

Master Thesis:

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Human-Wildlife Conflict in the Serengeti: The Environmental
Consequence of Inequality from the Twentieth Century Until
Now

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ABSTRACT:

This thesis aims to explore the role power disparities between the local communities and the conservation industry has played in contributing to the issue of human-wildlife conflict in the Serengeti from the beginning of the twentieth century up until now. Human-wildlife conflict encompasses any instance in which humans and wildlife come into conflict over resources and leads to negative consequences for both humans and wildlife. These conflicts have become more prevalent in the Serengeti over the last few decades and have been understood to result because of factors such as growing human population, climate change, land-use change, and many others. However, there are structural conditions and power relations that underly these conflicts which have not yet been explored. The local communities that are most affected by these conflicts and have had to take on the burden of conservation, have the least power in deciding how conservation is carried out in the Serengeti. These local communities are excluded from the decision-making processes which directly affect their lives and livelihoods and this exclusion stems from the colonial era. This thesis will investigate these underlying structural conditions and power relations using a political ecology approach to uncover the effects environmental change can have on people and the economic and structural conditions that underpin this, Drawing upon different sources including Tanzanian government documents, policies, acts and strategies that involve conservation as well as various petitions and letters sent to human rights organizations from the local communities and a documentary that accounts for the lived experiences of those on the ground dealing with human-wildlife conflict , this thesis will employ a qualitative analysis to investigate the power relations that exacerbate human-wildlife conflict in the Serengeti.

By investigating the historical context and evolution of conservation in the Serengeti, this thesis aims to illuminate the ways in which the local communities were excluded from participating in conservation and how this has been reproduced by the subsequent administrations. Furthermore, this thesis will examine how this exclusion is implicative of the power disparities that exist between the conservation industry and the local communities and how this has led to tensions in the last few decades. Finally, this thesis will explore how this tension has contributed to the presence of human-wildlife conflict in the Serengeti. Drawing these different elements together, this thesis aims to deepen the understanding of human-wildlife conflict as not just a dichotomy between human versus wildlife but also because of people harming other people.

Keywords: Human-wildlife conflict, inequality, conservation, political ecology, colonial history, Serengeti, power disparities, indigenous communities.

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ABBREVIATIONS:

ACHPR- African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights

AEWA- African-Eurasian Migratory Water Birds Agreement

CBD- Convention on Biological Diversity

CITES- Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species

CIVICUS - World Alliance for Citizen Participation

CMS- Convention on Migratory Wild Animal Species

EAS- East African Community

GSE- Greater Serengeti Ecosystem

ICOMOS- International Council on Monuments and Sites

IUCN- International Union for Conservation of Nature

IUCN SSC- Species Survival Commission

IUCN- HWCTF- Human-Wildlife Conflict Task Force

IGGR- Ikorongo Grumeti Game Reserves

HWC- Human Wildlife Conflicts

HWCMU- HWC Mitigation Unit

LGCA- Loliondo Game Controlled Area

LUP- Participatory Land Use Planning

MMNR- Maasai Mara National Reserve

MNRT- Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism of Tanzania

NCAA- Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority

NGO- Non-Governmental Organization

NLUPC - National Land Use Planning Commission

OHCHR- Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights

OBC- Ortello Business Company

PA- Protected Area

SDG- Sustainable Development Goal

SNP - Serengeti National Park

RISE - Research and Innovation for the Serengeti Ecosystem

TAWIRI - Tanzania Wildlife Research Institute

UNESCO- The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNDRIP- UN Declaration for the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

WCA- Wildlife Conservation Area

WD- Wildlife Division

WHC- World Heritage Convention

WHS- World Heritage Site

WMA- Wildlife Management Areas

WWF- World Wildlife Fund

INTRODUCTION:

‘The people that have the most to lose from Human-wildlife conflict have the least power’¹

The Serengeti, often referred to as ‘the place where the land runs forever’, is home to the largest unaltered animal migration.² It is known as the most iconic ecosystem in the world, and this is mainly due to it being a protected area under the Serengeti National Park.³ This park was created in 1951 along with many other wildlife conservation areas (WCA) which encompass protected areas, national parks and game reserves in and around the Serengeti. Over the past decades there are several challenges that have arisen surrounding these protected areas which include illegal hunting of wild animals, habitat destruction due to unsustainable human activities that harm the ecosystem which all encompass human-wildlife conflict (HWC).⁴ Protected areas were created to help prevent biodiversity and habitat loss but have also significantly contributed to further environmental harm in the form of HWC. 15% of land is included in the global protected area network but a third of that total area, humans and wildlife come into conflict.⁵ These challenges are due to a variety of factors such as human population growth, poverty and , as this thesis will argue the failure of conservation authorities to address the losses that local communities experience due to these conservation methods.⁶ These issues are not only environmental but also social, as they are entangled with the wider politics of exclusion and inequality. The Serengeti is over and above just a wildlife area; it is also home to thousands of indigenous communities. However, it appears as if conservation efforts have only focused on wildlife and have neglected to consider the livelihoods of these people as they also rely on the land that is being restricted for conservation in the Serengeti.

¹The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti: The Maasai Land that was to run forever*, ed. Mittal, Anuradha & Fraser, Elizabeth (California: The Oakland Institute, 2018: 638) ,

<https://www.oaklandinstitute.org/sites/oaklandinstitute.org/files/losing-the-serengeti.pdf>

²The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*,

³The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*,

⁴Jafari J Rideghesho, “Serengeti Shall Not Die: Transforming an Ambition into a Reality”, *Tourism and Development in Africa* 3, no. 3 (2010).

⁵World Wildlife Fund, “What is human-wildlife conflict and why is it more than just a conservation concern?” 2023, <https://www.worldwildlife.org/stories/what-is-human-wildlife-conflict-and-why-is-it-more-than-just-a-conservation-concern#:~:text=Human%20wildlife%20conflict%20is%20when,drive%20these%20species%20to%20extinction>

⁶Rideghesho, “Serengeti Shall Not Die”,’

The relationship between humans and wildlife has always been complicated but today these relationships have become more endangered. This is mainly understood to be because of human population growth, however as this thesis will show it is not only population growth but rather concrete priorities and decision-making processes with colonial roots that become more prevalent due to population growth. Local communities and the wildlife of the Serengeti are currently experiencing these complications. The surrounding villagers have had to take protecting their settlements and livelihood into their own hands as elephants and other wild animals either trample on their harvests, community members are killed in encounters with animal predators or indigenous tribes are being relocated because of supposed environmental destruction. Many local inhabitants feel as though animals and the environment are treated as more important and valued more in the existing frameworks and architecture of the protected areas.⁷

Local, marginalized communities are most often the actors that take the burden of social, political, economic, and environmental hardships which further reinforces inequalities. In the case of the Serengeti the local communities have had to take on the burden of conservation in response to these environmental harms. All the causes of HWC that have been identified by previous scholars have not explored the power elements that underly these conflicts and have not looked at the structural conditions in which these conflicts take place. There is a connection between human-wildlife conflict and power disparities that also contributes to the presence of HWC as this thesis will argue.⁸ The Serengeti is a place where this can be explored as the prevalence of HWC has increased over the last few years. What is happening in the Serengeti is only a microcosm of the issues that exist on a global scale when it comes to environmental issues and the clash of humans and wildlife. Due to the great scale of this issue this thesis has chosen to focus on the area of the Serengeti as there already exists a focus on the opinions and experiences of the local communities that can be further explored. Power appears to have shaped how the situation has played out, starting with its colonial legacy, and continuing until present day independent Tanzania. Conservation efforts in the Serengeti first began in the beginning of the twentieth century and have continued to progress since. The marginalized local communities

⁷James Sutar and Charlie Luckock, *The Edge of Existence*, Cape Town: Black Bean Productions, 2020.

⁸Yukino Iwai, "Human -Elephant Conflict in the Serengeti: The Side-Effects of Wildlife Tourism", *Tropical Conservation Science* 1, no. 53 (2018): 228-247.

continue to suffer as their voices were and are continuously overlooked in the creation of these protected areas and WCA's. Therefore, this thesis seeks to answer the following question:

To what extent have power disparities between the conservation industry and local communities contributed to human-wildlife conflict in the Serengeti from the beginning of the twentieth century until now?

This will be expanded upon by first answering these sub-questions:

1. How has wildlife conservation developed in the Serengeti since the beginning of the twentieth century?
2. How have historical power disparities between the conservation industry and local communities led to tensions in the Serengeti in recent decades?
3. To what extent have tensions between the conservation industry and local communities contributed to human-wildlife conflict in the present?

HISTORIOGRAPHY:

The historiography will first focus on the literature on human-wildlife conflict, identifying what it is, how it presents itself and what the main causes of these conflicts are. The historiography will then go on to situate how this thesis will take this further by connecting this literature to the literature on the colonial roots of conservation. The literature on HWC does not adequately explore how these situations are in a wider system of inequality that excludes the local communities. There is a lack of focus on the structural tensions and power disparities that are at play. The concrete priorities and decision-making processes that are made with regards to conservation are understood to have colonial origins. One of the root causes of these conflicts can be connected to how various conservation methods were imposed by the colonial administrations and continued by the Tanzanian government. This is why it is important to explore what other scholars have found with regards to conservation in Africa and connect this to the issue of HWC in the Serengeti. This is why this thesis will bring these two literatures together.

Human- Wildlife Conflict:

Human-wildlife conflicts are characterized as encounters that lead to negative results such as loss of property, livelihood and sometimes life.⁹ It encompasses any instance in which people and wildlife come into conflict over resources as the existence and behavior of wildlife poses actual and perceived threats to human interests and needs, one of the most important resources and one that the thesis will focus on is ; land.¹⁰ The use of the term HWC is important in emphasizing the severity and escalation of the global problem over other common terms such as human-wildlife interaction.¹¹ There is also now a shift in the literature that focuses more on coexistence with wildlife in that wildlife is successfully governed to ensure wildlife populations continue to exist in socially legitimate ways that ensure manageable risk levels.¹²

⁹Rideghesho, “Serengeti Shall Not Die,”

¹⁰*World Wildlife Fund, A Future for All: The Need for Human-Wildlife Coexistence* (Switzerland: WWF, 2021).

¹¹*World Wildlife Fund, A Future for All*, 12.

¹²Simon Pooley, Saloni Bhatia and Anirudhkumar Vasava, “Rethinking the study of Human Wildlife Coexistence”, *Conservation Biology* 35, No. 3 (2021): 784-793.

Humans and wildlife have been coming into conflict for centuries now, dating back to the 13,000 B.C. when humans first started cultivating plants, however these conflicts have escalated in recent times due to the increasing demand for space which creates habitat loss and fragmentation that then leads to increased competition between people and wildlife.¹³ The anthropogenic drivers that are identified as creating HWC also include human resource requirements, and land use change, extractive industries, infrastructure, perceptions of nature, market forces, policy effects, wildlife population dynamics, wildlife behavior and climate change.¹⁴ These drivers indicate that the factors that lead to HWC are mainly understood to arise from human activities that are harmful to the environment. The pressures that this then creates include the disturbance of wildlife, obstructing of wildlife corridors, extreme weather events and economic hardships.¹⁵ The impact these pressures then create on biodiversity and human welfare include crop, property, and livestock damage, food and livelihood insecurity, human loss of life and injuries, decreased human wellbeing and health, change in tolerance of wildlife, culling of wildlife and retaliatory or defensive killing of wildlife.¹⁶ This posits that the actions of humans have both negative effects on wildlife but as this thesis will argue also on humans.

HWC has resulted in the significant reduction of species that once existed in abundance, and species that are naturally more scarce have been shoved to the brink of extinction. This has led to certain species being protected by law and the creation of conservation areas.¹⁷ An important factor and one that this thesis will focus on is how the cost of HWC is unevenly distributed and disproportionately impacts communities that face systemic barriers and most likely earn below the poverty line and have less access to economic opportunities.¹⁸ These communities are most likely the ones that live near to protected areas and do not receive much support from the various sectors and organizations. This emphasizes that it is not only a conservation issue, but an issue that arises due to inequality and asymmetrical power relations as this thesis will explore.

¹³*World Wildlife Fund, A Future for All*, 12.

¹⁴*World Wildlife Fund, A Future for All*, 17-18.

¹⁵*World Wildlife Fund, A Future for All*, 17-18.

