census Report 2012

During the colonial era, the Germans and the British colonialists, at different eras applied the term “indigenous” to all people found in the country territories regardless of their historic originality in the land because they were all under foreign domination (Barume 2010:21-23). This was upheld even in post-colonial era. The state asserted that to recognize “indigenous” ethnic groups would be to give special rights to some citizens over others, violating the principle of equal Tanzanian citizenship. Talking openly about “indigenous rights”, might encourage tribalism, producing possible ethnic conflicts in the country (ACHPR 2006:11).⁵ The initiative to adopt Swahili as national language and as a “semblance of national culture” meant that recognition of the IPs was ruled out in principle. In the early years of independence, violent were the means to implement state’s initiatives. Thus, traditional garments were outlawed in public places and in its place modern clothing was ordered. To access public utilities, one had to adhere to “Swahili language” or “Western” dress code (ACHPR 2013:8)

Fraser (1995:68) established that cultural disrespect and economic disadvantage are entwined and complement each other. Economic policies for national development in Tanzania since early years of independence, which involved shifting from market-based economy, Ujamaa or Socialism, and neo-liberal policies, have geared socio-economic development of Tanzania towards a form of nation-building that has proven detrimental to the IPs’ livelihood in particular (ACHPR 2013; Bellu, 2011). For instance, all Tanzanian citizens are referred to as indigenous even in the decisive economic policies such as the Tanzania Investment Promotion Policy (1997:14). The IPs are not mentioned in the final draft of the National Forestry Policy (2016) despite their direct link with forest resources. They are also not covered in the two major documents that decide the planning of the development process in the country: Tanzania Development Vision 2025 (1999), and the National Five-Year Development Plan (2016/17-2020/21). This is despite the implications in the Tanzania Human Development Report (2014) that the IPs are supposed to be included⁶. Obviously, the question of recognition of the IPs remains very complicated and problematic.

Development priorities by the state have failed to acknowledge the impacts of their schemes on IPs as the root cause of their problems, and those of some of the surrounding communities, which start to come into conflict with IPs as well. For instance, compared to less than 5% of the land being protected at the time of independence, up to date Tanzania has declared a total of 37% of the land to be the protected area. Initially most of this land was used by various groups of IPs. This appropriation has risen simultaneously with an escalation in

⁵ Although the government of Tanzania still makes every effort to emphasise national unity, and discourage distinctive ethnic identities among the citizenry, things are changing gradually (see Chapter 5).

⁶ This report has evaluated the process of development in a way that-emphasizes the recognition and protection of human rights and freedoms that are indispensable with “human capabilities, dignity, creativity and intellectual and spiritual development” (URT 2014:1-2).

the number of investment projects such as tourism, commercial agriculture, conservation, and mining, which have boosted the country's GDP growth rates (Barume, 2010:69-70).

In the name of nation-building, the state perceives it is meeting its target of prospering economically as planned in the development documents. On the other hand, a growing number of land conflicts are reported, also because of a scramble for limited resources between IPs communities and neighbouring mainstream communities (IWGIA 2012).

1.3 Justification for this Study

Being a human rights officer graced me to occasionally work with incidents entailing struggles for recognition by the IPs in the state's discourses. Gradually, I became interested to dig deeper into the sage of the state-IPs relations. The government questions the credibility of the concept "indigenous" in any form in the African or Tanzanian context. To the extent that the term "indigenous" is not used in Tanzania to denote a particular group of people with special characteristics. For the government, all Tanzanians remain indigenous people before the law, exactly as they were during the colonial era! Contrasting this, Barume (2010: 10) states that:

"There are indigenous communities in Africa. These are communities, whose ways of life were not taken into account by most post-colonial African policies, a historical injustice that has led to their particularly severe marginalization, including dispossession of ancestral lands and inaccessibility to several rights and freedoms enjoyed by the rest of their fellow citizens" (Barume 2010:10).

In agreement, Harris (2013) establishes that the colonial processes and practices have in various ways fundamentally transformed (and in some cases severed) the relationships IPs have to place and to kin in a variety of ways. Many individuals only become aware of their indigeneity later in their lives and seek to re-connect to the same (Ibid). Harris notes the challenge of identifying who is indigenous is not a straight-forward process, and is highly politicised. She says this identification requires navigating particularly complex narratives of belonging and discourses about what constitutes an 'authentic' or 'traditional' indigenous identity (Harris 2013).

The state, by not implementing the International Human Rights instruments⁷ that it either signed or ratified, has literally resulted to the marginalization of the IPs in the development matrix that they remain impoverished⁸ (ACHPR 2006:10). IPs assert, development has not been a process that expands the real

⁷ Mentioned but a few are: The International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural rights; The International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, both acceded to on 11th June 1976; The African (Banjul) Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, signed on 31st May and ratified on 18th February 1984; and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, signed on 13th September 2007 (ACHPR 2013:7)

⁸As noted in the UN meeting for the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, on 30/11/ 2012, the committee was concerned that Tanzania was not implementing the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights due to human rights violation and violence incidences committed against the IPs in the name of national development. This led to the IPs impoverishment (Assembly 2012)

freedoms people enjoy, moving them towards the ends of well-being and human development. Instead it focuses exclusively on macro development alone rather than focusing on human development (URT 2014; Sen 1999). As a result, the bridge between economic and social development and aspirations for social justice has been broken. There is no moral target of the national development process, and consequently no just society, at least from the perspective of indigenous peoples (Connick et al 2013:3).

The interdependence of recognition and resources for indigenous people in Tanzania means the theoretical framework of Nancy Fraser (1995; 2000; 2003) can be brought in to analyse their relations with the state. Fraser establishes that equalization of rights and redistribution of goods cannot alone remedy social injustices because the two tend to mirror the interests of the dominant group. The solution is to simultaneously identify value structures as defined by power relations in a line that gives recognition of the formerly subordinated ways of life (Fraser 1995). Analysing the empirical findings of my study with this theoretical approach will help shed light on how contestations of the state by IPs might be resolved to bring about a potentially positive end to the conflict. In the conflict between indigenous people and the state, is the key issue the equalization of rights and redistribution of goods and resources? Or is it recognition of indigenous status?

Although the operation of the state discourses seems to mirror the interest of the dominant group over the indigenous, it does not mean that the situation is hegemonic. My study finds its justification in two ways. First, it aims to demonstrate how the state is continuously engaged in a mission to infuse its worldviews onto IPs (Bates 1975:351). Secondly, it displays the lack of consent towards the state's deeds by IPs and their allies, citing their struggles as examples of such on-going conflicts.

1.4 Research Objectives and Questions

This study seeks to show why the IPs want to be recognized in the face of persistent government opposition, and seeks to explain the state's persistent non-recognition of these IPs. How state development discourses may unintentionally have given birth to communal interests being defined among indigenous groups, is also an interesting question but beyond the scope of this study. How communal interests of indigenous groups are perceived is of significance however, to understanding the state's policy of non-recognition. The main research question is:

Is recognition of indigenous peoples' specific identities incompatible with the Tanzanian state's discourses of development?

In answering the main question, I address the following sub questions:

1. Why do indigenous communities want to be recognized as a heterogeneous indigenous group, whether hunter – gathers or pastoralists, despite persistent government opposition?
2. What conflicting premises, attitudes and behaviour give rise to the almost continuous conflicts between indigenous groups and the Tanzanian state?

3. What would help to reduce the frictions between the state and the indigenous peoples? Would redistribution or recognition be more critical?

1.5 Sources and Methods of Data Collection

To conduct this study, I employed a qualitative research design. Hence at the end, readers and myself will be provided with both, an intimate understanding of the conflicting parties to this study, and the situations through rich “engagement and even immersion in the realities being studied” (O’Leary 2014: 130).

The study was conducted in Dar es Salaam, Arusha and Manyara regions, in the United Republic of Tanzania. Dar es Salaam region was selected because it is the headquarters to the national human rights institution of Tanzania, namely the Commission of Human Rights and Good Governance (CHRAGG) which is constitutionally vested with powers to independently oversee all matters concerning human rights and good governance in Tanzania. GHRAGG has also been involved with IPs movements.⁹ Arusha region is the seat of the PINGO’s Forum¹⁰. Lastly, despite the fact that IPs are found in other regions, I chose Manyara region because it is where all four mentioned groups of IPs are found.

Primary method of data collection was supposed to enable me taking control of the research process by designing my “own protocols” on what, when, and how to conduct the same (O’Leary 2014:201). I used purposive sampling in picking my participants who were officials of CHRAGG, IPs representatives, local government officials, and some actors from NGOs. These participants have practical experience in the field which provided me with the information required (Adamu and Kamuzora 2008:138). Their insights, as I hoped rendered my research more convincing and well-informed knowledge. As we have been informed, knowledge is power (Foucault 1980).

Secondary data collection methods included going through the documents which were archived at CHRAGG and PINGOs libraries. This method provided me with data that would otherwise have been very time-consuming to provide, had I to do the data collection myself (O’Leary 2014:256). I passed through policy documents and reports by the state and private sector, relevant researches, national legislations, international legal instruments, policy documents, and development projects. These documents have rich information regarding state’s discourses and how the same underpins conflicts between IPs and the state.

⁹ In the year 2015, for example, CHRAGG in collaboration with PINGO’s Forum and IWGIA prepared and submitted to the government the project report known as *Recognition and Implementation of Indigenous Peoples Rights in Tanzania, 2014/2015*.

¹⁰ “PINGO’s Forum was established in 1994 and registered in 1996. It advocates for pastoralists and hunter-gatherers’ rights. PINGO’s are membership-based organization; with a total of 53-member organizations/ affiliations...in terms of their operations; others are for service delivery and others for advocacy. As for PINGO’s it is mainly based on advocacy” (Participant, FGD, PINGO’s Forum, Arusha region, 29/08/2017).

1.6 Data Collection Techniques and Analysis

The principal techniques I used for primary data collection were interviews, mostly semi structured and unstructured, and focus group discussions. Interviews were carried out with senior officials of CHRAGG. Focus Group Discussions (FGD) were done mainly with local government officials and IPs' representatives both from Mongowa Mono village –Mbulu, as well as with PINGO's officials.

Participant observation supported these main techniques, but given strict time constraints, candid observation prior to interviewing was quite brief. FGD with indigenous representatives were also quite brief, and inevitably, I also had to disclose the precise nature of my study to my subjects. Not accustomed to the ways of life of IPs, I had to remain an outsider, a non-participant in the hope that they would not change how they represented themselves in my presence too much, lest this undermine the accuracy of my analysis (O' Leary 2014:233). However, I was able observe their surroundings and get insights concerning the standard of their livelihood. From within the field, data was recorded in both a notebook and with permission, on a tape recorder prior to being transcribed. I analysed responses by theming them in accordance with my research questions and objectives.

1.7 Research Ethics

The crucial mission behind research ethics lays in cushioning the values the vitality of which is important in impacting positively the relationship and cooperation of the participants and the researcher (Resnik 2011). Before collecting data, I had to tender my introduction letter granted to me by ISS to obtain an official consent from the institutions that I was seeking to collect data from. I had to observe the elements of confidentiality by withholding the identity of my participants. I only refer to them as "participants" or "respondents" in the course of my discussion. The tendering of the introduction letter from the ISS was only operative in the two organisations, CHRAGG and PINGO's Forum. To obtain consent from the RC's office of Manyara, I had to also tender the letter from my employer. I was told that was a code of ethics for the public servants to ensure accountability.

1.8 Power Balance

Having a role asking questions, I assume the position of power in relation to my participants. However, the reality or power relations was more nuanced than expected particularly in the interview process with key informants. For instance, there was a shift of power when I was interviewing CHRAGG officials. This was because I am an employee to the same organisation and my interviewees are my seniors at work.

In contrast, during my discussions with the indigenous peoples and their representatives, I retained power over my participants due to my position and my ability to drive the discussion process. Perhaps having lived with them for some days, and their acknowledgement of me as scholar conducting research concerning their welfare, granted me with significant latitude of maintaining my

power over them. Issue of power shift did not rise as I was conducting FGDs with NGO officials. I believe the fact that I am working with CHRAGG, an institution that has regularly worked with NGO, had a lot to do with it. However, there was again an issue of power shift as I was discussing with the local government officials. More than often, I was cautioned not to use the term “indigenous” because the government neither uses nor recognizes the term. This made me cautious when asking certain questions, as I remained aware that I needed to use terminology that was politically correct.

1. 9 Structure of the Research

The current Chapter introduces the research problem and the research methodology, as well as addressing the objectives, the research questions and sub-questions. Chapter Two theorizes the question of recognition and resources in relation to conflict. Chapter Three presents the key insights from the empirical findings, while Chapter Four will analyse the nexus of conflict between the state and IPs’ claims. Chapter Five reflects on the possible ways forward and Chapter Six is the Conclusion.

|Chapter 2: Theorizing Conflict over Recognition

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss the conceptions regarding conflictual relations between two parties because of sharing uncommon worldviews. Also discussed is the concept of communal interests by the groups of individuals sharing common perceptions regarding conflictual situation. Further, I will analyse conflicting notions over politics of recognition, with alternatives. Meanwhile, concepts and ideas as used in this Chapter are revolving my main theoretical approach by Fraser. This is because of its contribution in suggesting kinds of injustices perceived to be suffered; models of recognition; modes of collectivity; and propositions of remedies to the injustices. Also linked to Fraser will be Sen's approach to human development and social inclusion, as well as Gauri's notions on human rights and development.

2.1 Recognition and the Politics of the State

In theorizing conflict against recognition, I divide conflict into three kinds (Docherty 2001). This will serve the purpose of displaying the worldviews that tend to transpire between parties to conflict and open doors to better options in mitigating the situation. Hence, there are conflicts which parties share same worldviews, conflicts which they partially share such views, and lastly conflicts which there are no common elements. Docherty notifies further that the high probability in occurrences of conflicts lies where parties have divergent ideologies rather than competing interests. Additionally, since human beings are simultaneously occupying three different worlds; the material, the social, and the symbolic, then all conflicts involve the mobilization of three types of resources originating from these worlds (Docherty 2001).

From the worldviews revolving between the parties to conflict, there are normally perceived tendencies regarding the prevailing conflictual situation when it comes to conflict over identities Hagg (2008). First is when the state is in conflict with identity groups, and secondly is when identity groups compete for ownership or dominance of the state. Further, the two levels of conflict are interactive and can develop in two directions: from state to society and from society to the state. One identity may be actively supported by the state in case of inter-identity conflicts, or the state may even encourage dominant identities to use state resources and institutions at the detriment of the other identities (Hagg 2008).

Obviously, the party at the detriment would likely perceive to have experienced discrimination, harassment and stigmatization. This perception might cause the "discriminated" individuals to gather or unite with one voice and struggle in solidarity for common ends. For Thalos (2012), solidarity is when a group of individuals share communal interests, which become the basis for motivation and a state of readiness to find collective means of achieving a common end. An

example to this can be when a particular group of individuals in the society demand their rights as the results of the tensions caused by discriminative deeds by the other (dominant and powerful) groups.

While some scholars suggest that recognition of a certain cultural groups can prevent conflict, others are of the opposite persuasion. The relate recognition to the possibility of threats that can destabilize peace and national unity (Banting and Kymlicka 2006). In a way, these scholars appear to be taking on board the state's perceptions that shelter behind discourses of national development and present conflict as caused by IPs or other groups demanding recognition (ACHPR 2006:11). Similar to the conceptions of identity model of recognition by Nancy Fraser (2000), they suggest that, recognition may encourage separatism by particular groups in the country and this may result in emergence of violent conflict with the state and other communities. The only difference between these scholars is that, while Fraser is in favour of recognition (suggesting the status model of recognition instead). Banting and Kymlicka are absolutely opposing politics of recognition. They state that multiculturalism policies such as constitutional recognition, parliamentary representation, permission of the minority to have a stage in the international area, recognizing minority languages, may all cause harm and damage the general peace of the state (2006:247). The logic behind this argument is that recognition tends to foster a sense of difference shared by the minorities and this temper their sense of identification with the rest of the population in the state, imperilling a common national citizenship (Banting and Kymlicka 2006:25).

2.2 Models of Recognition: Alternative Approaches

Unlike Banting and Kymlicka (2006), Fraser (2000) is in for the politics of recognition. She presents two models: the status and identity model of recognition, and suggest the proper model to be adapted to save the society from incidents of conflicts. The identity model, according to Fraser is constructed through mutual recognition and is constitutive to subjectivity. This means “one becomes an individual subject only by virtue of recognizing, and being recognized by, another subject” (Fraser 2000:9). This model implies that to belong to the group that is being looked down onto by the dominant culture is to be misrecognized and this leads to the internalization of negative self-images by the victims something which prevent them from developing the own cultural identities. Hence the essence of recognition in this sense is to contest the dominant culture's perspectives and treatments over the group, by rejecting such treatments and come up with alternative representations that suits their self-affirming culture (Fraser 2000: 110).

To Fraser however, identity model of recognition is not a safe approach in dealing with injustices and avail the society of threats of conflicts. She claims that this model tends to “reify” group identity putting a moral pressure on individual member to solidify and conform to their culture. Meaning, it exposes itself to “repressive forms of communitarianism, promoting conformism, intolerance and patriarchalism” (Fraser 2000: 112). The implication is, Fraser adds, this model paves way to “separatism” and “group enclaves” (2000:113).

Alternatively, Fraser proposes the safest approach to recognition: the status model. This model treats recognition as being not a group specific identity

as the identity model, but the status of each individual member of the group in the process of social interaction. In this sense, misrecognition has nothing to do with devaluation of group identity, but social subordination that prevents an individual from taking part in social life. To redress the situation would require countering subordination through a manner that will restore the misrecognized individual as a normal and full member of society, who can interact with his social life in the same manner as the rest. As such this model avoids conflict occurrences in the community (Fraser 2000:113).

2.3 Two Understandings of Injustice

Fraser (1995) introduces two types of demands that can be used to theorize conflicts over issues of recognition. The two demands which she suggests are closely entwined, are the demand for cultural change (recognition) and demands for economic change (redistribution of resources) (1995:70). These are the twin sets of demands that seem to mobilise the social movements the most. The two demands are manifested in claims around socioeconomic and cultural injustices being rooted in the political and economic structure of a society and in social patterns of representation, interpretation and communication (Fraser 1995: 70-71).

Fraser further states that economic marginalization, exploitation and deprivation tend to connote economic injustice, while cultural injustice can be viewed as evidence of cultural domination, non-recognition, and even disrespect (*ibid*). Further, these two forms of injustices tend to reinforce each other. An example can be seen through discriminatory cultural norms that are entrenched in the state and the economy. On the other hand, economically disadvantaged community members are deprived of equal participation in constructing culture, be it in the public spheres or in their daily lives. This tendency has also been described by Taylor and Gutmann as showing both, a sense of disrespect and also inflicting a “grievous wound and saddling its victims with a crippling self-hatred” (1994:26). The two injustices combined can lead to a “vicious circle of economic and cultural subordination” according to Fraser (1995:72).

Fraser suggests how to remedy such material and ontological injustices. These remedies include politico-economic restructuring for addressing economic injustices, and cultural or symbolic changes for addressing culture injustice. Respectively, the first involves:

“redistributing income, reorganizing the division of labour, subjecting investment to democratic decision-making, or transforming other basic economic structures”,

or in other words redistribution, and:

“upwardly revaluing disrespected identities and the cultural products of marginalized groups, recognizing and positively valorising cultural diversity, or the wholesale transformation of societal patterns of representation, interpretation and communication in ways that would change everybody’s sense of self”, (Fraser 1995:73),

or in other words “recognition”.