¹⁶*World Wildlife Fund, A Future for All*, 17-18.

¹⁷*The International Union for Conservation of Nature, Species Survival Commission Report No. 15, Proceedings of a workshop held in February, Dar es Salaam: Department of Wildlife, Switzerland: IUCN, 1996, <https://portals.iucn.org/library/sites/library/files/documents/SSC-OP-015.pdf>*

¹⁸*The International Union for Conservation of Nature, Species Survival Commission Report*, Viii,

Scholars mainly focus on investigating the nature, extent, roots and mitigations of HWC and find that local communities do not gain enough from wildlife resources and are alienated from wildlife related economic enterprises which significantly contribute to HWC but do not explore the power dynamics that underly this .¹⁹ There is a strong focus on what human-wildlife conflicts include and its causes, and many scholars acknowledge that local communities have been absent in the management and governance of these wildlife areas but do not situate this exclusion within a power structure that could underly these conflicts.²⁰ For example, there has been a focus on why communities in the Serengeti are involved in wildlife hunting and why it is not because they lack the knowledge of the practice being illegal but because they lack an alternative source of meat.²¹ Illegal hunting and habitat destruction which are seen as unsustainable activities that fall under HWC are seen to result from a lack of compensation provided by the conservation authorities.²² Top-down government management and increased private investments restrict the resources communities can use.²³ Human-elephant conflicts have been shown to be a side-effect of wildlife- tourism as profits are unevenly distributed.²⁴ These various ways of understanding HWC do not further elaborate how there are wider systems of domination at play that contribute to these conflicts , these systems of domination can be seen to have started during the colonial era.

These ways of studying HWC are understood to frame the issue in a way that reinforces the human-nature dichotomy as fundamentally oppositional. However, there is not enough empirical studies done on the issues related to HWC. The problem with most of the literature on HWC is that the focus is on humans damaging the environment or animals conflicting with humans but there is not enough of a focus on people harming other people in these conflicts, and no focus on the social relationships between humans that lead to these environmental problems which encompass HWC.²⁵ The reasons that make local people exhibit particular unsustainable

¹⁹Sefi Mekonen, “Coexistence Between Human and Wildlife, The Nature, Causes and Mitigations of Human Wildlife Conflict around Bale Mountains National Park”, Southeast Ethiopia, *BMC Ecology* 20, No. 51 (2020).

²⁰ Iwai, “Human -Elephant Conflict in the Serengeti,” 228-247.

²¹ Stella Bitanyi and Marit Nesje, “Awareness and Perceptions of Local People about Wildlife Hunting in Western Serengeti Communities”, *Tropical Conservation* 5, no. 2 (June 2012): 208-224.

²² Kideghesho, “Serengeti Shall Not Die”,

²³ Bitanyi and Nesje, “Awareness and Perceptions,”

²⁴ Iwai, “Human -Elephant Conflict in the Serengeti,” 228-247.

²⁵Iwai, “Human -Elephant Conflict in the Serengeti”, 228-247.

behaviors towards wildlife also need to be considered. There are many explored causes of HWC, but there is a lack of focus on the structural and power tensions that are at play. These structural and power tensions have colonial roots manifested in conservation which will be explored in the next section of the historiography.

Colonial Roots of Conservation:

The development of wildlife conservation in Africa started as a colonial enterprise. The way this has developed over time has been discussed by numerous scholars which have looked at it from multiple perspectives. Therefore, this section will analyze the history of conservation on the African continent and how inequalities in environmental conflicts have manifested in different ways in relation to this. This section of the historiography will draw out the arguments of some of the seminal scholars that will help create the background that is needed to understand the specific case study of the Serengeti.

Looking at the evolution of the approaches to environmental issues on the African continent it is clear to see that before the 1970's environmental issues in Africa were discussed by geographers, anthropologists, archaeologists, and scientists. However, historians and social scientists were skeptical in incorporating these issues into their work because of their unfamiliarity with the discipline.²⁶ At first Western intellectuals would use environmental determinism to explain different forms of society, racial characteristics, and social division.²⁷ A new trend then developed after the 1970s that looked at the human impact on the natural world. Alfred Crosby was one of the first to place the environmental consequences of European expansion over the past 500 years at the center of world history.²⁸ This was considered "new environmental history" that fell in line with the trends in African history that took on an anti-colonial approach that focused on European conquest and capitalist exploitation.²⁹ This approach

²⁶William Beinhart, "African History and Environmental History," *African Affairs* 99 (2000): 269-302.

²⁷Beinhart, "African History," 269-302.

²⁸Alfred W. Crosby. *Ecological Imperialism: The biological expansion of Europe* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1955), 900-1900.

²⁹Crosby, "Ecological Imperialism,"

looked at the role of colonialism and the causes of environmental degradation due to the appropriation of natural resources.

The Europeans are understood to have operated in a predatory manner in Africa as settler colonialism compressed African societies into certain areas of land that resulted in environmental decay, but these same colonial states that were responsible for the destruction of natural resources started to incorporate environmental regulation in the form of protected areas, game reserves and soil and water conservation.³⁰ This is why conservation in Africa is illustrated as a colonial enterprise that began in the eighteenth century with British and French empires.³¹ Scholars have also shown how the conservationist discourse in Africa was used to mask the real intentions of the colonial states. Colonial scientists would frame the need for interventions in a way that would show that African people were misusing natural resources and were linked to environmental degradation.³² The earliest interventions to protect wildlife were created to secure hunting for the colonial elite and used as an economic argument because of the potential for tourism.³³ It was agreed upon that conservationist interventions served to change African patterns of land use.

There is now a shift in the number of African governments that are incorporating privatization policies as is the case with Tanzania with areas within the Serengeti. The settlement and engineering projects in the beginning of environmental conservation in Africa that were supposedly rooted in scientific and modernizing logic have outlived the colonial era and have been adopted as development strategies by independent African states.³⁴ Conflicts have also played a central role in environmental issues in local anti-colonial movements and protests. This was most evident after World War Two in British colonial and settler territories.³⁵ The conflict stemmed from the modernist interventionist approach imposed by the West versus the traditional authorities and their role in managing the environment.³⁶ Looking at environmental conservation

³⁰John Mackenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, conservation, and British Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988).

³¹Beinhart, "African History," 269-302.

³²Beinhart, "African History," 269-302.

³³Beinhart, "African History," 269-302.

³⁴Fairhead and Leach, "Misreading," 2-3.

³⁵Fairhead and Leach, "Misreading," 2-3.

³⁶Rideghesho, "Serengeti Shall Not Die",

on the African continent it is important to look at the relationship between the colonial and postcolonial states which brings to light the asymmetrical power relations in the main assumptions about knowledge, rights to resources and consumption.

African governance and the structural weaknesses of African states are forging a historically enlightened view of connecting the legacy of colonialism with a critique of African political practice in terms of patrimony and corruption when it comes to conservation.³⁷ In the analysis, this thesis will also look at the role current governance structures and international conservation organizations play in reproducing this conflict in the Serengeti while also paying special attention to the role colonialism has had on the current conflict in Africa surrounding the environment, emphasizing the asymmetry of global relations and the history of racist assumptions.

The history of African ideas on animals is not well documented because most of the discussions around African landscapes have focused on European understandings and interpretations- this was evident in their romantic appreciation of African landscapes that created this assumption of unilateral responsibility for its protection.³⁸ This is manifested in the introduction of conservation. There remains a problem of freeing a historiography of Africa and the environment from “narratives of dependency, victimhood and romanticism”.³⁹ The narratives surrounding African societies held that due to their lack of knowledge and skill harmed the environment around them, threatening landscapes, and their neighboring animals.⁴⁰ These narratives are representative of the lack of understanding that has remained with regards to how the people of Africa view wildlife and their connection to conservation. This stands along with numerous studies that show that the colonial and postcolonial conservation efforts have deprived African communities of access to resources and land, further reinforcing inequalities.

³⁷ Beinhart, “African History,” 269-302.

³⁸ Ute Luig and Achim von Oppen, “Landscape in Africa: Process and Vision: An Introductory Essay,” Luig and von Oppen (Eds), *The Making of African Landscapes, special issue of Paideuma: Mitteilungen zur Kulturkunde*, 43 (1997): 21.

³⁹ Beinhart, “African History,” 269-302; Ute Luig and Achim von Oppen, “Landscape in Africa”, 21.

⁴⁰ Gregory H Maddox, *Sub-Saharan Africa: An Environmental History* (California: ABC-CLIO, 2006.)

The establishment of conservation measures on the African continent demonstrates how the colonial countries would interpret environmental change by alluding to Africans mismanaging their environment and the need to correct this by introducing conservation measures. Conservation under the colonial administrations therefore would not respect ancestral grounds, forcing indigenous communities to relocate without adequate compensation.⁴¹ These colonial land and labor policies altered people-environment relationships, one way this was done was by weakening the communal and customary land rights and increasing the privatization of land.⁴² The two uses of mass relocations was to free the best productive land for white settlers to use and game parks; and to create indigenous areas that were overcrowded.⁴³ This phenomenon is still happening today in African independent states like Tanzania with the mass relocation of the Maasai indigenous peoples which this thesis will further elaborate on.

Seminal books such as ‘The Serengeti Shall Not Die’ originating in 1959 by Bernhard Grzimek, a German zoologist, played an important role in alerting the world to the urgent need to conserve the Serengeti and its biological value for the benefit of local and global communities. It stressed conservation even at the expense of local people's interests.⁴⁴ It was one of the first attempts at looking at conservation in the Serengeti. The origin of the idea of national parks in Africa came from the politically powerful actors in England that were then supported by the Society for the Preservation of Flora and Fauna of the Empire (SPFFE).⁴⁵ The criteria in judging the suitability of an area as a national park were based on European standards.⁴⁶ The conservation ethic now must compromise as there is competition over land use and the values that have been placed onto conservation and the environment have changed over time but still has remained relevant at the present time.⁴⁷ This is important in that it assesses the current values that are held towards conservation which helps to understand the current attitude of local communities regarding conservation which is indicative of why conflicts are happening around the areas that are protected or nature reserves.

⁴¹Heidi G. Frontani, “Conservation and Wildlife”, *African Studies* (2015).

⁴²Frontani, “Conservation and Wildlife,”

⁴³Frontani, “Conservation and Wildlife,”

⁴⁴Kideghesho, “Serengeti Shall Not Die,” 228-248.

⁴⁵Kideghesho, “Serengeti,” 228-248.

⁴⁶Kideghesho, “Serengeti,” 228-248.

⁴⁷Margules and Usher, “Criteria,” 79-109.

Political, economic, and physical insecurity has a strong influence for communal conflict across ethnic groups as small, politically insignificant ethnic groups are the ones that experience conflicts relating to environmental pressures the most.⁴⁸ This is important in that it shows how inequality has led to conflicts among politically marginalized groups. There has not been a focus on how inequality also results in conflicts between humans and wildlife, as human-wildlife conflict encompasses everything that results in humans and animals competing over land and resources whether it's directly or indirectly. The tightening of control over resources by the state was done at the expense of customary rights for the local communities.⁴⁹ The political debate over the land and resources was conducted without including the voices of local Africans in the colonial period, and this has continued after independence.⁵⁰ The only way for the local people to defend their declining access to natural resources is through different forms of resistance.⁵¹

Human-wildlife conflict can be seen as one of these forms of resistance, this is one of the ways this thesis will show how human-wildlife conflicts are a consequence of these power disparities. The politics of nature protection in rural Africa is most often overlooked, through the establishment of national parks, a process of reallocation occurs that creates different social structures for controlling the access to natural resources.⁵² This thesis will show how this continues to happen in the Serengeti with the continuous relocation and displacement of the Maasai people. The narrative created by conservationist advocates illustrate the creation of national parks as only a moral activity, excluding the political struggle which is what the thesis will attempt to focus on as this illustrates the difference in power between various actors and how this contributes to further issues.

These above scholars have looked at the ways conservation developed in Africa, rooted in colonialism and the inequality that it has created. However, none of these scholars have looked at HWC specifically as one of the consequences of these conservation practices that

⁴⁸Clionadh Raleigh, "Political Marginalization, Climate Change and Conflict in African Sahel States", *International Studies Review* 12, no. 1 (March 2010): 69:86.