Moreover, Fraser contends that both injustices cannot be addressed “entirely indirectly but where each requires some independent practical attention”

(Fraser and Honneth 2003:25). In a practical sense she implies, every case of injustice requires both redistribution and recognition. The basis for Fraser's argument is the notion that every injustice leads to the occurrence of the other, whether intended or unintended, and hence using one form of redress alone would not suffice (Fraser and Honneth 2003:23). Hence, she emphasizes "*no recognition without redistribution*" (Ibid:66).

Honneth on the other hand has different views (Fraser and Honneth 2003). He differs with Fraser's approach of using both recognition and redistribution in addressing cases of injustices, a form of "*perspectival dualism*" (Fraser and Honneth 2003:66), a notion I return to in Chapter 4. Instead, Honneth suggest the use of recognition alone. He believes, once the concept of recognition is properly understood it can accommodate the paradigm of redistribution and mitigate any case of injustices. Honneth has named his approach which comprises of; "recognition of rights" and "cultural appreciation" as "*normative monoism*" (Fraser and Honneth 2003:3).

We cannot turn a blind eye to Sen (1999) when it comes to complementing Fraser's conceptions of injustices. This is because the two scholars speak the same language but each works in a different realm. Fraser works from a feminist social justice perspectives and Sen from a human development and human rights point of view. For example, in *Development as Freedom* (1999), Sen suggest that to mitigate injustices, the controllers of development discourse must seek to expand the real freedoms that people enjoy. Individuals must be provided, and not denied, the means or capabilities to engage in political participation and in decision making, including economic participation and control over economic resources. This should be possible whilst they lead their preferred kind of life, as a way of recognising and prioritising their multidimensional human rights (Sen 1999).

In other words, Sen's approach tends to dovetail with Fraser's overall, when we consider state-indigenous ties in Tanzania since independence. What Sen views above as the three prerequisites that the controllers of development ought to put in place regarding the beneficiaries of the same; Fraser treats lack of the same as misrecognition and maldistribution. Moreover, the remedies introduced by Fraser and by Sen, mainly to engineer access to human rights for indigenous people or other historically marginalised groups, have been trampled since independence despite being embodied in various international legal instruments the Tanzanian state has ratified and acceded to. As Ho (2011:3) puts it, the shining ideal behind social justice, to facilitate access to human rights for the discriminated and the marginalized, has come up against the obstacle of a single, uniform citizenship and a dominant model of national development.

In general, social justice struggles bring human rights issues and obligations into play, by requiring the disadvantaged to claim their basic rights (Ho 2011:3). This is close to the argument made by Gauri (2012) that moral pressure needs to be brought to bear on both the bearers and protectors of rights by infusing debates around rights with themes of dignity and self-respect, thus promoting improved respect for rights and reducing incidents of blatant injustices.

Gauri (2012) identifies four interdependent approaches¹¹ to achieving the goal of “global compliance”, as he calls it, meaning, compliance with international and regional treaties already ratified. The first is a “programming approaches”, which focuses on the policies and principles of agencies and donors. The second is “rights talk approaches” which are about rights consciousness, “legal mobilization approaches”, and all matters related to legal issues (Gauri 2012:488). However, Gauri notifies the difficulty of realising human rights despite, for instance, of the fact that the county has ratified or signed the human rights instruments (2012:5). Hence, considering the relationship of the role social justice has in realization of human rights, the redresses as provided by Fraser (1995) above can serve to push for the practical realization of the all four approaches and mitigate the two injustices accordingly.

On the other hand, in his book “*The Idea of Justice*” (2009), Sen makes a move towards addressing the injustices using a social justice approach. His ideas are resonating with the ideas of social inclusion. Again, focusing on individuals’ capacities and capabilities, Sen emphasizes that social arrangements must be in a position of making it possible for individuals to shape their capabilities to engage in the process of development. Centring on the notion of deprivations, Sen is emphasizing on the giving of opportunities and resources to individuals so that they can participate in economic, social, cultural and political life. This notion allows actors and policy makers to make arrangements that will enable the individuals in the pluralistic society to choose where to be included and engage themselves in the social and economic practices (Sen 2009)

2.5 Indigenous Modes of Collectivity

It is important to assess the mode of collectivity where a group movement is concerned before determining a mode of redress. This will save the society from the dangers of projecting wrong solutions as means of redress and cause the conflict to persist. Some modes of collectivities require only one model of redress while others require the application of both aspects (redistribution and recognition) so that the perceived injustices can be ended.

In elaboration, Fraser (1995) established that, to be fit for a recognition-only model of justice, the collectivity should be formed mainly by cultural injustices and not mainly by exclusions based on political economy. Hence the roots of injustice would in this case be misrecognition. In this situation, the remedy to mitigate incidents of injustice would be cultural recognition, rather than political economic redistribution (Fraser 1995:76). Similarly, if the collectivity is rooted injustices produced by political economy, then the primary solution proposed should follow the redistribution path (Fraser 1995:75).

¹¹ These approaches that are also known as Human Rights Based Approaches to development are principles that justify the demands of the poor against the privileged. They are also inclusive in a sense that, the government, individuals, firms and other private actors are duty bearers when it comes to targets of human rights claims. Human rights based approaches establishes that development discourse is as important as right discourse, hence individual rights cannot be violated in the name of development (Gauri 2012:486).

Noting the rarity of the above two scenarios, Fraser states that normally in forming marginalised collectivities the political economy aspect of maldistribution and the cultural misrecognition aspect are intertwined, and the collectivities are therefore what she terms “bivalent”. To be bivalent, Fraser suggests that economic and cultural injustices are suffered simultaneously. The two sets of injustices meaning, maldistribution and misrecognition are “co-original” and “neither of the two should be an indirect effect of the other” (Fraser 1995:78). To address the proper mitigation of the state-indigenous conflict in Tanzania, the inclination is that one has to gather answers on the relationship of the variables. Whether the maladies perceived to be suffered by IPs are directly or indirectly related to the notion of misrecognition or maldistribution; and whether they co-originally cause each other, remains the question.

2.6 Affirmation or Transformation? Scoping Alternatives to Conflict

Revising the remedies for the two injustices, Fraser (1995) comes up with the broader concepts of affirmation and transformation. These concepts do not depart from the principles behind redistribution and recognition; instead they tend to provide a broader spectrum of remedying injustices (Fraser 1995:82). Hence affirmative justice can simply be referred to as remedies that seek to correct the “improper outcomes of social arrangements” that have resulted in incidents of injustice without altering the underlying foundations. In contrast, transformative remedies imply a correction of systemic injustices by restructuring the operative foundations that gave birth to these injustices in the first place (Fraser 1995:82).

It follows that in cases of cultural injustices, affirmative remedies would tend to redress harm by “revaluing” the once “devalued” group identity without touching the structures or forces that paved a way to their devaluation. A transformative remedy would change the entire “cultural valuation structure” that had led to non-recognition and social exclusion in the first place. For the sake of economic injustices, the affirmative remedy would be to redress the “end state maldistribution” without changing the political economic culture, and the transformative remedy would change both (Fraser 1995:82).

2.7 Conclusion

Unless parties share common worldviews, there is a likelihood of conflict to occur between them. Also in identity politics a party in a predicament is likely to perceive that the state is supporting the dominant identities to that party’s detriment. This may give birth to solidarity hence movements to change the situation for the better. Further, although some scholars are against politics of recognition some support it but with alternatives. For instance, Fraser (2000) while departing from the identity model of recognition for security reasons, suggested that the status model should be the alternative. Lastly, due to the entwinement of injustices, the mode of collectivity mostly to occur is bivalent mode. And to redress the same, the approach being used should not only be transformative but must also have “perspectival dualism” elements.

Chapter 3: Empirical Findings on Indigenous-State Relations

3.0 Introduction

Under this chapter, using both primary and secondary findings, I will present the clarifications concerning the existence of IPs in Tanzania. I will then address on the perceived official misrecognition prior to displaying findings about state politics and development discourses. Following that are findings on what premises the conflictual relations between the state and the IPs. Lastly, are the findings on the impacts of misrecognition and the proposed remedies.

3.1 Do Indigenous Peoples Exist in Tanzania?

Findings maintained that, although in the Tanzanian context public official discourses does not refer to “indigenous peoples”, informally people know which groups are referred to as “IPs” in the country. Their systematic livelihood systems, and the areas they live in, gives them this informal status (Focus Group Discussion with PINGO’s Forum, 29/08/2017, Arusha). One participant in the FGD elaborated that:

“We don’t mean they are first nationals like natives in America or Aboriginals in the colonial island of Australia. Neither do we mean first people ever lived in Tanzania. The main reason [they are called ‘indigenous’] is that their livelihood system [pastoralism, hunting and gathering] automatically places them in the minority category. These communities are unique compared to the mainstream Tanzanian society and they are in a minority. The Hadzabe, the Maasai, the Akie and the Barbaig, are still few in number. When you put all these groups together, they are still a minority.” (Participant, FDG, PINGO’s Forum, 29/08/2017, Arusha Region)

Also, it has been revealed, indigenous people survived on the margins of colonial occupation, and have since independence continued to suffer from human rights violations such as land dispossession, violence and forced removals, and discrimination:

“There are indigenous communities in Africa. These are communities, whose ways of life were not taken into account by most post-colonial African policies, a historical injustice that has led to their particular severe marginalization, including dispossession of ancestral lands and inaccessibility to several rights and freedoms enjoyed by the rest of their fellow citizens” (Barume 2010:10).

Supporting the above information is the project report by the African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights (covered under Chapter 1, Part 1.2 above). Findings of that report goes further and give the characteristics of the indigenous people, that are vividly seen within the ways of livelihood of the mentioned four groups of indigenous people (ACHPR 2006:11).

3.2 Official non-recognition of Indigenous Peoples

Because of mobile lifestyle, the IPs missed schooling opportunity and hence a difficulty in speaking fluent Swahili. Because of this, they were assumed to be “politically incorrect”. The economic shifts in the country such as Ujamaa or villagization did not reach them because of inaccessible road networks and poor media coverage. As the result they are considered as being “backward” and illiterate, tribalistic, rebellious, resistant to progress, unlike ‘real’ Tanzanian citizens (ACHPR 2013:16). Worsening the situation is their insufficient political representation. Hence because they lack political voices that would change the directions of the state’s political will towards their affairs, they remain impoverished. The whole circle tends somewhat officialise the nonrecognition. The participant of FGD clarified this situation:

“Unfortunately, policy makers are also defined according to the majority Tanzanians. When it comes to vote, literally the majority wins. When making policies/ enact laws, it is difficult to have representation from IPs groups. For instance, the Barbaig tribe has never had a representative (MP). Only one person from Hadzabe community participated in the Constituent Assembly [the new constitution making assembly]. If there was any accomplishment made at all in terms of representation, it was through having a Hadzabe Councillor. Akie are few in number and not so sure if at all they have ever had representation even in a hamlet level. Unlike Maasai, who are somehow represented in the Parliament. This shows that democratically (through votes) the indigenous people can’t successfully oppose a decision which works against them and their welfare” (Participant, FGD, PINGO’s Forum, Arusha region, 29/08/2017).

Another finding was that, characteristics of IPs, as stated under the report by the ACHPR (ACHPR 2006:11), are understood to have certain things in common in terms of livelihood and social exclusion. It is this recognition that forms the basis for the demand by the four distinct groups of indigenous people to be recognized under a single category as indigenous people. This is despite persistent resistance to such a demand from the state. Concerning this fact, the report by IWGIA quotes:

“While the livelihoods of these groups are diverse, they all share a strong attachment to the land, distinct identities, vulnerability and marginalization. They also experience similar problems in relation to land tenure insecurity, poverty and inadequate political representation” (IWGIA 2017:508)

Perceptions around state security considerations has somehow influenced IPs nonrecognition by the state. The state avers recognising IPs equates to giving special rights to some ethics above the rights of all others, and hence violate principles of equal citizenship for all. Also, recognition of IPs would lead to tribalism and ethnic conflicts across the country (ACHPR 2006:11). Complementing state’s assertions was a respondent from CHRAGG who stated that:

“Conflict between IPs and the state is premised on the fact that the state through the government is interested in the protection of territorial integrity on contemplation that allowing recognition and determination of IPs as a distinct community may lead to the desire for political autonomy (cession) among the indigenous communities...” (Respondent, Interview, CHRAGG, Dar es Salaam region, 21/08/2017).

Secondary sources also witness that violent measures against IPs' ways of livelihood were being used by the state since early days of independence to protect state security and "semblance of one nationalist culture". Hence there was banning of traditional garments, as well as local languages, and denial of public utilities for those who could not speak Swahili (ACHPR 2013:8). Further, IPs were systematically mistreated through land alienations and intimidations. The initiatives of which impacted even the peace and harmony of the surrounding communities (ACHPR 2006:10).

Evidence this is the situation involving the Ilparakuyio Maasai who originally used to dwell in Handeni District. Their traditional lands were invaded by migrant farmers, and the scramble to the same led to a chain of conflicts. As the results some of these Maasai fled from their lands and are under constant situation of strife as they try to settle (ACPR 2013:50). The report notes: "...the main challenge facing the Ilparakuyio is lack of security of tenure and this puts them in constant conflict with farming communities and conservation" (2013:50).

In a way, the narrations above seem to note the normative act of singling out the IPs in the planning and operation of various discourses by the state. This official non-recognition which has also been adopted by the mainstream community seem to bear negative results as the contact of the later with the IPs is characterised mainly by conflicts over resources.

3.3 State Politics and Development Discourses

The National Five-Year Development Plan (2016/17-2020/21) has explicitly linked industrialization and human development so as to respond to challenges of lack of equity in Tanzania society. Incidents of non-inclusive growth were mentioned as being unemployment, rural poverty, unemployment, and income inequality. However, only the mainstream community was mentioned in the plan and there is no mentioning of IPs in the plan (URT 2016:47). Respondent to my interview commented on this omission:

"Although various policies, programmes and other government initiatives require people's participation in matters pertaining to their welfare and development, the government in practice controls and determines development discourse to the detriment of the groups which are outside the mainstream society such as IPs. This is because these groups are seen as backward. Under such circumstances, and given the complexity of the term 'IPs', the collective and individual rights of IPs do not matter. This is why to date, the country has no specific policy or law that recognizes and addresses the specific socio-cultural needs and development of these communities" (Respondent, Interview, CHRAGG, 21/08/2017, Dar es Salaam).

The same was discovered during the review of various documents which define and plan for development by the state. For example, channels such as industries, markets for produce to help farmers sell their products, as well as employment were suggested to be integrated so as to promote economic growth with equity but none of these channels is compatible with IPs' livelihood (URT 2016).

The Tanzania Human Development Report (2014) was supposed to integrate the indigenous peoples in the process of development by making sure that development focuses on human development. An implication that IPs

rights are to be included in the process of development. However, despite referring to Sen (1999) as a way to emphasize the above point, the report has left out any mentioning of the IPs.

The fact that the state signed and ratified the international human rights instruments would serve to witness the covering of the IPs in development documents such as the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 (1999), The National Investment Promotion Policy (1995), The National Forestry Policy (2016), or the National Five-Year Development Plan of 2016-2021. However, the only community featured is the mainstream society of Tanzania, comprised of mostly farmers and urban dwellers.

Figure 1: The Hadzabe Community



The author with Hadzabe communities in Mongowa Mono Village.

From fieldwork, absence of the IPs in the development matrix was also visible in the infrastructure and public services surrounding their communities. Myself, having spent some days in Mongowa Mono village the conditions were difficult. There was only well water in the village that was found miles away, and no electricity save for the solar panel system in the house of my host who had benefits of more years of education than his neighbours. The school was twenty kilometres from the village, so children can hardly attend. There was no dispensary, as well as no proper roads heading to the village. Requiring a motorbike ride over rough terrain for more than an hour. They have no body to represent them in policy-making circles at national level. They can hardly be expected to advocate for their own rights without communication, representatives or resources. In turn, their isolation from mainstream Tanzanian society means they find themselves exposed to further discrimination that further undermines their livelihoods. Interestingly, what emerged clearly was that this community did not wish to be more closely integrated into the dominant model of development in Tanzania. Both men and women, and the local leaders, explained that what they wished for was their system of livelihood based on hunting and gathering, to be better protected from encroachment and land expropriation.

3.4 Competing Interests or Divergent Ideologies?

Findings under this subsection interlink with the notion of peace and security of the state as noted above. They give an insight on what premises the continuous conflictual relations between the state and the IPs. The state-indigenous relations since independence as described above tend to shade a light. Also, responses in the field study offer vital additions:

“IPs in Tanzania occupy areas which are rich in natural resources such as national parks, game reserve and natural conservation areas. They also occupy areas of historical and ecological significance such as the Ngorongoro crater. Therefore, the state is sceptical that granting legal recognition and autonomy of IPs may jeopardise development efforts particularly the implementation of large scale commercial projects undertaken by foreign investors...” (Respondent, Interview, CHRAGG, Dar es Salaam region, 23/08/2017).

I will also present the statement of one participant to the FGD, before elaborating the two statements obtained as primary information:

“The movements for IPS rights which started in 1990s did not enjoy popular support from Africans because the associations involved tried to form alliances as they were minorities. The networking among the IPs associations was considered as a move of IPs to form their own ‘nations’. Obviously, the governments in power generated fear that may be IPs will claim recession, and again, this is not our argument. So, it is not a feeling, it is deliberately move which have left the IPS far way behind when you compare with the mainstream society...” (Participant, FDG, Mongowa Mono Village, Mbulu District, Manyara region, 07/08/2017).

These assertions when supported with secondary sources, serve to suggest it is divergent ideologies which gave rise to the competing interest that causes the state not to recognize the IPs. References made to the going conflicts (Loliondo conflict) can as well serve to add weight to this finding.

Sometimes a third party, in most cases the investor, plays role in the state-IPs conflict. This party tends to give financial incentives to the state. Thus, in Loliondo conflict, the presence of OBC, tended to prolong the conflict. To the state, the presence of this investor means financial gains as compared to the presence of Maasai over the land in conflict. While the Maasai put up the fight to defend their ancestral legally granted land, the state was countering because of financial benefits from the investor (IWGIA 2017:514).

3.5 Impacts of Misrecognition

The major impact that is being suffered by the IPs is land dispossession. This is due to the dominant development paradigms by the state which serves the mainstream society over the indigenous modes of production meaning, commercial agriculture, mining, logging, dam construction, as well as hunting business. This impact has threatened the existence of IPs because it has compromised their livelihood systems and deprivation of their resources. Concerning this, the indigenous representative had this to say during the FGD:

“It is no secret that the only community of people in Tanzania to be marginalized in enjoying land as a natural resource are the IPs. Consider the incidents of the Barbaig in the Hanang District where they have lost over

100,000 acres of land without compensation so that the government can lease the land to the investor for commercial farming. Also consider the ongoing Loliondo conflict which has costed the Maasai their lives and their livestock and if not solved they will lose their lands. And the lands that we are talking here are the traditional lands of these groups. Where do you think they are going to go? What about their livelihood?” (Participant, FDG, Mongowa Mono Village, Mbulu District, Manyara region, 08/09/2017).

Figure 2: The Evicted Maasai in Loliondo



The Maasai IPs stranded after being forcefully evicted from their houses in Oloosek area of Ololosokwan, Loliondo.

Photo: Just Conservation, Loliondo (2017)

The forceful initiatives to take lands of the IPs which goes along with beatings, arbitrary arrests, burning of houses, and intimidations, violates Africa Charter which have been ratified by the Tanzania state meaning, (Articles 20, 21, and 22) which gives the rights of existence, natural resources, and property, economic, social and cultural development. Consequently, the lands of the IPs have been gradually shrinking, and this threatens not only their existence but also the state of peace in the surrounding communities due to the scramble of resources mostly land (ACHPR 2006:17).