⁴⁹Robert P Neumann, "Political Ecology of Wildlife Conservation in the Mountain Meru Area of Northeast Tanzania," *Land Degradation and Rehabilitation* 3 (1992): 85-98,

⁵⁰Neumann, 'Political Ecology,' 85-98.

⁵¹Neumann, 'Political Ecology,' 90.

⁵²Neumann, 'Political Ecology,' 96.

continue to reproduce inequality. Therefore, in this thesis, the focus will be placed on the relationship between the conservation industry and the local communities, focusing on the macro-decision making and the local level consequences by drawing from both the literature on HWC and the colonial roots of conservation and showing how this has contributed to human-wildlife conflict in Africa. The current literature on HWC does not make this connection.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK:

One of the main concepts this thesis will work with is *power disparities* in relation to conservation. This refers to the difference in concentration of power between two or more actors and involves the unequal participation in the decision-making processes and the unequal distribution of income and opportunity between different groups in society.⁵³ This concept will focus on the social groups that generate and benefit the most from these conservation practices and the actors that suffer the worst consequences of these practices that reproduce social injustices and inequality.⁵⁴ This focuses on the asymmetries of power which encompasses the wider patterns of poverty, wealth, and inequality where resources are distributed unevenly through norms of allocation. Power disparities in conservation will look at the power each actor involved has in deciding what needs to be conserved, what areas will become conservation areas and who will be responsible in directing and managing these areas. It will also look at how the benefits from conservation are redistributed and who are the actors that do not receive any of these resources or financial gains and who are the actors that do.

One of the ways these power disparities will be examined is by looking at what this thesis will refer to as *tensions* created by various conservation practices. These tensions will refer to situations in which the governments conservation attempts and tourism enterprises in certain areas of the Serengeti have clashed with the interests of the local communities. It refers to an atmosphere with a growing possibility of conflict, including HWC. These tensions usually result in forced relocations, violent evictions and violent encounters between the police and community members, as well as protests and appeals to various human rights organizations.

An important concept to further consider is *land use*, which refers to the administration and alteration of the natural environment and wilderness into a built environment or semi-natural habitats and includes the activities and inputs where people interact with land and terrestrial ecosystems.⁵⁵ The competition over land is one of the ways in which humans and wildlife come

⁵³ZHU Yue et al, "Power Disparity and Team Conflict: The Role of Procedural Justice and Legitimacy", *Acta Psychologica Sinica* 51, no. 7 (2019): 829-840.

⁵⁴Yue et al, 'Power Disparity and Team Conflict,' 830.

⁵⁵Hama Kija et al, "Land Use and Land Cover Change Within and Around the Greater Serengeti Ecosystem", Tanzania, *American Journal of Remote Sensing* 8, no. 1(2020): 1-19 ;*United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, The Multiple Land Use Model of Ngorongoro Conservation Area : Achievements*

into conflict with each other in the Serengeti as HWC tension is greater where livestock and agriculture are an essential part of pastoral livelihoods. Most local populations are dependent on land through subsistence farming over large scale commercial rangelands.⁵⁶

METHODOLOGY:

This thesis will attempt to show how human-wildlife conflicts in the Serengeti are a symptom of the power disparities between the conservation actors and the local communities. This section will discuss how the thesis will answer this by approaching the topic from a political ecology approach to understand conservation practices on the African continent. Following this, this thesis will also make use of this approach to examine the Serengeti. This section will also discuss how the various sources will be analyzed using this specific approach.

Political ecology is an interdisciplinary perspective that includes an ecological perspective to influence political thought as well as a political understanding of our environmental conditions.⁵⁷ One of the main views of the political ecological perspective is that the practices involving producing, distributing and consuming that are intended to satisfy our direct human needs and desires have led to the current environmental circumstances which depend on a specific development path of over-consumption of natural resources.⁵⁸ This can be used to analyze the ongoing conflict that presents itself in the Serengeti between humans and wildlife as well as the power disparities that exist between the local communities and the conservation industry as they compete over resources. They are forced to come into contact due to issues such as rising human population and the degradation of land and the environment. These issues can be seen as a direct consequence of human collective choice which the theory views have led to “historically anthropocentric economic practices of historical arbitrary political

and lessons learnt, challenges and options for the Future Final Report , October 2019,

<https://www.oaklandinstitute.org/sites/oaklandinstitute.org/files/pdfpreview/mlum-final-oct-2019.pdf>

⁵⁶Hampson, Kaite et al, “Living in the Greater Serengeti Ecosystem: Human -Wildlife Conflict and Coexistence”, in *Sustaining Biodiversity in a Coupled Human-Natural System*”, edited by Anthony Sinclair et al. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, (2015): 608.

⁵⁷Hugh Dyer, “Introducing Green Theory, International Relations” *E -International Relations*, 2018, <https://www.e-ir.info/2018/01/07/green-theory-in-international-relations/> .

⁵⁸Dyer, *Introducing Green Theory*, 2.

groups who have exploited nature in their own short-term interests”.⁵⁹ This approach helps to understand and explain environmental change and its effect on people taking into consideration the political and economic structures that are at play. This approach will be used as HWC can be understood as an environmental change as well because of environmental change that has taken place not only because of the factors already identified but also because of the conditions between humans and the environment. The theory also contends that the key agents of change are non-state actors, smaller groups and individuals which are the ones that are often marginalized and excluded from the decision-making processes. The thesis will focus specifically on the Maasai people that have a long history related to the Serengeti and their displacement to the Loliondo and Ngorongoro reserve areas as well as the villages and settlement areas of the Singita Grumeti concession area, which comprises of IGGR (Ikorongo-Grumeti Game Reserves), Ikona WMA and village grazing land. This approach focuses on trying to understand the political and economic structures that are at play in environmental problems and focus on how these can be understood and analyzed through the selected sources. The selected sources allow for a fuller understanding of the underlying power structures at play as they draw on the issues that are present in the Serengeti and how they can be understood to exist in a larger structure of power and inequality.

⁵⁹Dyer, *Introducing Green Theory*, 3.

SOURCES AND SOURCE CRITICISM:

This thesis will look at various acts, strategies and policies issued by the Tanzanian government, conservation institutions and global governance structures that have been implemented in the Serengeti in relation to conservation. *The Wildlife Policy of Tanzania, the National Parks Act and the IUCN commission* report are some of the sources that will be consulted.⁶⁰ Using the political ecology approach, this thesis will try to unpack the structures that underpin these conflicts and the conservation practices. The authoritative nature of these sources makes them very reliable as they capture the macro-level decision-making; however, they are not able to capture how these decisions are being contested and the effects they have on the ground. These sources only represent one narrative that supports a specific decision and follows a conventional conservation logic which is why other sources will be consulted that can provide a perspective of the local communities and other relevant actors in the Serengeti.

This thesis will also make use of a documentary called “*The Edge of Existence*” that accounts for the opinions and feelings of the local communities as well as park rangers regarding the issue of human wildlife conflict in the Serengeti and their view on how the issues have been dealt with.⁶¹ This will provide the different perspective that is absent in the first type of sources consulted. This documentary also provides insights into specific cases of human-wildlife conflict and allows for a better understanding of the effects these incidences have on the ground. This source only focuses on a specific area in the Serengeti and focuses on a particular village community and conservation organization. There are however, many more village communities that might have different experiences or encounters which may be a potential limit of this source however, other sources are also consulted that represent other village communities to account for this.

⁶⁰United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, the Wildlife Policy of Tanzania, Dar es Salaam: United Republic of Tanzania, 1998 revised 2007, https://www.maliasili.go.tz/uploads/THE_WILDLIFE_POLICY_OF_TANZANIA_2007_%28RE%29.pdf ; United Republic of Tanzania, Chapter 282 National Parks Act, Laws of Tanzania, Dublin: Blackhall Publishing, 1959, <https://www.tanzanialaws.com/index.php/principal-legislation/national-parks-act> ; The International Union for Conservation of Nature, Species Survival Commission Report No. 15, Proceedings of a workshop held in February, 1994, <https://portals.iucn.org/library/sites/library/files/documents/SSC-OP-015.pdf>

⁶¹Suter and Luckock, *The Edge of Existence*,

Various petitions and letters that have been sent to different human rights organizations will also be used to illustrate the feelings and attitudes of the indigenous communities which include a letter submitted to the UN Special Rapporteur by Maasai residents and a letter with signed petitions from the community leaders of the Ngorongoro and Loliondo districts.⁶² These sources will reflect the feelings and emotions of the local actors and capture the local level consequences which may not necessarily represent the true nature of the situation but is an important component of human-wildlife conflict as it forms the “human” part of the situation and reflects the marginalization and insecurity that these groups are experiencing. These feelings are important to understand as will be discussed later in the thesis as they contribute to negative attitudes towards wildlife that can influence the presence of HWC. The limitations of these sources are that they will not give the complete version of everything that has happened, but they provide a perspective that is otherwise been neglected and not yet explored.

The data that will be collected from these sources will be qualitative in that it captures the social reality of the various actors involved. These specific sources were chosen as they illustrate the various conservation practices that have been formally put into place around the Serengeti as well as the actors involved in these processes, these sources also indicate the lack of input by local communities in these processes. The use of the documentary, reports and various letters and petitions offers an in-depth perspective of the local communities that are often neglected. These sources will allow for an assessment of the relationship between the conservation industry and the local communities, focusing on the macro-decision making and the local level consequences which falls in line with the political ecology approach. Analyzing these various sources and understanding what they are indicative of allows for a better understanding of the structures that are at play.

⁶²*Maasai Indigenous Residents of Ngorongoro Conservation Area*, Ngorongoro Conservation Area: Not Our World Heritage Site: A History of Exclusion and Marginalization of Maasai Residents, Submitted to UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous People’s for his report to the 77th session of the UN General Assembly, 25 March, 2022, <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/issues/indigenouspeoples/sr/callforinputcovidrecoverysubmissions/2022-07-28/MaasaiIndigenousResidentsofNgorongoroConservationArea.pdf>; *Maasai Community Leaders from Ngorongoro and Loliondo*, URGENT: Call for international support to stop the Tanzanian government's human rights violations against the Maasai, 2022, <https://www.oaklandinstitute.org/sites/oaklandinstitute.org/files/pdfpreview/ncaa-community-signatures.pdf>.

Many news outlets have confirmed that it is difficult to verify information from the areas around the Serengeti as the government have been silencing media reports and threatened to punish those it claims are distorting events happening on the ground.⁶³ Many of the incidents have been reported and recorded by Oakland Institute, a CSO, and many of the names of the community members have been retracted due to the widespread fear these communities are experiencing. The thesis will make use of this report that uses these first-hand accounts of the Maasai. Due to the censoring of information by the government, this is a potential blind spot for the thesis as this will influence what we can know about the reality on the ground. What we can know is what the government publishes and what the local community members send out through human rights organizations. This does limit the ability to get a full picture of what is going on, but further demonstrates the power disparities that are at play.

⁶³Al Jazeera, “In Tanzania, the Maasai may lose their land again”, July 11, 2022, <https://www.aljazeera.com/podcasts/2022/7/11/in-tanzania-the-maasai-may-lose-their-land-again>

STRUCTURE:

The structure of this thesis will go as follows:

Chapter One will discuss how wildlife conservation developed in the Serengeti since the beginning of the twentieth century by tracing its evolution in Tanzania starting from the creation of the first conservation areas in the region and then tracing it back to the present day. This chapter will look at the various acts, policies, manifestos, and management policies that stipulate the various restrictions and prohibitions that were implemented. This section will analyze how these decisions were made and who was able to participate in the decision-making.

Chapter Two will analyze how the historical power disparities between the conservation industry and the local communities have led to tensions in the Serengeti in recent decades. The conservation industry encompasses the colonial administration; the current government of Tanzania; private companies; and the international conservation community. This section examines the role various conservation restrictions imposed by the conservation authorities have played in the creation of tensions among the local communities towards conservation and wildlife. It will analyze various incidences that have taken place in recent decades that can be tied to this.

Chapter Three will discuss how these tensions discussed in chapter two have contributed to the presence of human-wildlife conflict in the Serengeti. It will first discuss how the Maasai have been affected by HWC, then it will go on to discuss various perspectives on the presence of HWC from conservationists and various individuals that study these conflicts in the Serengeti. It will then illustrate how the tensions that have been created between the conservation industry and the local communities affect the presence of HWC. It will also discuss the governments perspective on these issues and investigate the effects these conflicts have had on the local communities and how they perceive of wildlife and conservation.

The thesis will then conclude by drawing all these elements together, illustrating how the actions of the colonial administration followed by the independent governments have continued to exclude the local communities with regards to conservation. Various conservation decisions that restrict and prevent the local communities from accessing land create tensions that influence the

presence of conflicts. In the conclusion the wider relevance of this thesis will be explored as well as the various limitations that emerged for this research and lastly, the possibility for further research will also be considered.

CHAPTER ONE: HOW HAS WILDLIFE CONSERVATION DEVELOPED IN THE SERENGETI SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY?

This chapter will focus on how conservation in the Serengeti first developed by tracing its evolution from the establishment of the first game reserve up until the present day, by looking at the various wildlife policies, strategies and conservation laws and restrictions that have been implemented over the last two centuries and what this has meant for the local communities around the Serengeti.

To understand the current conflict that exists in the Serengeti today it is important to situate it into a larger context that extends from the colonial era in which Tanzania was once a British and German colony. Before the twentieth century the presence of wildlife conservation existed to control hunting and trade of wildlife and was not focused on the actual conservation of the environment and the wildlife but merely on extracting these resources. In 1905 the first game reserve was established by the Germans and the area was selected due to the concentration of big game over its biological diversity.⁶⁴ The extension of the German empire towards the end of the nineteenth century constructed colonial land laws and transformed all territorial land into “crown” land which means that any land where there was no evidence of ownership and continual use was considered vacant.⁶⁵ During this period diseases such as cholera and small pox were brought over that wiped out the cattle populations and Tanzania was experiencing a drought.⁶⁶ The Maasai labeled this time period as “emutai” which translates to “wipeout” in their language “Maa”.⁶⁷ These circumstances led to the Maasai population declining and the loss of 90% of their cattle. Cattle in Africa performs a unique and essential part of many local people's livelihoods as it does with the Maasai as the community is deeply interlaced with cattle.⁶⁸

By 1911 5% of the colony was made up of protected areas.⁶⁹ In 1919 the British had also colonized parts of Tanzania and in 1921 the British government then developed a game department and the gazettelement of the first game reserve.⁷⁰ In 1923 a Land Ordinance CAP was

⁶⁴United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, the Wildlife Policy, 1.

⁶⁵The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*,

⁶⁶The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*, 9-10.

⁶⁷The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*, 9-10.

⁶⁸The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*, 11.

⁶⁹United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, the Wildlife Policy, 1.

⁷⁰United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, the Wildlife Policy, 1.

enforced which declared that all land is public and the main control of land is endowed to the governor who is responsible for administering the land for use and common benefits that are either direct or indirect of the native people of Tanzania , which basically means that all “ungranted” land is declared as public land.⁷¹In 1928 and 1929 the Ngorongoro Crater closed area and Serengeti game reserve were officially created, and later on in 1946 game controlled areas were divided into hunting blocks.⁷² These various conservation areas were done without the participation and inclusion of the local communities and with each new establishment , the local communities access to land became more insecure. An amendment was later made which recognized the customary rights that granted rights to the indigenous communities, however any rights admitted by the state were superior to customary rights as these rights only gave them access to the land on a seasonal or cyclical basis and not a formal legal title to the land and resources. ⁷³

In 1940 the first restrictions were placed on settlements through the introduction of the game ordinance CAP.⁷⁴ In 1951 a framework of wildlife protected areas was created and the Serengeti National Park was established that incorporated the Ngorongoro and several other national parks and game reserves⁷⁵ Pastoralism and cultivation was first allowed however, in 1954 it was seen to be incompatible with conservation and agriculture was then prohibited.⁷⁶ These various restrictions and prohibitions directly affected the local communities as they relied on pastoral activities to sustain their livelihoods. In 1959 the Maasai were then relocated by the British colonial authorities from the Serengeti to Loliondo, this was seen as a compromise between the needs of the pastoralists and wildlife. Local interests were only considered in one protected area which is the Ngorongoro Conservation Area that was created with the dual mandate to protect the rights of the Maasai pastoralists and conserve the natural heritage of the area; it was a multiple land-use area.⁷⁷ The Maasai were convinced to relocate as they were

⁷¹A native in Tanzania refers to “any person who is a citizen of Tanzania and who is not of European or Asiatic Origin”: “Land Tenure in Tanzania”, *The International Union for Conservation of Nature*, Species Survival Commission Report, 19.

⁷²*United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism*, the Wildlife Policy, 2.

⁷³*United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism*, the Wildlife Policy, 3.

⁷⁴*The International Union for Conservation of Nature*, Species Survival Commission Report, 23.

⁷⁵*The International Union for Conservation of Nature*, Species Survival Commission Report, 24-25.

⁷⁶*The International Union for Conservation of Nature*, Species Survival Commission Report, 24-25.

⁷⁷*The International Union for Conservation of Nature*, Species Survival Commission Report, 24-25.

presented with the potential of better development of their water resources and an increased role in governing the conservation area.⁷⁸

All these commitments promised by the British colonial authorities were verbal which created an imbalance between what was supposedly promised and what was provided. There were only two official items of legislation, the national parks act which provided the terms and boundaries of the SNP and gave the governor the power to declare any land a national park in Tanzania and the NCA ordinance which declared the Maasai as having settlement rights.⁷⁹ The Maasai federal council reiterated that the government's intention was to protect the wildlife but should there be any conflict between the interests of the game and the local communities, the local communities would take precedence.⁸⁰ As will be discussed later on, this was not what happened and continues to happen. Power was granted to the NCA governing body (NCAA) that allowed them to prohibit, restrict and control critical activities which included the cultivation of land and cattle grazing. The ordinance did not prescribe a standard for the actors that should be on the governing body which meant that the Maasai representation in the NCAA did not last long. In 1960 the governance of the NCAA was passed over to the conservator which was accountable to the federal minister and not the community.⁸¹

All these wildlife conservation areas that were created and maintained under the colonial administration was done with the interests and intentions of the Europeans. Setting aside game-controlled areas as hunting areas for European royalty while marginalizing the local communities in the process, is one way they used conservation restrictions to secure their interests. These conservation policies were focused on legal regimes that excluded the interest of rural Africans.⁸² Some of the measures included removing local communities from certain areas to establish these protected areas. Resource control was essentially removed from local communities and traditional practices were made illegal through wildlife laws. This reaffirms that, historically there has been minimal consideration of pastoral land rights. The exclusion of the local communities from the creation and implementation of these various conservation areas

⁷⁸The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*, 22.

⁷⁹National Parks Act, Chapter 282, 1959, (Tanzania), <https://faolex.fao.org/docs/pdf/tan155102.pdf>

⁸⁰The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*, 23.

⁸¹*The International Union for Conservation of Nature*, Species Survival Commission Report, 26.

⁸²*The International Union for Conservation of Nature*, Species Survival Commission Report, Vii.

represents the asymmetrical power relations in the main assumptions about knowledge, rights to resources and consumption.

In 1961 when Tanzania gained independence, the independent government introduced a policy to continue with the extension of these systems of wildlife conservation areas.⁸³ Originally boundaries were demarcated under British rule but have now been drawn by the subsequent administration.⁸⁴ At this moment there were three national parks, nine game reserves along with the Ngorongoro Conservation Area, human population was relatively low and land use conflicts were not present. Land according to the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT) at the time could easily be set aside for wildlife protection without creating serious inconveniences for the local people.⁸⁵ As this thesis will discuss as human population does grow, land does become a scarce resource and a problem later. In 1974 the Wildlife Conservation Act was established that imbues the government to establish protected areas and outlines how these areas will be managed and organized.⁸⁶ This act categorizes conservation of wildlife into two areas, game reserves which are devoted solely to wildlife where human settlement is prohibited and hunting is allowed with a permit and game controlled areas where human settlement, grazing of livestock's are unrestricted and hunting is permitted with a license.⁸⁷ This act was another example of further restrictions that were implemented that directly affected the livelihood of the local communities and were again excluded from the decision-making processes.

In 1975 the NCAA was revised and banned cultivation as well due to the pressure from growing wildlife and human populations.⁸⁸ This was a victory for conservationists but a loss for

⁸³Wildlife Conservation Act, 1974(Tanzania): An Act to make better provisions for the conservation, management, protection and sustainable utilization of wildlife and wildlife products; to repeal and to provide for other related matters, <https://www.parliament.go.tz/polis/uploads/bills/acts/1662104063-CHAPTER%20283-THE%20WILDLIFE%20CONSERVATION%20ACT.pdf>

⁸⁴Al Jazeera, "Regional Court Dismisses Maasai Eviction Case against Tanzania", *Al Jazeera*, June 16, 2022, https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2022/6/16/in-tanzania-the-maasai-fight-eviction-over-statconservation-plot?traffic_source=KeepReading

⁸⁵United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, the Wildlife Policy,

⁸⁶United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, the Wildlife Policy, 1; *The International Union for Conservation of Nature*, Species Survival Commission Report, 20. <https://portals.iucn.org/library/sites/library/files/documents/SSC-OP-015.pdf> ;

Wildlife Conservation Act, 1974 <https://www.parliament.go.tz/polis/uploads/bills/acts/1662104063-CHAPTER%20283-THE%20WILDLIFE%20CONSERVATION%20ACT.pdf>.

⁸⁷Wildlife Conservation Act, 1974,

⁸⁸ *United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism*, National Human-wildlife Conflict Management Strategy.

the local communities. These various restrictions defined exactly where the local communities were able to settle and practice their livelihood, introduced without consulting the local communities. These decisions directly affected how the local communities could live but they were unable to decide for themselves where these places were. Power was also centralized which meant that the area was vested in a corporate-style board; there was no local accountability in the governing authority at all now.⁸⁹ During this period the IUCN also gained more influence in conservation especially in Tanzania and lobbied for the increased restriction on cultivation, grazing and movement within the NCA.⁹⁰ These restrictions further marginalized the Maasai and other local communities living near the protected areas. This shows the role current governing structures and international conservation organizations played in reproducing this power disparity.

The post-independent government under the leadership of Julius Nyerere started to untangle the agreement the British and the Maasai had as the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism reclassified the land as Loliondo Game Controlled Area. Loliondo was both a wildlife protection area and village land.⁹¹ The British had promised the Maasai that they could continue to utilize the NCA and participate in the management and governance of the area.⁹² In the 1980s a new strategy emerged that focused on community based conservation however, the draft policy of 1989 never progressed further.⁹³ In 1992 the ban on cultivation was overturned by the prime minister John William Maledela in opposition to the wishes of the NCAA, this was good news for the Maasai but again nothing was put into writing.⁹⁴ A general management plan in 1995 showed that the Maasai's subsistence plots were much smaller than the one originally demarcated by the government illustrating that they were restricted to less land than what was formerly agreed upon. In 1999 a Village Land Act entrusted village lands to village councils, recognizing the customary right to land.⁹⁵ This gives the Maasai a legal right to inhabit the

⁸⁹The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*, 23.

⁹⁰The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*, 23.

⁹¹*United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism*, National Human-wildlife Conflict Management Strategy,

⁹²*Maasai Indigenous Residents of Ngorongoro Conservation Area*, Ngorongoro Conservation Area,

⁹³*The International Union for Conservation of Nature*, Species Survival Commission Report,

⁹⁴The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*, 24.

⁹⁵The Village Land Act, number 5 of 1999, refers to governance and administration of village land, which constitutes 70 per cent of the whole land mass of Tanzania Mainland, <https://faolex.fao.org/docs/pdf/tan53306.pdf>

land.⁹⁶ Land was classified into three different categories; general land; village land and reserved land. Reserved land was set aside for wildlife conservation areas. The Village Land Act gave the president the authority to change village land into reserved land or general land if it is done for the “public interest”.⁹⁷ Loliondo has remained a hunting reserve but is supposed to be managed by the residents for their benefit.