3.7 What comes first: Recognition or Redistribution?

Both recognition and redistribution are needed simultaneously to effectively carter for the injustices perceived to be suffered by the IPs. In this line recognition is needed as lack of it is the main cause for resulted economic injustices that the IPs are said to have suffered. Redistribution is needed as it plays a role of distribution and retention of resources mostly the lost lands as well as in retaining the land resources by the IPs. For instance, one participant in the FGD stated that:

“What people don’t understand is that we have a spiritual relationship with the lands that we dwell. Our identity and culture are directly linked with the land. So, it is not true that we want all the lands for ourselves because we cannot just stay in any piece of land. We dwell in the lands with cultural importance to us and that can give us our daily needs and help us to earn a living” (Participant, FDG, Mongowa Mono Village, Mbulu District, Manyara region, 08/09/2017).

From this statement, it can be seen that recognition is of crucial importance to the indigenous people. It serves them with the assurance of maintaining the spiritual relationship they have with their traditional land. Thus, it is essential in passing their culture to their future generations for the sake of their existence. Redistribution has also to come along as it is very crucial in redressing and compensate for the economic injustices perceived to be done to the IPs throughout history that caused them to use their resources particularly land.

Displaying that relevance is the Vilima Vitatu conflict (IWGIA 2017:15). In this conflict, the government evacuated the Barbaig from their traditional land in the year 2003 to establish the WMA. The Barbaig went to court for redress. Eventually in the year 2016, the court of Appeal of Tanzania ruled in favour of the Barbaig. Reasons were such that the Barbaig were not consulted for their free consent (UNDRIP Article 32(2). And so, the land was to be returned to them (IWGIA 2017:515). Thus, the court recognised the traditional use of the land to the Barbaig, as well as the need for the redress of their resource (redistribution).

3.8 Conclusion

From the findings, IPs are existing in Tanzania despite not being recognized by the state. Also, state’s discourses have added communal characteristics to the IPs hence their movements for recognition. Moreover, both divergent ideologies and competing interests serve to shelter the conflictual relations between the two parties. Additionally, nonrecognition is detrimental to the IPs livelihood and it indicates that the state adheres not to the international human rights instruments. Lastly, due to IPs ways of life, both recognition and redistribution are simultaneously needed to redress the injustices.

Chapter 4: Analysing the Nexus between Indigenous-State Conflictual Relations

4.0 Introduction

Under this Chapter I will show the variations of worldviews and conflict tendencies that are perceived to transpire between the state and IPs. Then while integrating my empirical findings with the theoretical approaches, I will identify the IPs' mode of collectivity in Tanzanian context that is resulted from the existing worldviews between themselves and the state. Afterwards, I will suggest on the recognition model to that perspective. Different propositions as means of redress are set forth by various scholars: normative monoism and perspectival dualism. Accordingly, I will give my opinion on which one is to be taken aboard. Considering IPs political aspirations, I will suggest what in Tanzanian context would accommodate the same: recognition or social inclusion.

4.1 Reflections from the Contextualised Problem

“The indigenous people have been a subject of ridicule by both the colonial and post- independence regimes in Tanzania. Instead of trying to understand and respect them and appreciate their ways of life, they have been characterised as backward, primitive and uncivilised. Their ways of life have and are seen as repugnant, unacceptable and not being in line with the current state of civilisation”

(Peter 2007:1)

From the narration of the contextualised problem, it is apparent that the relationship between the state and the IPs has been embedded in the dominant state's discourses governed with the latter's ideologies and perceptions. Hardly have there been common worldviews between the two parts as far as the concept of indigeneity is concerned (Docherty 2001). On one hand, the state while not recognizing the existence of the IPs is basing on the development and conflict arguments by respectively emphasizing the notion of individual system of equal citizenship for all, and fear of tribalism and ethnic conflicts (ACHPR 2006: 11). It can be perceived that the state is continuously engaged in a mission to infuse its worldviews onto IPs (Bates 1975:351). On the other hand, the IPs assert their political aspirations through claims of sovereignty and self –determination (Behrendt 2003).

As Docherty (2001) suggests, the presence of divergent ideologies between the two has been instrumental in sustaining their conflictual relations (since independence) and are being backed up by competing interests. During an interview the respondent had the following to add:

“Conflict between IPs and the state is premised on the fact that the state through the government is interested in the protection of territorial integrity. Because allowing recognition and determination of IPs as a distinct community may lead to the desire for political autonomy (cession) among the indigenous communities...” (Respondent, Interview, CHRAGG, 21/08/2017, Dar es Salaam)

These notions backed up the overlooking of IPs wellbeing in operating the development discourse. For instance, was seen through the initiatives by the state to outlaw the indigenous ways of livelihood, and fail to address them in the policies and laws that affect the socio-economic and political aspects of life (ACHPR 2013:8; URT 1995:14).

Apparently, there has not been a bridge between the bodies of state that control the development discourse and the welfare of the IPs. Similar to the assertions of Connick et al (2013) when talking of the role of social justice on the development discourse: to the indigenous perceptions, there has not been a moral call on the side of the state in carrying this discourse in a manner that would benefit them equally with the mainstream society. The perception by the IPs is that, in the development discourse, the state encourages the dominant identities (mainstream society) to use state resources and institutions at the detriment of the IPs (Hagg 2008). This is emphasised by the statement of the respondent from CHRAGG, that:

“Although various, policies, programmes and other government initiatives require people’s participation in matters pertaining to their welfare and development, the government in practice controls and determine development discourse at the detriment of the groups which are outside the mainstream society such as IPs...” (Respondent, Interview, CHRAGG, 21/08/2017, Dar es Salaam).

And this lack of adherence to the practices of human development has resulted to their social injustices exposing IPs to both political and economic marginalization, and denial of their rights, as well as incidents of conflicts. Now this lack of recognition was the basis for the group solidarity among the IPs. All the four groups were united with communal interests found the basis to fight for a common end (Thalos 2012), which is a need for recognition. This has led to social movements on the side of the indigenous people to be recognised, of course on the face of persistent non-recognition by the state basing on the reasons indicated above.

4.2 Implications of State Discourses on Indigenous Peoples’ Character

In order to properly address the misunderstandings between state and indigenous people in Tanzania, it is crucial to know the mode of character behind IPs’ claims. That is if the claims are solely based on either recognition or maldistribution, or are co-originated by both, meaning bivalent mode of collectivity (Fraser 1995:78).

From the contextualized problem, historical facts indicate that there is an entwinement of maldistribution and cultural misrecognition perceived to be suffered by the IPs, hence bivalent mode of collectivity (Fraser 1995:78). For instance, the notion of “semblance of one nationalist culture” went hand in hand with the neoliberal economic policies by the state which did not feature or accommodate IPs (ACHPR 2013:8). These policies engage themselves large investments projects which sometimes lead to evictions of the IPs from their ancestral lands and hence give rise to incidents of human rights violations and injustices such as violations, intimidations, marginalization and abuses (Barume 2010:69-70). Suffice it to say, the nonrecognition and maldistribution by the state

were “co-original” and “neither of the two was an indirect effect of the other” (Fraser 1995:78). With that, the IPs mode of collectivity in Tanzania qualifies to be a bivalent mode of collectivity.

4.3 Explaining State-Indigenous Conflictual Relations

As pointed out in my primary and secondary findings, divergent ideologies and competing interests are the main drivers of state-indigenous conflictual relations.

Development and conflict argument for non-recognition by the state are obviously in line with proponents of nonrecognition of group identities (ACHPR 2006:11; Banting and Kymlicka 2006). To these scholars, recognition tend to foster solidarity, sense of belonging, and triggers the group’s sense of identification against the rest of the population. Hence sheltering IPs in the policies and legislations such as the national constitution will eventually compromise the common culture and sense of national citizenship. And this would in turn lead to a situation of strife within the state (Banting and Kymlicka 2006: 27).

Findings indicated that IPs in Tanzania occupy areas that are very rich in natural resources such as national parks, game reserves as well as natural conservation areas. Perhaps, considering the state of wealth in these areas and adding to the notions of Banting and Kymlicka (2006) above, the state fears that recognizing the IPs would start to grant them political autonomy and this would enhance their feeling of entitlement to the natural resources thereby creating commotion to exploit the same. Also, state fears to jeopardize its development efforts such as the implementation of large scale commercial projects undertaken by foreign investors, as being the reason based on economic interests. The state’s fear is founded on the assumption that if IPs are granted collective rights, then political autonomy would follow. Consequently, the state would lose control over the countries natural resources which would jeopardize the economy of Tanzania. Additionally, the Tanzanian state is apprehensive that it would lose the revenue it generates from the large investments to IPs and trigger what Banting and Kymlicka (2006) argue for.

Paradoxically, non-recognition in the context of IPs collective identity has also been supported by Fraser (2000) who is of the opinion that, recognition of group identities leads to put moral pressure on individual members to solidify and conform their culture. Offering status model of recognition as an alternative model, Fraser avers that the group identity model of recognition tends to pave a way to “separatism” and “group enclaves” (Fraser 2000:113). Countering this perspective, is Article 46 of UNDRIP. The Article reads:

“nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, people, group of persons any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act contrary to the Charter of the UN or construed as authorizing or encouraging any action which would dismember or impair, totally or in part, the territorial integrity or political unity of sovereign and independent States.”

This Article deconstructs states’ reasons for recognition for the reasons already established above. It makes it clear that recognizing the political aspirations of the IPs which are sovereignty and self-determination (Behrendt 2003), is only the equivalence of restructuring the existing structures of governance and

let the indigenous people lead their lives in accordance to their needs and cultural livelihood and hence realize full human rights. If we consider the Loliondo conflict, we can see that instead of preventing conflict, non-recognition by the state tends to trigger conflict. Failure to recognise the political aspirations of the Maasai, has in a way aggrieved them and other IPs, who in turn offer violent resistance to land seizures, for example. However, there are signs that the Tanzanian state is starting to recognize the need to review how it relates to IPs' status as citizens and communities. A remarkable example is the recognition of the Hadzabe traditional use of land in Mongowa Mono (addressed in detail under Chapter 5). Thus, there is hope that in future the Loliondo conflict may be resolved as well.

My second point regarding this subsection is about the approaches that are being employed in redressing the state-indigenous conflicts. One thing to note is that, of the enlisted state indigenous conflicts including the cited one in this study, there has been measures employed to redress the same. However, the persistence of this conflictual relationship would make one question the effectiveness of such measures. In the cited Loliondo conflict, for example, records display various approaches by the state for reaching an amicable solution. Changing of the approaches to address the conflict has been going along with changing of the government regime. Each regime comes with "new" approaches.

Nancy Fraser (1995) has a proposition to offer regarding the prevailing situation. In addressing the similar situation, she suggests either of the two approaches or remedies or redress known as "affirmation" and "transformation" (Fraser 1995:82). According to Fraser, these conceptions provide the broader spectrum of the notions of redistribution and recognition in redressing the injustices. The affirmative remedy tends to redress the injustice without altering the underlying foundations that have caused them. On the other hand, the transformative remedy tends to correct the injustice by restructuring the operative foundations that have given birth to them (Fraser 1995:82). Hence, while the former operates on temporal basis, the latter implies permanent change.

Thus, the two visits by the political figures, and the suggestions to change the land use would only serve as the affirmative remedies to the Loliondo conflict. The proof to this is the persistence of the said conflict. The approach has not addressed the seemingly core causes for the same. For instance, the approach has failed to recognize the fact that Loliondo piece of land legally belongs to the Maasai and if anything must be done over it, the consent of the Maasai people has to be formerly and amicably obtained (UNDRIP Article 46). Also, the approach has overlooked the fact that that piece of land is the ancestral land to the Maasai, their heritage, and mark their culture livelihood as IPs.

Diverging from their perception and treat it otherwise would aggrieve them and give rise to the conflict (Docherty 2001:21). What is required for a redress is a transformative approach. The same would "transform cultural valuation structure" and the political economic culture that shelters the injustice (Fraser 1995:82). Elaborately, the transformative remedy would be taking of the initiatives by the Ministry of Livestock to have a policy on pastoralism because it does not have one (ACHPR 2013:71) that would address not only the needs of the pastoralist but also the manner of interaction between their livelihood and the state; and having the existence and rights of the indigenous recognized in

legislations such as the constitution, so that all practices that entail state-indigenous relation be reflected substantively. Remedies like these will bring about common worldviews between the IPs and the state, and a result address the core causes that tend to host the persistent conflictual relations between them.

4.4 Redistribution or Recognition?

The needs to redress the state-indigenous conflictual relations seem to pause uncertainty when it comes to these two concepts of social justice. However, by assessing the character of their claims and assess the means of redresses accordingly, we can see if recognition or redistribution alone can mitigate the claims, or the need of both. The indigenous-state relations in Tanzania is characterized by the dominated discourses by the state sometimes characterized by violent incidents. IPs were demanded to give up their identity to access public services (ACHPR 2013:8).

This means those who didn't give up their identity were not being redistributed with the needed resources. Hence redistribution, as indicated in this matrix cannot operate to mitigate the state-IPs' relations to the fullest degrees of effectiveness. This is because, as a process, it mirrors only the interest of one dominant group: the state (Ohlstrom et al 2011:206). The same can be seen in the cited Loliondo conflict. The pending proposed means of the conflict which is turning the area into the Wildlife Management Area (WMA), tend to reflect mostly the interest of the state. As the redistributive means it fails to acknowledge the core source of the conflict, which is the failure to recognize and respect the Maasai ways of life on their legally granted piece of land.

Indicated above, are my suggestions that the mode of collectivities by the IPs in Tanzania is bivalent (Fraser 1995:78). Obviously one mode of approach cannot redress the issue properly. Even if recognition is employed for assumptions that it will mitigate both incidents of injustices and conflicts by identifying value structures as defined by power relations in a line that gives recognition of the formerly subordinated ways of life (Ohlstrom et al 2011:206), practically that will not be possible. Recognition even shaped in the notion of normative monoism, that is "recognition of rights" and "cultural appreciation, as well as claims of love" as propounded by Honneth (Fraser and Honneth 2003:66) will not suffice the situation. The IPs' claims to have suffered injustices have been there for years. Therefore, there are implications of compensation of resources to redress them to their original position as also required by Article 28 of the UNDRIP:

"IPs have the right to redress, by means that can include restitution or, when this is not possible, just, fair and equitable compensation, for the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned or otherwise occupied or used, and which have been confiscated, taken, occupied, used or damaged without their free, prior and informed consent".

Hence redistribution of resources is needed to address that gap. This logic leaves me only with an option of "*perspectival dualism*" (Fraser and Honneth 2003:66) that is using both recognition and redistribution to mitigate for both the economic and cultural injustices perceived to be suffered by the IPs since independence.

I also find “*perspectival dualism*” pivotal as it cuts across both forms of human rights meaning, economic, social and cultural rights, as well as civil and political rights of the IPs in Tanzania. This is possible due to the relationship that social justice has with human rights. Hence the “*perspectival dualism*” since it involves the “consideration of both joint and individual rights and obligations, is essential to ensure people [in this case IPs] who need to claim human rights but do not have the ability, capacity or position to do so, can” Ho (2011:1). Thus in Tanzania context, this approach is instrumental in the movements of pushing the state to comply with the interdependent approaches monitoring rights and development as propounded by Gauri (2012).

The Vilima Vitatu conflict can be a good example in this case. This is because first, state’s nonrecognition and eviction of the IPs to their land, was greeted by IPs movement in demanding their rights. Gauri (2012) would call them “legal mobilization approaches”. Eventually, the decision by the Court of Appeal had in it the elements of “*perspectival dualism*”. The court recognized the indigenous ways and a need for them to offer their free consent in matters affecting their cultural livelihood, as well as compensating them with the land resource they had once lost (IWGIA 2017:15; Gauri 2012:488; Fraser and Honneth 2003:66). Furthermore, the approach of “*perspectival dualism*” would be instrumental in pushing the state to ratify, comply and reflect within its legislations and policies the provisions of regional and international instruments that address the rights of the IPs. The recognition of such rights reflected in these pivotal documents, implies the sharing of the common worldviews by the two parties. Hence the prompt monitoring of the conflictual relations between them.

4.5 From Inclusion to Recognition

Essentially, social inclusion tends to allow policy makers to make arrangements that will enable the individuals in the pluralistic society to choose where to include and engage themselves in the social and economic practices (Sen 2009). Considering IPs, findings have suggested that, their dire need is not to be integrated in the mainstream societies’ ways of livelihood. This is because basing on their preferences and political aspirations; the IPs are quite leading a different kind of life (Hunter and Jordan 2010). Different kind of life from the mainstream society in terms of socio-political, economic and cultural livelihood tend to give rise to the differing in preferences, incentives and paradoxically, opportunities to engage in the mainstream labour market. Thus, the notion of engaging in the mainstream economy might be inadequate because in remote areas, the IPs have their strategic choices to pursue their alternative livelihood (Hunter and Jordan 2010:47-48). Their primary wish is recognition and non- interference of what they aspire to display their indigenous identity. As one participant had this to say;

“We do not wish to lose what we have been keeping for generations. Even when the interaction is made with the outsiders we have kept our ways of living. We intend to keep it for the future generation. However, as years pass, we see ourselves as being consumed with ways of the outsiders and loose our identity. We want the protection which can ensure us that our ways of life are preserved” (Participant, FDG, Mongowa Mono Village, Mbulu District, Manyara region, 08/09/2017)

This confirms my secondary finding which suggests that what the indigenous people prefer is recognition, which is even more important for them than social inclusion. This is because recognition also tends to involve their political aspirations (Behrendt, 2003). Thus, while they are not opposed to being included to the mainstream economic practices, social inclusion is not their primary demand.

4.6 Conclusion

The overall interaction between the IPs and the Tanzania state has mostly been characterized by uncommon worldviews, with the state using development and conflict arguments to justify nonrecognition. To the IPs, the state has been supporting the dominant identities to utilize resources to the IPs' detriment. The result was the birth of communal interest within the IPs and hence movements for recognition. In the Tanzanian context, identity model of recognition must be opted in the process of redressing the prevailing conflictual relations. I also propose the mode of collectivity by the IPs in Tanzania is bivalent mode of collectivity. So, to mitigate the perceived injustice, perspectival dualism, rooted in a transformative approach is needed. Lastly, due to IPs political aspirations, I suggest recognition would be a better option of redress as compared to social inclusion.

|Chapter 5: Possible Ways Forward

5.0 Introduction

This chapter displays the findings that marks the signs of sharing of common worldviews between the two parties over the issues of recognition. There is also one section (5.2) which creates the awareness concerning the gains that the state would obtain if it were to give the official recognition to the IPs. Thus, is a need for formal recognition of indigenous ways of life and constructive ways forward to mitigate the conflictual relations of the past, and bring about social harmony and justice.

5.1 Steps towards Cooperation?

A relatively new and interesting area of cooperation between the two was the move by the state to conduct research on the existence of IPs in Tanzania. This report, the Draft TASAF III IPs Policy Framework (2011), was designed in a participatory fashion to respond to the socio economic, political, and cultural demands of IPs in Tanzania (TASAF 2011:1). Although the Tanzanian government has ratified the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, which identifies IPs along fundamental UN principles, the report notes the lack of specific legislations to cater for indigenous people's rights (TASAF 2011:4). The report notifies that Tanzania is still in the process of determining which ethnic groups should be recognized as indigenous. Two groups (the Hadzabe and Barbaig) were already listed for this purpose. The study is still underway to identify others. (TASAF 2011:4). Listing of the two groups in the initial findings of this study indicates that there is somewhat common sharing of worldviews between the state and the indigenous peoples over the issue of recognition (Docherty 2001). Hence, there is a possibility of covering the gap of unmet human needs as well as miscommunication that is perceived to stir state-indigenous conflictual relations (Ibid). The objectives of this study are transformative in nature. After it is finalized and start to be implemented, there is hope of restructuring the operative foundations that have given birth to the injustices perceived to be done to IPs in Tanzania (Fraser 1995:82). The move to commission the study by the state was a constructive one, therefore. Potentially this can move towards overcoming nonrecognition and could later mitigate conflictual relations between state and IPs.