One of the main stipulations in relation to national parks is that ‘lands within the boundary of any national park will not be subject to human settlement’.⁹⁸ This is an important factor as it is the principal factor that led to the first resettlement of the Maasai. Another important stipulation made is the definition of ‘wilderness’ used by TANAPA and the parks policy which defines wilderness as an area ‘*where the earth and its community of life are untampered by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain; of undeveloped land retaining its natural character without permanent improvements/human habitation; which generally appears to have been affected primarily by the forces and in which the highest purpose is to be protected*’. These stipulations are rooted in the exclusion of local communities in the creation of and protection of these wildlife protected areas as they contradict with the Maasai’s and other village communities’ understanding of nature and the role they play. The regional government authorities were the fundamental institutions that made the decisions about these conservation areas. The Arusha manifesto also created a specialized role for international conservation organizations to provide the necessary technical expertise in the planning and management of the conservation areas across Africa.⁹⁹

In the last decade, the population of Tanzania has risen to nearly 70 million people, which makes suitable land very scarce. This requires good land use plans and an elaborate wildlife conservation policy. It is also important to note that 70% of Tanzanian people live in

⁹⁶*The International Union for Conservation of Nature*, Species Survival Commission Report, 45

⁹⁷The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*, 24.

⁹⁸*Tanzania National Parks National Policy Committee*, National Policies for National Parks in Tanzania, 12; The Community Conservation Service (CCS) principles that direct the NP’s outreach holds *that local communities will be consulted as equal partners with TANAPA in the process of solving problems of mutual concern and will search for ways to distribute the benefits of conservation to local communities in ways that are sustainable and promote sound development*.

⁹⁹Julius K Nyere, 1961, “Arusha Manifesto”, Dar es Salaam at Conservation and Nature Symposium, September 1961, <https://www.tanzaniaparks.go.tz/pages/history>

village areas.¹⁰⁰ Land uses differ in the amount of protection afforded to wildlife and the environment, these protected areas are not fenced, and the human populations are mostly migratory and consist of nomadic systems that are also ethnically diverse. The wildlife PA network in Tanzania covers 24% of the total surface area of land and 17% of that surface area is devoted to PA's where no human settlement is allowed and 6.4% of land consists of areas where humans and wildlife coexist¹⁰¹. The competition for land, the current land-use policies, land-use change, human population growth and the evolution of settlements around the parks including the sedentarisation of formerly nomadic pastoralists are the most persistent threat to the ecosystem of the Serengeti and can be understood as one of the root causes for many of the HWC consequences as this thesis will later explore¹⁰² As agricultural land becomes scarcer, local sources of revenue and employment are difficult to access, the more community members are unwilling or economically unable to carry the costs linked with the conservation of wildlife.¹⁰³ A major challenge for wildlife policy creation is to develop, manage and conserve wildlife amidst a growing human population.¹⁰⁴

In 2009 the wildlife conservation area was again amended which prohibited crop cultivation in game reserves and GCA's which denied the Maasai their right to their cultural heritage, this has since led to multiple land conflicts between the government, investors, conservation authorities and the Maasai.¹⁰⁵ Their lives are marked by food insecurity, malnutrition and dependence on insufficient and few and far between food aids which has left them significantly more vulnerable in periods of drought.¹⁰⁶ The most serious threat to the Maasai and other local communities has been conservation laws and foreign investment. In the middle of the twentieth century, they were forced off the land including present day SNP. They were initially offered concessions such as being able to relocate to Loliondo and NCA but as will be discussed below continue to face numerous evictions. Many of the solutions being proposed revolve around these areas being gazetted as game-controlled areas where communities are not

¹⁰⁰United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, National Human-wildlife Conflict Management Strategy,

United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, the Wildlife Policy, 13-14.

¹⁰²Hampson et al, "Living in the Greater Serengeti Ecosystem," 631.

¹⁰³Hampson et al, "Living in the Greater Serengeti Ecosystem," 638.

¹⁰⁴United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, the Wildlife Policy, 13-14.

¹⁰⁵Maasai Community Leaders from Ngorongoro and Loliondo, URGENT,

¹⁰⁶The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*, 24.

allowed as opposed to wildlife management areas.¹⁰⁷ Various laws have been put into place that have diminished their rights to graze cattle and cultivate subsistence gardens. Wildlife preservationists would prefer the NCA to become a NP in which rights of occupation are extinguished and most wildlife protected areas are found in territories previously part of Masailand. Now the government in the name of conservation and to accommodate for tourism, development, and wildlife hunting, plans to dispossess thousands of Maasai from their ancestral lands in Loliondo division of the Ngorongro district. This shows that current governance structures are reproducing the same asymmetrical relationship with the village communities as the colonial authorities did as they also restrict and prohibit them from resources and exclude them from participating.

This chapter has provided an overview of how wildlife conservation developed in the Serengeti since the beginning of the twentieth century. One of the main takeaways from this chapter is that as time progresses and human population has grown, the land laws proposed originally by both the German and British colonial government and then continued by the Tanzanian government with the support of international conservation groups have been done without the inclusion of the local communities. This is how the emergence of human-wildlife conflict in the Serengeti can be understood and further unpacked later in the thesis as it is connected to the exclusion of local communities from the decision-making mechanisms with regards to conservation. The next chapter will discuss the tensions that have emerged due to various government decisions involving conservation with the support of international conservation organizations and the effects these decisions have had on the local communities over the last few decades.

¹⁰⁷The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*, 19.

CHAPTER TWO: HOW HAVE HISTORICAL POWER DISPARITIES BETWEEN THE CONSERVATION INDUSTRY AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES LED TO TENSIONS IN THE SERENGETI IN RECENT DECADES?

This chapter will discuss how the power disparities between the conservation industry and local communities have led to tensions in Serengeti in the last two decades. It will first examine the current role international conservation organizations play in the Serengeti and the influence it holds over the decisions the Tanzanian government make with regards to conservation and the community. Next, it will discuss various evictions that have resulted due to these decisions. This chapter will also discuss the various ways the government continues to exclude the local communities from decision-making processes and how this is also seen to reproduce colonial relationships. It will also discuss the role private enterprises play in conservation and how they are found to also marginalize the local communities which leads to tensions in the Serengeti. Lastly, it will analyze how the local communities have responded to these decisions and how they experience these asymmetrical power relationships.

In the previous chapter we saw that the Arusha manifesto created a specialized role for international conservation organizations to provide the necessary technical expertise in the planning and management of the conservation areas across Africa.¹⁰⁸ The international community has a lot of influence in deciding the terms of conservation and it structures how the Tanzanian government manages and controls wildlife which includes the priority to specify the role local communities can play in conservation and their exclusion from decision-making mechanisms. This can be understood as being rooted in historical power disparities as African indigenous communities were and are excluded from decision-making mechanisms. The international community have had a significant influence on how the Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA) is managed and the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) has gained more influence in conservation over the last few years especially in Tanzania and lobbied for the increased restriction on cultivation, grazing and movement within the NCA. In 2010 the NCA was included in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage Site list and in 2019 the UNESCO World Heritage Centre and, the

¹⁰⁸ Nyere, 1961, “Arusha Manifesto”,

International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS).¹⁰⁹ These official advisory bodies released a joint report on the NCA which concluded that population in the NCA needed to be controlled, structuring it as the primary cause of environmental degradation.¹¹⁰ The Tanzania National Commission along with the IUCN and UNESCO advocated for the removal of all people from the NCA and total abandonment of the MLUM model to create a nature reserve.¹¹¹ It urged the government in collaboration with the local communities to explore different livelihood options to its current voluntary resettlement scheme that is consistent with the convention and the relevant international norms. These organizations have urged the government to compensate those that have been harmed by the evictions and to protect the rights of the Maasai.

The Tanzanian government responded by producing a Multiple Land Use Model (MLUM) and village resettlement plan. This MLUM plan proposes that indigenous and legal residents of NCA need to be resettled and the area designated as a game-controlled area to license trophy hunting.¹¹² Alternatively, the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism advanced that the area be divided into four management zones with differing land use regulations. These zones will consist of a core-conservation zone; conservation sub-zone, transition zone and settlement development zone.¹¹³ This will designate 82% of the area to conservation and only 18 % for local communities to settle and develop.¹¹⁴ This will also mean that pastoralism is illegal. The new MLUM plan now restricts residents from the “core conservation” zones and can only be used for tourist development, trophy hunting and research and training.¹¹⁵ 80 000 community members which mainly consist of the Maasai will need to be relocated. The Maasai already experience acute hunger and food insecurity and this increasing

¹⁰⁹*United Republic of Tanzania*, ICOMOS/IUCN, Joint ICOMOS-IUCN Advisory Mission to Ngorongoro Conservation Area World Heritage property (United Republic of Tanzania), August 23-26, 2017, <http://whc.unesco.org/document/165407>.

¹¹⁰*Maasai Indigenous Residents of Ngorongoro Conservation Area*, Ngorongoro Conservation Area, 5.

¹¹¹*Maasai Indigenous Residents of Ngorongoro Conservation Area*, Ngorongoro Conservation Area, 5. *United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism*, The Multiple Land Use Model of Ngorongoro Conservation Area: Achievements and lessons learnt, challenges and options for the Future Final Report (Dodoma: United Republic of Tanzania, 2019), <https://www.oaklandinstitute.org/sites/oaklandinstitute.org/files/pdfpreview/mlum-final-oct-2019.pdf>

¹¹³*United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism*, The Multiple Land Use Model of Ngorongoro,

United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, MLUM of NCA, Vii.

¹¹⁵*Maasai Indigenous Residents of Ngorongoro Conservation Area*, Ngorongoro Conservation Area, 5

restriction will lead to more increased poverty, starvation, and disease. NCA is undertaking this new general management plan without consulting the Ngorongoro Pastoralist Council (NPC).¹¹⁶ These actions are rooted in asymmetrical power relations as the local communities do not get a say in where they live and how they practice their livelihood, and tourist development and trophy uniting is prioritized at their expense. The creation of the NCA into a WHS makes it an important tourist attraction creating the highest foreign-exchange income. This creates tensions between the two actors.

The government is promoting that relocation will help solve Maasai poverty and illiteracy and forced relocation is in the best interest of conservation.¹¹⁷ The IUCN report does not consider that the poverty of the pastoralists is a consequence of the restrictions imposed on their livelihoods and loss of traditional lands, which in turn has had detrimental effects on the environment. Many of the report's findings ignore the reciprocal relationship the Maasai has developed with nature. The international community has been criticized for their lack of recognition of the Maasai and their failure to recognize their contribution to conservation and restoration of biodiversity of the territory.¹¹⁸ UNESCO WHC does not consider an approach to conservation that involves indigenous conservation skills and knowledge. UNESCO, IUCN and ICOMOS and their role in global conservation is an explicit example of how their aims clash with the aims of the local communities. Classifying the NCA as a World Heritage Site (WHS) comes with stricter standards of conservation. This is difficult in a multiple-land use area where humans are supposedly part of the conservation equation where their development needs to be considered.¹¹⁹ This shows how the World Heritage Convention (WHC) is incompatible with UNDRIP as it fails to integrate indigenous rights.¹²⁰ The WHC approach to conservation is neo-colonial as it sustains indigenous land dispossession and permits the systematic exploitation of their rights.¹²¹ The lack of involvement of the local communities and participation was

¹¹⁶*Maasai Community Leaders from Ngorongoro and Loliondo*, URGENT.

¹¹⁷*United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism*, The Multiple Land Use Model of Ngorongoro Conservation Area,

¹¹⁸*Maasai Indigenous Residents of Ngorongoro Conservation Area*, Ngorongoro Conservation Area, 5.

¹¹⁹*Maasai Indigenous Residents of Ngorongoro Conservation Area*, Ngorongoro Conservation Area, 5.

¹²⁰The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), adopted by General Assembly Thursday, 13 September 2007, <https://humanrights.gov.au/our-work/un-declaration-rights-indigenous-peoples>.

¹²¹*Maasai Indigenous Residents of Ngorongoro Conservation Area*, Ngorongoro Conservation Area, 5.

detrimental in deciding whether the NCA should be a WHS , as it led to the omission in the sections on culture, misrepresentation and role of the Maasai which affected the decision overall.