The state has also tried to prevent and address the injustices suffered by the IPs in various other ways. The National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (MMKUTA) for example, has aimed at among other things, improving services and development for indigenous pastoralists and hunter-gathers in the country. Also, the establishment of the Department of Pastoral Systems Development within the Ministry of Livestock Development and Fisheries helped in starting to address pastoralists' livelihood issues. This model involved a partnership of government, civil society organisations, and other partner organisations, including from the private sector (ACHPR 2013:90-91).

Most of these initiatives indicate that for nonrecognition to be overcome and conflictual relations between the state and the IPs to be resolved, a better

understanding is needed of the entwinement of injustices suffered through non-recognition and through maldistribution. Apart from MKUKUTA which is about redistribution of resources alone, the rest of the initiatives mentioned have a “*perspectival dualism*” element, and they acknowledge entwinement of the two injustices by the IPs (Fraser and Honneth 2003:6).

5.2 Indigenous Peoples’ Contributions to Development and Climate

Indigenous livelihoods, if reinforced, could even be beneficial for the entire economy and society of Tanzania. This may sound surprising. However, pastoral groups like the Maasai can boost development through keeping cattle. Figures indicate that the Maasai and Barbaig from Manyara and Arusha regions play a vital role in the country’s livestock production. Research done in Loliondo showed that pastoralism surpassed other economic activities that were done in the area (conservation and hunting), generating an estimated USD3 million per year (IWGIA 2012:8). One participant in the FGD, stated that:

“This sector alone can generate a lot of income thus can contribute to the national economy. Apart from that, it can manage itself. Without invasion and land evictions IPs would have been able to build their own schools and drilling wells. Apart from contributing to the national economy, people can manage themselves under the system. The invasion in the name of establishing game reserves and national parks is the source of hardships including failure to settle down by these communities. In general, the whole system of the government as currently is interfering with IPs’ ways of life.” (Participant, FGD, PINGO’s Forum, 29/08/2017, Arusha region).

This more positive and advantageous picture shows how IPs ways of livelihood can be recognized as contributing to national development. Yet private interests are often allowed to counter this evidence. For example, it is clear that the investor, Ortello Business Corporation (OBC) has played a vital role in continuing the Loliondo conflict because of its vested financial interests, and revenues to the state. The economic contribution of the pastoralists herds to the economy will tend to be ignored, unless the government realises that short-term financial returns from corporate investment may not match longer-term economic value of the livelihoods of IPs for a particular region like Loliondo. With the awareness created by the above figures (IWGIA 2012:8) the state may now perhaps consider addressing competing interests that poses a hurdle towards recognition and ending this conflict.

Additionally, IPs are known for possessing intimate knowledge of environmental species of plant and animals, potentially beneficial for both science and future generations through conservation (CHRAGG 2015:12). The notion of sustainable development is an important part of the discourse of development in general, and it may be that the state could find renewed value in these forms of knowledge of IPs. This could form one basis for recognition. As this awareness of their knowledge contribution is established through research, the hope remains that gradually nonrecognition of IPs may be replaced by acknowledgement of their contribution and potentials.

5.3 Constitutional Review Process

The constitutional review process initiated in 2011 appeared to be one of the most promising moves towards overcoming nonrecognition of IPs. This process came to a temporary halt in 2014, and is still underway. Potentially, this could mean a major transformation in the past nonrecognition of IPs. In this document, IPs are expressly mentioned for the first time, and various initiatives were designed to cater for their economic and cultural needs (IWGIA 2015:396).

Pastoralism is recognized as a livelihood system of equal value to farming, and included in the Bill of rights of the same documents. There is provision for protection of minorities, and explicit reference to rights to traditional land, and their participation in political affairs. In the proposals, pastoralists have been granted a place in formulation of laws, policies and strategies, which would enable them to obtain the information needed to protect their livelihoods. Protection, promotion and development of culture and intellectual property rights is addressed, and explicit reference made to ensuring that IPs can make financial gains from tourism transactions (IWGIA 2015:395-400). Concerning the point, one participant in the FGD stated the following:

“Consider for example how much the state earns with the image of Maasai as tourist attractions. Now take a look at how impoverished the Maasai communities are. This is quite unfair. To promote tourism, you will see the display of a Maasai in a cool nature. You will not find the image of a burnt Maasai hut in the process of eviction in those. Then let the gains also benefit the Maasai communities, but that is not being done. The Maasai communities are among the poor communities in this nation. And yet they are being used to channel income to the government” (Participant, FGD, PINGO’s Forum, 29/08/2017, Arusha region).

Figure 3: Maasai and Tourism



Maasai IPs dancing with a tourist. Normally images like this tend to attract tourism and generate income to the state.

Photo: Ken Firestone, Ngorongoro (2015)

With the initiatives to protect, promote and develop the culture of intellectual property that would help the IPs makes financial gains from tourism transaction, the document proved to note the bivalent mode of collectivity by the IPs. First their livelihood is not being recognised, secondly, they are being impoverished and exploited economically. Such measures are transformative and have elements perspectival dualism approach (Fraser 1995; Fraser and Honneth 2003). It underscores the meeting of common worldviews by the two parties over the issue of recognition. This is because, all laws and policies both in operation and in the pipeline of being enacted, would require to be amended or made in such a way that reflect the provisions of this document regarding the rights of the IPs (Fraser 1997). Pending are the hopes that, the current regime may revive the continuation of the enactment of this document. The end of it, will witness dramatic changes over the issue of IPs recognition that will also carter for the ongoing conflictual relations between the state and the indigenous IPs.

5.4 Signing of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP)

On September 13, 2007 Tanzania signed the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of IPs (ACHPR 2013:7). This document puts forward the rights of the same and state's obligations towards promoting, respecting and protecting such rights. By signing this declaration, Tanzania has expressed its willingness to continue the treaty making process. This means Tanzania can ratify, accept, or approval this document in the future. Also, Tanzania is obliged to refrain, in good faith, from acts that would undermine the objectives and purpose of the treaty.¹²

The UNDRIP is vital in the negotiations for recognition of IPs in Tanzania in a number of ways. First, it seconds the indigenous peoples' political aspirations, which has been singled out as the crucial move when it comes to addressing IPs' needs (Article 5 and 8; Behrendt 2003). Apart from that, the UNDRIP recognizes that the IPs suffer the two kinds of injustices simultaneously and there is a need of addressing the same in respective manner (UNDRIP 2007:2-4, Articles 26 and 28). This is what Fraser would call bivalent collectivity and *perspectival dualism*, the latter of which of course, is transformative in nature (Fraser 1997:70-71; Fraser and Honneth 2003:66). Furthermore, UNDRIP heeds to IPs' capabilities and rights in the process of development (Articles 10, 23, and 27; Sen 1999; Gauri 2012). Most importantly UNDRIP provides for the model of recognition regarding the IPs and proactive measure of preventing the occurrence of conflicts perceived to be instigated by this mode (Articles 7 and 46; Fraser 2000; Banting and Kymlicka 2006).

Signing of the UNDRIP can be said to have added some positive impacts in a way the state relates to the IPs to great extent. To a sufficient extent it has addressed the varying of worldviews between the two parties. Although there are some conflicts still going on such as the Loliondo Conflict, there are some other conflicts which were cured or prevented with the influence of this declaration. The Mongowa Mono incident (discussed below), and Vilima Vitatu conflict are notable examples.

¹² Articles 10 and 18, Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties

5.5 Towards Formal Recognition of Indigenous ways of Land Use

Probably the move that has so far has taken place successfully as a way of overcoming nonrecognition and maintains amicable relationship between the state and the IPs was the incident done in Mongowa Mono village. This is the same village that I went for my field study. The government granted the certificate of customary right of occupancy to land the Hadzabe community that dwell in that village for them to use according to their traditional ways of life, in 18/10/2011. The land that was given was of the size of 23,000 hectares. This is despite that there is neither a policy, nor a piece of legislation that mention hunters and gatherers (PINGO's Forum 2016:9).

The initiatives to grant the same to the Hadzabe were done through all levels of the government, local to central government. In one instance, the Commissioner of lands had to spend a night with the Hadzabe community just to slightly experience their life style. The land title of the Hadzabe in Mongowa Mono; recognizes the collective land rights; it has no time limit; it is not easily mortgaged; is governed by their bylaws; prohibits illegal hunting; allow the Hadzabe to attract tourism for their community gain; allows the community to be benefited from the projects taking place within (PINGO's Forum 2016:9).

Although that is the only move so far to be done by the state towards practical recognition of the IPs, it is a landmark and a vital move. Firstly, this move heeds to the *identity model* of recognition which is scholars negate for reasons that it creates “repressive forms of communitarism, promoting conformism, intolerance and patriarchalism” and jeopardize peace (Fraser 2000:112; Banting and Kymlicka 2006:47). The state has shown to the awareness that “indigeneity” concerns collective rights. And that possibilities of disturbing by the piece should identity model of recognition be granted are countered by Article 46 of the UNDRIP.

Also by this initiative the state has taken note of the entwinement of the injustices suffered by the Hadzabe. And accordingly, it displays the approach of perspectival dualism in countering the same. In other words, the Hadzabe have been granted means of capabilities to impact their livelihood while leading their preferred kind of life (Fraser 1995; Sen 1999; Fraser and Honneth 2003). By doing this the state has implemented the provisions of the regional and international instruments that advocate for the protection and implementation of the rights of the indigenous people. For instance, the Tanzania state has literally observed the provisions of the UNDRIP most notably Article 26 which requires the state to give legal recognition of land rights to the indigenous people and respect their traditional ways of dealing with the lands. This step marks the adherence of the moral pressure by the state as the promoter and protector of rights, dignity and self-respect of the IPs' livelihood (Gauri 2012). In other words, the state has recognized the political aspirations of the Hadzabe peoples in Mongowa Mono, that is their sovereignty and self-determination (Behrendt 2003). This is a potent display of the absolute sharing of common worldviews between the two and a sustainable measure to prevent possibilities of conflict.