These restrictions have led to multiple evictions of the local communities over the years in the name of conservation which have created tensions in the Serengeti.¹²² The main reason for these evictions was due to the Maasai cultivation for subsistence agriculture of small plots of land that was considered to result in the degradation of the ecosystem; however, the private airstrip in the middle of the wildlife migration routes was not considered as an environmental harm.¹²³ The Tanzanian prime minister, Kassim Majaliwa reiterated the government's goal to go ahead with the MLUM and Damas Ndumbar , minister of MNRT, also announced that the government will also review the 1975 NCAA Act which concerns the equal participation of communities in the development and tourism as it no longer fits with the national economic and conservation interests.¹²⁴ John Mongella the Arusha Regional commissioner publicized the government's plan to continue with plans to turn a specific area of village land situated in the Loliondo Division into a PA which is another incidence of forced evictions.¹²⁵ This would require 70 000 Maasai residents along with their cattle to be evicted from their legally owned land.¹²⁶ This was previously proposed in 2017 which then resulted in violent evictions. Four Village councils then filed an application to the East African Court of Justice against the Tanzanian government to prohibit them from evicting the Maasai.¹²⁷ The EACJ responded by issuing orders to the government to cease the eviction and to restrain the police from harassing the local communities. They ruled that the Maasai were unable to prove the evictions had

¹²²Maasai Community Leaders, URGENT

¹²³The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*, 19.

¹²⁴Maasai Community Leaders, Maasai Indigenous Residents of Ngorongoro Conservation Area, and Ngorongoro Conservation Area,

¹²⁵International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, Urgent Alert: Around 70,000 Maasai in Loliondo Tanzania Face Another Forceful Eviction, Gross Human Rights and Breach of Rule of Law, Copenhagen: IWGIA, 27 January, 2022, https://www.iwgia.org/doclink/iwgia-ipri-urgent-alert-loliondo-tanzania-jan-2022-eng-1/eyJ0eXAiOiJKV1QiLCJhbGciOiJIUzI1NiJ9.eyJzdWIiOiJpd2dpYS1pcHJpLXVvZ2VudC1hbGVydC1sb2xpb25kby10YW56YW5pYS1qYW4tMjAyMi1lbmctMSIsImhhdCI6MTY0MzI2OTExMCwiZXhwIjoxNjQzMzU1NTEwfQ.FWVJuYcstUYK2G31XWog2fL36Vi1xibF1gS7_ggcFyM

¹²⁶Andy Currier and Anuradha Mittal, *The Looming Threat of Eviction: The Continued Displacement of the Maasai under the Guise of Conservation in Ngorongoro Conservation Area*, Oakland: Oakland Institute, 2021, <https://www.oaklandinstitute.org/looming-threat-eviction>.

¹²⁷East Africa Court of Justice, Reference No. 10 of 2017 Ololosokwan Village Council & 3 others vs Attorney General of United Republic of Tanzania, 21st of September 2017, <https://www.eacj.org/?cases=reference-no-10-of-2017-ololosokwan-village-council-3-others-vs-the-attorney-general-of-the-united-republic-of-tanzania>

happened outside the park as the evidence of alleged violence and brutality is just hearsay and inconsistent, they also ruled that no compensation was due.¹²⁸ These forced evictions are in violation of the 1999 *Village Land Act*.¹²⁹ It is also in violation of the constitution of 1977, the court injunction issued by the EACJ, the EAC Treaty on the African Charter on Human and People's Rights, UN Declaration on Rights of Indigenous Peoples, International Covenant on economic, social and cultural rights.¹³⁰ Tanzania is also a signatory to the UNDRIP that underpins the principle of "free, prior and informed consent" by the indigenous communities.¹³¹ There are various petitions that have been created to stop the government from going through with the evictions and these include the Avaas petition, IPRI petition, boycott of Tanzania tourism petition and Oakland institute petition.¹³² The various petitions that were sent out by the Maasai community leaders with the help of various civil society organizations also prompted various human right organizations to respond and confirm the current conditions of the indigenous pastoralists. They were able to confirm that the Maasai have endured being marginalized, oppressed, and discriminated against in Tanzania.¹³³

The African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights (ACHPR) released an urgent call for the cessation of the eviction of the Maasai community in the Loliondo division of the Ngorongoro district in Tanzania.¹³⁴ It claims that since June of 2022 the police have been using force to remove the Maasai from their ancestral lands and as a result 31 people have been injured. The commission makes it clear that they condemn these acts and that they serve as a violation of numerous rights and want to bring attention to the Tanzanian government that

¹²⁸*East Africa Court of Justice*, Reference No. 10,

¹²⁹ The Village Land Act, number 5 of 1999, refers to governance and administration of village land, which constitutes 70 per cent of the whole land mass of Tanzania Mainland; *the act makes provisions for information and consultation procedures within the village council and village assembly in cases where evictions are deemed necessary or where the president orders the transfer of land into general public or reserved land and makes provisions and procedures for full, fair and prompt compensation*, <https://faolex.fao.org/docs/pdf/tan53306.pdf>

¹³⁰ *Constitute Project*, Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania, 1977, Chapter One, https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Tanzania_2005.pdf?lang=en

¹³¹ *Maasai Community Leaders*,

¹³² *Maasai Community Leaders*,

¹³³ *United Nations Human Rights Officer of the High Commissioner*, "Tanzania: UN Experts Warn of escalating violence amidst plans to forcibly evict Maasai from Ancestral Lands," June 15, 2022.

<https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2022/06/tanzania-un-experts-warn-escalating-violence-amidst-plans-forcibly-evict>.

¹³⁴ *African Commission on Human and People's Rights*, "Urgent Call for Cessation of the Eviction of the Maasai Community in the United Republic of Tanzania", June 13, 2022.

‘evictions can only be carried out as a last resort and that every one of the affected communities be consulted and their consent should be acquired’.¹³⁵ On 23 to 28 January 2023, The ACHPR went to the United Republic of Tanzania on a promotion mission invited by the government to assess the current state of human and peoples’ rights.¹³⁶ The commission observed the impacts of colonialism in Tanzania with regards to the pastoral communities whose lifestyles are inextricably connected to the land. The commission also noted some concerns about the ongoing relocations of the pastoral communities from the NCA as they believe there has been inadequate consultation and information provided regarding the relocation and resettlement program for these communities. They also observed that most of the community members affected are only obliging to relocate because of the inadequate access to basic amenities they are experiencing.¹³⁷ Contrary to what the government claims, the evictions have not been voluntary. This relocation destroys their access to their livelihood and does not allow them to preserve their traditional livelihood practices and the intergenerational transfer of traditional knowledge.¹³⁸ This denial of the Maasai’s land rights and cultural rights all leads to poverty, social breakdown, and loss of a dignified existence. This decision made by the government mirrors the same decision made by the British colonial authorities before 1961. It is evident to see that the most recent version of the plan does not sufficiently incorporate the concerns of the local communities, allegedly these plans were drafted by people that do not include the NCA residents.¹³⁹ The MLUM and resettlement plan disregards the intimate relationship that the Maasai have with the environment on their territories that has historically played an essential role in conservation and sustainable use of the land.¹⁴⁰ Any efforts afterwards that attempted to include the local communities resulted in the community members being side-lined. The decision of the government to review the NCAA act that involves the equal participation of local communities leaves these communities feeling vulnerable and powerless in the decisions that are made concerning what

¹³⁵*African Commission on Human and People’s Rights*, “Urgent Call for Cessation of the Eviction of the Maasai Community in the United Republic of Tanzania,”

¹³⁶*African Commission on Human and People’s Rights*, “Press Statement at the Conclusion of the Promotion Mission of the African Commission on Human and People’s Rights to the United Republic of Tanzania,” January 28, 2023.

African Commission on Human and People’s Rights, “Press Statement,”

¹³⁸*Maasai Community Leaders from Ngorongoro and Loliondo, URGENT*,

¹³⁹*United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism*, The Multiple Land Use Model of Ngorongoro Conservation Area,

¹⁴⁰*United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism*, The Multiple Land Use Model of Ngorongoro Conservation Area,

happens to the land that should belong to them. The Maasai community leaders believe that the government is creating ‘false narratives’ by framing the issue of environmental damage as caused by livestock grazing and population growth of the Maasai.¹⁴¹ Fiore Longo from Survival International an Indigenous Rights Advocacy group stated that the judgment made by the EACJ was a huge knock to the Maasai , he stated that the ‘court has given a strong signal to the international community that evictions and human rights abuses against indigenous peoples should be tolerated if they are done in the name of nature’.¹⁴² The evictions and forced relocations because of the implementation of further restrictions in conservation areas are an example of how the decisions made by the conservation industry without the inclusion of the local communities have created situations in which tensions arises. They also serve as an example of how historical power disparities are being reproduced as the current government continues to exclude the local communities as the colonial authorities once did.

Another actor that is encompassed in the conservation industry that can be seen to create situations in which tensions arise in Tanzania is the private sector which involves all corporations and organizations that invest in wildlife to help the government in conservation, development, and sustainable utilization.¹⁴³ This includes various development programs as well as tourism-based companies. These private enterprises have had a significantly obstructive impact on the local communities and serve as another example of how conservation and wildlife take precedence over the local communities. The two companies; Tanzania Conservation Limited (TCL) which is owned by Thomson Safaris and OBC- a hunting firm which is owned by the United Arab Emirates Royal Family. In 2006 TCL bought a 96-year lease from Tanzania Breweries (TBL) to 12, 617 acres of land in Northern Tanzania.¹⁴⁴ TCL acquired land from the government without the consent of the Maasai and with no compensation provided. Three surrounding Maasai villages challenge the sale, contesting that the land that was sold in 1984 to TBL was done without their consent and in 1999 the company vacated the land, and it was abandoned for an extended period. In the meantime, the Maasai made use of it and TBL did not

¹⁴¹Maasai Community Leaders from Ngorongoro and Loliondo, URGENT,

¹⁴²Al Jazeera, “Regional Court Dismisses Maasai Eviction Case Against Tanzania” , Al Jazeera , October 1 , <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/10/1/regional-court-dismisses-maasai-eviction-case-against-tanzania>

¹⁴³United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, The Wildlife Policy, 26,

¹⁴⁴Maasai Community Leaders,

have the jurisdiction to sell and transfer the land to TCL.¹⁴⁵ They argue that the villagers who did not benefit from the sale made by TBL at all should have rights to the land and assert themselves as the owners of the land through adverse possession.¹⁴⁶ In 2013 the village councils of the Mondorosi Sukenye and Soitsamba villages put in a lawsuit at Arusha against the TBL and TCL.¹⁴⁷ They claimed that they should have joint ownership of the land known as “Sukenye Farm” as TBL which is a parastatal company acquired the title for the land without the consent of the Maasai and with no compensation provided.¹⁴⁸ Rashid. S Counsel for the Loliondo Maasai claims that “under common law if a piece of land is owned by someone and another person comes onto that land for 12 years and the owner does not object, then that person can claim it”.¹⁴⁹ Thomson Safaris did not agree to negotiate and after the lawsuit was filed in October of 2015 the Arusha-based court ruled against the Maasai. They only acquired the 2,617 acres of land that they agreed was unlawfully acquired.¹⁵⁰ They were also not granted any cover for the damages they accrued. This decision was appealed by the Maasai, but the case is still pending. Many local community members have affirmed that as a last resort if the lawsuit fails, they will mobilize to resist the company.¹⁵¹ This is an example of the many decisions made by the government and conservation authorities which exclude the village communities that creates tension among these communities.

Another incident of tension involved the hunting firm OBC, which has been operating for over 25 years. In that time many animals and birds have been killed and local communities have been blocked from accessing the grazing lands. This company acquired its license in 1992, the government claimed to be acting on behalf of the village communities without involving them in the decision and granted the firm the hunting concession of LGCA.¹⁵² OBC has been given exclusive rights to hunt in the territory that is disputed and hundreds of Arab royalties as well as businessmen spend weeks in the area hunting every year.¹⁵³ This has resulted in animals and

¹⁴⁵*Court Appeal of Tanzania, Mondosi Village Council; & Others Vs Tanzania Breweries Ltd & Others, Civil Appeal 66 of 2017, Arusha, December 13, 2018, <https://tanzlii.org/tz/judgment/court-appeal-tanzania/2018/303>.*

¹⁴⁶The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*, 21.

¹⁴⁷*Court Appeal of Tanzania,*

¹⁴⁸*Court Appeal of Tanzania,*

¹⁴⁹The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*, 21-22.

¹⁵⁰*Court Appeal of Tanzania,*

¹⁵¹The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*, 22.

¹⁵²The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*, 17,

¹⁵³The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*, 21-22,

birds being killed as well as restricting the Maasai from grazing lands and water resources. It is clear to see that many of these practices are inconsistent with conservation however, the government continues to favor these investors over the Maasai. MNRT Kamis Kagasheki in 2013 announced the proposal to remove 250 000 HA from LGCA, where 150 000 HA will be dedicated to wildlife protection.¹⁵⁴ This is made possible under section 16 of the WCA of 2009 that allows for the segregation of village and wildlife protection areas.¹⁵⁵ The government holds that this area is important for wildlife breeding but it has been suspected that this will benefit OBC and after numerous protests this proposal was withdrawn however, the push for these areas to be gazetted as a WMA over a GCA continues.¹⁵⁶ Hamisi Kigwangall, the Minister of Natural Resources and Tourism only terminated the 25-year hunting concession in 2017 due to the allegations placed against them after years of ongoing complaints against the company. This has led to indigenous land rights being pitted against tourism and conservation. Investigations are now still underway regarding the activities of OBC as well as other former Tanzanian ministers. Tourist hunting is seen as an economically rewarding form of land-use and wildlife utilization as they believe it can contribute to future ventures for conservation.¹⁵⁷ The government affirms that these practices do not harm wildlife and that this can help promote rural communities however, the supposed benefits are yet to be experienced by these communities. Locals and activists believe that the evictions are related to the government wanting to exclusively use the land for trophy hunting by the OBC. This shows how over the last few decades, the local communities have had to endure multiple harms at the expense of poor government decisions and the prioritization of corporations. This reveals that conservation laws and foreign investment pose a serious threat to the local communities.

Analyzing the wildlife policy, the management strategy of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, the national policy for national parks, and the IUCN commission report, it is clear to see that in terms of conservation, the government has almost complete authority in managing and administering resources as well as deciding what and where is considered a

¹⁵⁴The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*, 19.

¹⁵⁵Wildlife Conservation Act, 1974,

¹⁵⁶The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*, 21.

¹⁵⁷*United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, the Wildlife Policy*, 26; *The International Union for Conservation of Nature, Species Survival Commission Report*, 19; *Tanzania National Parks National Policy Committee, National Policies for National Parks in Tanzania*, 15.

conservation area. There are mechanisms that are being put into place to allow local communities to participate but these mechanisms are only now being introduced after many years of exclusion in which the damage and harm has already been done. There are also no regards for the damage and harm that has been inflicted already and no due regard for any compensation. This represents a situation in which there are power disparities present that affect each actor's ability to influence their situation. The lack of power experienced by the local communities have shaped how these communities respond to conservation.

Charles Mlingwa a regional commissioner reiterated in an interview that the economic value wildlife conservation possesses as well as the employment benefits it is creating far outweighs the costs that the people living in the Serengeti districts that are experiencing harms endure.¹⁵⁸ This illustrates how people within the government are actively prioritizing conservation and promoting its benefits over the lives and livelihoods of the local communities. Media coverage on the Maasai's perspective is also apparently being limited by the government and there have been many people who have attempted to report on the multiple arrests but the government has also been advancing a media campaign that dehumanizes Maasai residents and justifies the government's plans.¹⁵⁹ There are provisions under the Land Ordinance CAP that native laws and customs need to be given due regard in decisions and makes provisions for grants made on any public land in which a native authority has been established, the native authority shall be consulted .¹⁶⁰The IUCN commission report that focuses on the inclusion of local communities and community conservation found that the government has interpreted this as being non-mandatory and in many examples have taken the prime control and responsibility for the land.¹⁶¹ The review also found that the government along with the various acts, policies and management strategies are dominated by a preservationist thinking that is found to exclude local communities and the rights they are owed.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁸ Sutar & Luckock, *The Edge of Existence*, 42:20,

¹⁵⁹ *Maasai Community Leaders from Ngorongoro and Loliondo*, URGENT,

¹⁶⁰ The Village Land Act, number 5 of 1999,

¹⁶¹ *The International Union for Conservation of Nature*, Species Survival Commission Report, 19.

¹⁶² *The International Union for Conservation of Nature*, Species Survival Commission Report, 19.

The deputy permanent representative for the United Republic of Tanzania made a statement to the United Nations that Tanzania has always had its reservations to the claim that indigenous communities exist within its borders. They find that the concept ‘*indigenous stems from the colonial era and it was used to denote local communities as inferior*’.¹⁶³ He claims that underdeveloped societies are then defined as indigenous resulting in their culture being seen as ‘alien’.¹⁶⁴ They hold that colonialism subjected pastoralist societies in Africa to everlasting marginalization and discrimination which resulted in them remaining ‘backward’.¹⁶⁵ This is why Tanzania justifies their decision to adopt certain measures that were meant to redress inherent imbalances. This statement is a very controversial one, and one that requires further research regarding the various claims being made, however, this statement is representative of how the government claims to speak on behalf of all indigenous communities in Tanzania when there are indigenous communities that willingly choose to continue with pastoralism. The government, however, chooses to promote their “development’ over their pastoral rights. This demonstrates that the current government is imposing their own understanding of indigenous peoples onto the indigenous communities of the Serengeti, reproducing the same colonial relationships as before.

The indigenous communities of the Serengeti have a complex and nuanced relationship with wildlife and nature as many communities, particularly indigenous communities live interconnected with wildlife and nature and have traditional cultural practices and traditions that allow them to coexist; however, the change in land usage has influenced this. Community members have expressed their concern over the ongoing relocations and evictions that have happened over the last couple of years and the effects they are experiencing because of this such as incidences of HWC. They express that losing the land will result in the extinction of their community.¹⁶⁶ Land as previously mentioned, and cattle hold a great significance for these indigenous communities and severely hinders their agency. The Maasai specifically feel that they

¹⁶³*Permanent Mission of the United Republic of Tanzania to the United Nation*, H.E. ambassador Ramadhan M Mwinyi, Deputy Permanent Representative of the United Republic of Tanzania to the United Nations, Twelfth Session of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, May 23, 2013, https://www.oaklandinstitute.org/sites/oaklandinstitute.org/files/pdfpreview/government_of_tanzania_statement_un_permanent_forum_0.pdf

¹⁶⁴*Permanent Mission of the United Republic of Tanzania to the United Nation*, Twelfth Session of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues,

¹⁶⁵*Permanent Mission of the United Republic of Tanzania to the United Nation* Twelfth Session of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues,

¹⁶⁶*Maasai Community Leaders from Ngorongoro and Loliondo*, URGENT,

have preserved and protected the environment and lived in harmony with the nature, they believe that they can conserve the environment and see pastoralism as consistent with this and historically have demonstrated this. Over 70% of their homeland has been used for conservation and investment purposes over the last few decades and because of this many of the local community's fear being relocated and restricted because of the historical failure to recognize the rights of the Maasai. They only hold customary land rights and as mentioned above, these are not as strong as the rights the government has to the land, coupled with the lack of inclusion in the decision-making mechanisms. They have urged the international community to help support them against the Tanzania government. The local communities have demanded that the government acts in a way that provides equal weight to the local communities and follows through with their base objective to 'safeguard and develop the interests of the local communities, conservation and tourism'.¹⁶⁷In addition to these demands the Maasai village leaders have also requested the government to redress the historical injustices against their community and ask that an independent commission of inquiry be set up that will address the current and historical human rights injustices in the NCA. The government treats consultation with the native authorities as being non-mandatory, for example the Meru tribes' customary lands were taken by the British colonial administration, and this is something that is happening presently with pastoral land and the disregard of the mandatory provisions of the law.

Village communities do not own wildlife, and this is found to correlate to them not feeling responsible for it.¹⁶⁸ Noel Mbise, an ecologist at the Grumeti Fund working in the Serengeti states that people depend on their environment and the resources therein for their day to day living, and therefore when there are restrictions around access you find that competition can create tension.¹⁶⁹ The local communities have lost control of the resources in the PA's, their traditional practices have been made illegal and they have been excluded from the conservation policies.¹⁷⁰Village communities and private landholders bear the cost of property damage by animals and foregoing other social and cultural benefits.¹⁷¹ The Maasai are an example of an

¹⁶⁷*Maasai Community Leaders from Ngorongoro and Loliondo*, URGENT,

¹⁶⁸*The International Union for Conservation of Nature*, Species Survival Commission Report 19,

¹⁶⁹Sutar & Luckock, *The Edge of Existence*, 42:20,

¹⁷⁰*The International Union for Conservation of Nature*, Species Survival Commission Report 19,

¹⁷¹*United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism*, The Wildlife Policy, 27,

indigenous group that was once a strong indigenous nation that has been systematically diminished to powerless through the political manipulation and intended policy and have lost sovereignty and autonomy that they once possessed from both the colonial authorities and independent government. ‘The Myth of “protected areas” takes away not only our rights as people, but our ability to exercise our responsibilities to land’.¹⁷² This illustrates the loss of power they are now experiencing but also their awareness of the power and influence they still do hold in the success of these plans by appealing to various human rights organizations and the international community.¹⁷³ Many local leaders reflect on their right to land, ‘*Our lands were stolen. But the land belongs to me because this is my village. This is my birthright. They found me here when they arrived. They are from a foreign land that we don’t know where it is*’.¹⁷⁴ They also discuss why they are reluctant to work in conservation as they feel that if they work for these industries, it will be easier for them to take over their land. They do not want the jobs they are offering through the WMA’s but want the land they claim belongs to them. Many of them understand the need for economic development in the area but also recognize that they do not benefit from any of these investments.¹⁷⁵ Invigorated by the increasing global recognition of indigenous rights, the Maasai have been calling for revival of their rights. The Maasai environmental resource coalition (MERC) hosted a series of consultations on the understandings of ‘sovereignty’ with the Maasai.¹⁷⁶ *It was found that sovereignty is ‘land’ or ‘territory’, without land there is no sovereignty.* Land loss has been the most significant aspect responsible for the ongoing ethnic, economic, and social destitution of the Maasai people. They have a limited capacity in influencing the government decisions as well as the structuring conditions in which actions unfold and have been excluded from the decision-making processes and continuously intimidated by the government. The local communities have been constantly reminded that the land laws are more important to tribal land laws and that the government is superior to traditional leadership and authority. These circumstances also exacerbate the presence of tensions in the Serengeti.

¹⁷²Maasai Community Leaders from Ngorongoro and Loliondo, URGENT,

¹⁷³The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*, 21-22.

¹⁷⁴The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*, 21-22.

¹⁷⁵The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*, 18.

¹⁷⁶A Olol- Dapash Meitamei, “Maasai Autonomy and Sovereignty in Kenya and Tanzania”, 25-1 *Mining Indigenous Lands*, *Cultural Survival*, April 9, 2010, <https://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/maasai-autonomy-and-sovereignty-kenya-and-tanzania>

Various community conservationist offers their opinions on conservation and how the local communities respond to it. Ami Seki works as a relationships manager for the Grumeti fund and states that the local communities do not think they should honor wildlife conservation when they remain with no food, no healthy livestock and destroyed crops because of these WCA's.¹⁷⁷ Gotera Gamba, a commander for the special operations group funded by the Grumeti Fund offers his side of view as he was once a poacher, providing both a community perspective as well as conservationist perspective. He states that the local farmers hate the operations group because they think they are responsible for the increasing number of animals invading their farms.¹⁷⁸ Gamba has also been ostracized by his community for his involvement in conservation but he acknowledges the good life he has now because of wildlife conservation and hopes that his community will one day see and experience that as well.¹⁷⁹ Frida Mollel a community outreach program manager for the Grumeti fund states that she understands 'conservation as life' and that there is no life without conservation, it is all about preservation and protection of natural resources, if we don't conserve then we don't have life".¹⁸⁰ They reiterate the issue they have with conservation from the top which is strongly focused on removing the local communities from the WA's when they from experience believe that the local communities can help with conservation and are able to see first-hand the connection they have with wildlife.