5.6 Conclusion

There is hope in the future as far as state-indigenous relations are concerned. The state has not completely closed an eye to the IPs' needs to be recognized. Vital initiatives at all levels (village, national, as well as international level) taken by the state in the process of negotiating have displayed remarkable impacts. A proof that competing interest and divergent ideologies, which have been identified as to premise state-indigenous conflictual relations can be mitigated successfully. All in all, despite also showing that the indigenous struggles have not been futile, the chapter also notified that the doors are open for future cooperation between the state and the IPs in Tanzania over the issue of recognition.

Chapter 6: Concluding Remarks

This study analysed the conflictual relationship over recognition and equitable sharing of natural resources between the Tanzanian state and IPs. The same is result of sharing uncommon worldviews between the two parties. This was reflected in the way the state's discourses have been operated. By using conflict and development arguments the state recognized not the existence of the IPs. Also, the IPs perceived that the state was supporting the predominant mainstream community in utilizing the material, social, and symbolic resources to their detriment. IPs perceive to be marginalized in the development matrix and this has resulted to the violation of their rights, causing them to suffer in their cultural, socio-economic and political perspectives. Thus, the initiatives to demand for recognition. By citing an example of the Loliondo conflict, I tried to show the reflection which underscores the uniform manner that the conflicting notions of development between the two parties takes place; the resources that are mostly in question (land); and the negative impacts to the community if the situation is not redressed properly.

To analyse my empirical findings, I used Fraser's theoretical approach of recognition and redistribution (1995; 2000; 2003). In times I integrated it with notions of social inclusion and human rights by Sen (1999; 2009) and Gauri (2012). The reasons were to show how social justice is related to human rights by aiding realization of the latter. Secondly was to indicate a better approach in redressing state-indigenous relations between recognition and social inclusion. Another reason for using Fraser's theoretical approach in the manner I have used is for reasons of my contribution to the scholarship¹³, as far as state-indigenous relations is concerned in Tanzanian context. Hence, I have used it to identify the mode of collectivity by the IPs; to identify the recognition model that suits the prevailing context; to identify the approaches that are suitable for the redress of the injustices perceived. To my humble opinion, if all that is being offered by Fraser's theory is considered, the state-indigenous conflictual relations would be mitigated sufficiently.

In my analysis, I had to first establish whether the IPs exist in Tanzania before starting to address the main question of this research concerning their incompatibility in Tanzanian state's discourses of development. Primary and secondary findings supported the existence of the IPs in Tanzania. However, since the colonial era hardly had there been common worldviews between the two parties. Their relationship has been embedded in the dominant state's discourses that is predominantly characterized by the latter's perceptions. The state denied to recognize IPs' existence basing on the notions of equal citizenship for all, as well as fear of tribalism and ethnic conflict. This denial for recognition has been reflected in the national's policies and legislations. In the process of national

¹³ I recognize the fact that Aikman (2011) contributed to the scholarship by using Fraser's analysis of social justice-distribution, recognition, and participation-to examine demands of indigenous movements in rights to education. Citing the Ngorongoro Maasai in Tanzania, the study analyzed the initiatives to define education which is relevant to indigenous lives today. She concluded by indicating that the indigenous movements in Africa must potentially "reframe education" in a way that will benefit not only themselves but other communities as well.

development there has not been adherence to concepts human development and so, as claimed by the IPs, they are left out in the development matrix. Therefore, recognition of the IPs specific identities has been incompatible with state's discourses of development.

Marginalization of the IPs in the development discourse was met with incidents of social injustices to the IPs. They are exposed to political and economic marginalization, denial of their rights as well as incidents of violent conflicts. Literally, the state discourse has unintentionally given birth to communal interests to the IPs heterogeneous groups. Despite sharing similar characteristics, they found out that they have other things in common such as livelihood and social exclusion. This resulted to their unified movements under one voice to make their situation better. Hence the movements for recognition formed the basis of their demand to be recognized as a single category of IPs.

However, the perception of communal interest by the IPs on the part of the state is quite interpreted oppositely. The state is worried that allowing recognition and determination of IPs as a distinct community may lead to their desire for political autonomy. Adding to the fact that the IPs dwell in places rich with natural resources, the state fears recognition would cut of the channel of financial gains that it receives through investment projects. And in turn such gains would be used by the IPs to finance their separation movements from the state territory. The perception that is supported by Banting and Kymlicka (2006) as well as Fraser (2000). These perceptions however have been countered Article 46 of the UNDRIP, to which Tanzania is a signatory, an indication that recognising the IPs is not a fatal move to the state of peace and harmony in the country. Therefore, premising the continuous conflicts between the state and the IPs are factors relating to both, divergent ideologies and competing interests.

From the findings, I have noted a number of factors that have to be put into consideration before suggesting what would reduce the frictions between the state and IPs in Tanzanian context. Firstly, is the fact that the IPs' collective mode is bivalent in character (Fraser 1995). Meaning, the injustices suffered by the IPs since colonial era is both economic and cultural injustices. Therefore, addressing only one kind of injustice would not sufficiently mitigate their conflict with the state. Secondly the model of recognition that fits the IPs' needs is identity model of recognition. This is because it entails the characteristics of the collective mode of livelihood that suits the IPs their political aspirations. It marks respect to their cultural, the lack of which will inflict a "grievous wound and saddling its victims with a crippling self-hatred" that will eventually trigger conflict (Taylor and Gutmann 1994:26). Thirdly, when addressing the indigenous-state relations the approach to be applicable should be the transformative approach. This is because this approach will tend to remedy the perceived injustice by changing the entire "cultural valuation structure" of the political economic culture that has caused nonrecognition or exclusion and trigger conflict (Fraser 1997:82). Fourthly, because the injustices suffered by the IPs are entwined and co-originated whether intended or unintended, the proper approach to address the same is the application of "*perspectival dualism*" approach (Fraser and Honneth 2003:66). That is using only one form of redress, be it recognition or redistribution would not suffice. In my discussion I indicated that failure to consider these factors in addressing the state-indigenous frictions would keep the frictions going by citing the Loliondo conflict. Again, by citing the Vilima Vitatu conflict I

indicated that considering these factors would solve the frictions between the state and the indigenous sufficiently.

On the other hand, I pointed out the occasional instances that the state considered the factors I put forth in the above paragraph. The results have proven to be constructive in redefining the state-indigenous relations over the issue of recognition.

I showed this by indicating the state's initiative to formally recognise the indigenous ways of land use of the Hadzabe people in Mongowa Mono village. This initiative had the following implications. It marked the fact that Tanzania can as well be aware not only of the existence of IPs in its territories, but also is aware of their needs for collective rights. Hence, defeating the conflict and development arguments the state heeded to the identity model of recognition to the Hadzabe people. It considered the provisions of Article 46 of the UNRIP and put aside the notions that such mode would expose the country to a state of commotion (Fraser 2000; Banting and Kymlicka 2006). Also, the state recognised of the bivalent mode of collectivity by the IPs and considered the application perspectival dualism approach so as to redress the entwined injustices that the Hadzabe suffered. In a way this granted the means of capabilities to the Hadzabe and enabled them to impact their livelihood according to their own political aspirations (Fraser 1995; Fraser and Honneth 2003; Sen 1999; Behrendt). This displays the practising of the moral pressure by the state as the promoter and protector of the rights of the Hadzabe IPs in the process of development (Article 26 UNDRIP; Gauri 2012). I consider this to be a good picture that displays the sharing of common worldviews between the two parties and hence diminish any chances for conflicts to emerge. Suggestions are such that if similar initiatives by the state are done in a wider scope, perhaps we would witness a positive end to the prevailing conflictual relationships between the two parties. Including the Loliondo conflict!

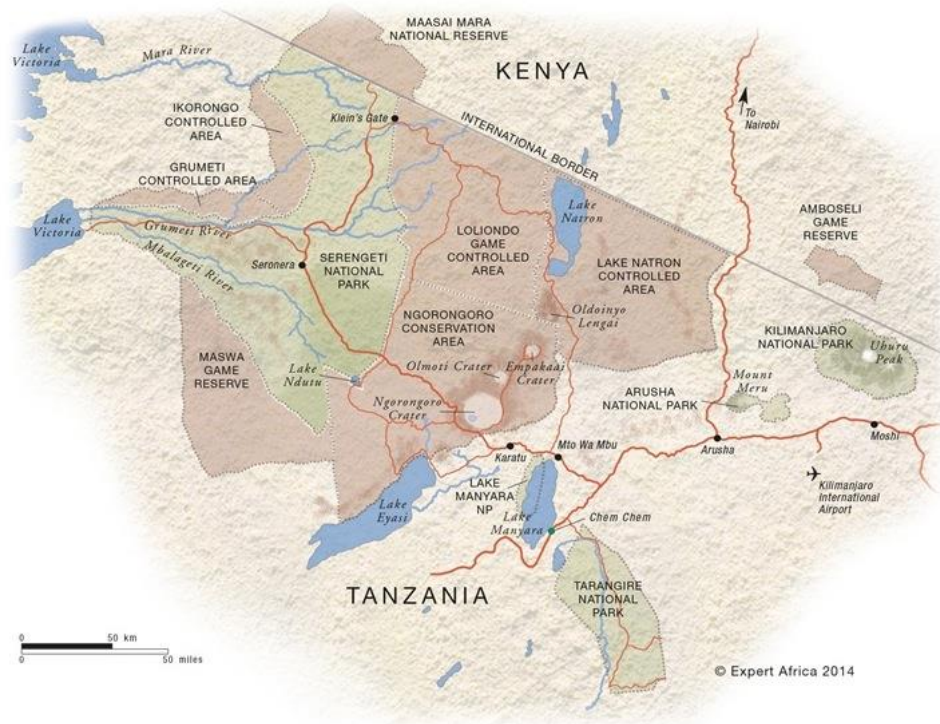
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Map 1: Map of Tanzania showing the Game Controlled Areas



Source: Expert Africa (2014)¹⁴

¹⁴ <<https://www.expert africa.com/tanzania/arusha/reference-map>> accessed on 11/11/2017