This chapter has focused on the power disparities between the conservation industry and local communities that create tensions in the Serengeti. The privatization of land, conservation laws, the establishment of game reserves and the attraction of foreign investors have forced the local communities which include the Maasai off their ancestral lands and decreased the area for them to practice their livelihood which has led to tensions arising. The colonial rules, the current Tanzanian government and the international conservation community continue to undermine the interdependent relationship that many local communities have with the land which leads to situations in which tensions arise.¹⁸¹ The violent evictions that have happened over the last

¹⁷⁷Sutar & Luckock, *The Edge of Existence*, 16:54,

¹⁷⁸Sutar & Luckock, *The Edge of Existence*, 26:41,

¹⁷⁹Sutar & Luckock, *The Edge of Existence*, 1:20:59,

¹⁸⁰Sutar & Luckock, *The Edge of Existence*, 27:30,

¹⁸¹The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*, 11,

couple of years and the circumstances that underpin them are indicative that these evictions are part of a bigger government initiative that prioritizes the goals of private enterprises that are involved in conservation, tourism and wildlife hunting.¹⁸² When the government and the local communities interests have come into conflict, the latter has been forcefully removed from their land. This is because of adverse political and economic programs and substandard leadership which undermines the local community's ability to express and pursue their rights.¹⁸³

¹⁸²The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*, 18,

¹⁸³A Olo- Dapash Meitamei, "Maasai Autonomy and Sovereignty in Kenya and Tanzania",

CHAPTER 3: TO WHAT EXTENT HAVE TENSIONS BETWEEN THE CONSERVATION INDUSTRY AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES CONTRIBUTED TO HUMAN-WILDLIFE CONFLICTS IN THE PRESENT?

This chapter will discuss how the tensions discussed in the previous chapter have contributed to the presence of human-wildlife conflict in the Serengeti. It will first discuss how the Maasai have been affected by HWC, then it will go on to discuss various perspectives on the presence of HWC from conservationists and various individuals that study these conflicts in the Serengeti. It will then illustrate how the tensions that have been created between the conservation industry and the local communities affect the presence of HWC. It will also discuss the governments perspective on these issues and investigate the effects these conflicts have had on the local communities and how they perceive of wildlife and conservation. Lastly, the chapter will discuss the role disempowerment and power plays in reproducing these harms.

Human-Wildlife Conflict (HWC) in the Serengeti occurs more frequently now because of the rise in human population, the use of land, wild prey availability and livestock grazing in protected areas. The impacts that result from these conflicts include human injury and death, livestock depredation which also leads to retaliatory killing of wildlife. The Maasai have been involved in many cases of HWC as published by the Ministry of Health of URT. 158 people in the NCA were involved in HWC during the period 2015-2020.¹⁸⁴ However, HWC is not well documented, and these figures are the only cases that were recorded by the health ministry as they required medical assistance. There are many other incidents that occur that go unreported and do not necessarily involve injury or loss of life but destruction of property, livestock, and crops as well as injuring of wild animals. The wildlife and wetlands of Tanzania because of its biological diversity is home to the greatest concentration of large mammals in the world, which would also affect the presence of HWC.¹⁸⁵ HWC often arises because of uniformed and preventable land choices as is the case with the establishment of the various parks that excluded many local inhabitants.

¹⁸⁴United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children (MoHCDEC), Demographic Health Survey (DHS) Report, 2020.

¹⁸⁵United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, the Wildlife Policy, 7.

In African countries elephants are found to cause significant damage to farms by feeding on or moving through different crops and crop-fields, they also result in the destruction of houses and grain storage and have also been recorded to damage water tanks. Elephants are being wounded by village local communities when they are found crop raiding.¹⁸⁶ In the Maasai steppe 167 carnivores were killed over 19 months in 12 villages.¹⁸⁷ Given this background, the impacts wildlife and its conservation has had on local communities in the Western frontier has been volatile and is resulting in the local community's livelihood versus wildlife survival. The villages around the western boundary of the Singita Grumeti concession that consists of IGGR, IKONA and WMA are examples of areas where local communities living there are experiencing these direct occurring conflicts. The data shows that the occurrence of conflicts will surge around mid-year and that's when most crops are ready for harvesting.¹⁸⁸ 'The devastation grows exponentially when you are looking at one individual whose farm is completely flattened just a few weeks before harvest'.¹⁸⁹ One of the solutions that has been suggested is fencing these villages from the protected areas. The members of these villages are in favor of this as it will help protect them from dangerous encounters and protect their cattle and crops from being destroyed. However, conservationists are opposed to this idea as they believe it will interrupt the workings of the ecosystem and natural migration routes. This clash is another incident where the interests of the local communities and the conservation industry comes into conflict.

Grant Burden, a conservationist that works in the Serengeti under the Grumeti Fund is responsible for managing and protecting the buffer zones which are outside the core areas of the PA's that are designed to protect it. He offers a conservationist perspective but also provides a perspective of the local communities as he works on the ground and has witnessed the devastation these people experience because of HWC. He says that the issue of HWC is difficult to tackle from a conservationist perspective because when they are successful there will be a very positive increase in game numbers and predator numbers in these open systems but because they are not contained by fences, that's where they start coming into contact with

¹⁸⁶Suter and Luckock, *The Edge of Existence*,

¹⁸⁷United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, National Human-wildlife Conflict Management Strategy, 6-7.

¹⁸⁸Suter and Luckock, *Edge of Existence*, 1:09:24,

¹⁸⁹Suter and Luckock, *Edge of Existence*, 1:09:24,

communities.¹⁹⁰ He also states that he doesn't think it's reasonable to expect humans and wildlife to live in utter harmony when either side is losing or benefiting and confirms that humans are on the losing end at the moment.¹⁹¹ He discusses what he believes is widely understood about the importance cattle holds in Africa as it serves as a form of wealth and talks about the effect losing cattle has on a community.¹⁹² Burden also delves into the historical background of PA's which he believes is rooted in power, stating that 'a long-time ago people in power realized the necessity to protect areas for future generations because without some form of protection given to areas the need for humans to expand and the insatiable greed that is associated with the human race would just of taken over'.¹⁹³ But he also recognizes the connection people in the Serengeti have with nature and that's why he holds that he would never move them away from the game reserves, and understands that he sees it this way as he is on the ground with these people.¹⁹⁴ This shows the power disparities that are present in conservation in the Serengeti and how this directly affects the presence of HWC.

This thesis has tied the forced relocation of the Maasai, and the human rights abuses they face to Human-wildlife conflict as they do not only encompass direct and immediate physical incidents but encompass the issue of land as a source of conflict. Evidence has shown that when communities that do work along conservation objectives experience feelings of neglect by local authorities it is found that they are likely to conspire with the poachers to absolve themselves of the problem of wildlife, this correlates with an increase in HWC.¹⁹⁵ Doctor Kristen Denninger Snyder, a head scientist and researcher for Research and Innovation for the Serengeti Ecosystem (RISE), offers her opinion on the issue of HWC. She states that the support for conservation is reduced to such a minimal level that retaliatory killings are just increasing, she also discusses other dynamics present in these conflicts which involves the local people negatively impacting wildlife and its conservation through illegal activity within protected areas, poaching and retaliatory killings.¹⁹⁶ Perceptions of wildlife and conservation are also found to influence the

¹⁹⁰Sutar and Luckock, *The Edge of Existence*, 42:20.

¹⁹¹Sutar and Luckock, *The Edge of Existence*, 34:00.

¹⁹²Sutar and Luckock, *The Edge of Existence*, 37:40.

¹⁹³Sutar and Luckock, *The Edge of Existence*, 40:20.

¹⁹⁴Sutar and Luckock, *The Edge of Existence*, 40:53,

¹⁹⁵*World Wildlife Fund, A Future for All*, 28.

¹⁹⁶Sutar and Luckock, *The Edge of Existence*, 17:13; 40:00,

tolerance rural populations that depend on nature-based resources have. It is also found that those that experience a greater risk of damage and carry the everyday costs of these issues conceive of wildlife in unfavorable ways, this also correlates with the increase in HWC.¹⁹⁷ Studies have additionally shown that intangible costs such as having to be extra attentive, having a decreased mobility and experiencing feeling unsafe often are important factors in demonstrating attitudes towards wildlife which affect the presence of HWC.¹⁹⁸ For instance, lions are also found to be killed as a symbolic act of protest to the conservation restrictions.¹⁹⁹ The Maasai and the local village communities are clearly experiencing these same feelings and attitudes as has been discussed throughout the thesis. This relates to the hidden and obscure costs that are involved which are psychological, physical, and social which encompasses deep-rooted conflicts that involves the intersectional socio, cultural and historical contexts of a conflict situation.²⁰⁰

These deep-seated conflicts involve the past and current injustices that are unfair; the relocation of people from PA'S , constricted access to culturally significant places and the criminalization of hunting by local communities that are continuously occurring for the local communities around the Serengeti.²⁰¹ For instance the Maasai traditional ritual lion hunts called "Alo-Mayo" are outlawed by Tanzanian wildlife laws.²⁰² However, in the national parks and the NCA, game viewing is a form of resource utilization that generates local and foreign currency and creates many job opportunities. Tourist hunting is also identified as an economically viable and sustainable use of wildlife that is seen to be consistent with the 'policy of high quality, yet low density tourism that contributes to the national economy overall'.²⁰³ Resident hunting is a booming industry however, it mostly serves the richer Tanzanians, village communities do not receive economic benefits from tourist hunting.²⁰⁴ The wildlife policy also makes provisions for resident hunting that identifies the right of indigenous Tanzanians to have legal access to wildlife

¹⁹⁷ *World Wildlife Fund, A Future for All*, 32,

¹⁹⁸ *World Wildlife Fund, A Future for All*, 32,

¹⁹⁹ *United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, National Human-wildlife Conflict Management Strategy*, 13,

²⁰⁰ *World Wildlife Fund, A Future for All*, 32-35.

²⁰¹ *World Wildlife Fund, A Future for All*, 39,

²⁰² *United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, National Human-wildlife Conflict Management Strategy*, 6-7,

²⁰³ *United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, The Wildlife Policy*, 2.4.2,

²⁰⁴ *The International Union for Conservation of Nature, Species Survival Commission Report*, 22,

use and they are offered different fees to that of tourists.²⁰⁵ Legislative exclusion of local people resulted in the legalized use of Tanzania's wildlife resources by high paying foreign tourists. This shows that the various conservation laws restrict traditional hunting practices but allow tourist hunting because of the revenue it generates. Although they allow indigenous Tanzanians access to hunting permits these are not economically viable options for them. Once again, they are marginalized and prevented from practicing their cultural rights.

Evidence also shows that evictions and government land management has been the greatest cause of poverty and illiteracy among the Maasai and research from the 1980s shows that the government has consistently invested in poverty as a “weapon” for the resettlement of the Maasai.²⁰⁶ The Maasai feel that the government continues to break their promises and pretends to receive the consent and agreement of the local community.²⁰⁷ These decisions coupled with the rising food insecurity and increased poverty of these communities has resulted in the traditional rules that govern the access to and use of land which has allowed for the sustainable management of the area to be ignored in favor of decisions that create short-term gains.²⁰⁸ This shows that the Maasai do participate in harmful activities for the environment as a result of the decisions made by the conservation industry. The World Wildlife Fund in their report on HWC discuss one of the root causes of HWC that results from the lack of holistic approaches that include local communities and instead allow these communities to continue to endure the burden of conservation and take on the global responsibility of protecting endangered species and biodiversity.²⁰⁹ The report also finds that the cost of wildlife is unevenly distributed and asymmetrically falls on the communities that neighbor conservation zones.²¹⁰ There are also hidden costs that result from safety concerns and the increased investment in conservation that further aggravate direct financial losses. For instance, the government does not provide adequate and appropriate responses to problems of large herbivores that destroy crops and the carnivores that prey on livestock which creates an enabling environment for poaching. They are also found to reinforce inequity in that the protection afforded to wildlife in the form of protection policies

²⁰⁵ *United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, The Wildlife Policy, 2.4.2,*

²⁰⁶ *The Oakland Institute, Losing the Serengeti, 11*

²⁰⁷ *Maasai Community Leaders from Ngorongoro and Loliondo, URGENT*

²⁰⁸ *Maasai Indigenous Residents of Ngorongoro Conservation Area, Ngorongoro Conservation Area, 5.*

²⁰⁹ *World Wildlife Fund, A Future for All, 22,*

²¹⁰ *World Wildlife Fund, A Future for All, 27,*

often safeguard conservation goals at the expense of community's rights and interests.²¹¹ Attempts to manage wildlife have been found to exacerbate rather than improve the situation as local communities rights to natural resources are expropriated by the current PA's.²¹² Indigenous peoples have already proven to protect 80% of global biodiversity while the tourism industry creates pollution, environmental harms as well as harming wildlife through conducting safari excursions. Studies show that indigenous groups are more valuable than the government when it comes to conservation, despite this evidence of their environmental protection they have failed to gain the due recognition. This, as has been discussed, is what the Maasai along with other village communities are continuously experiencing. One way this is evident is in the minimal revenue these communities receive from tourism.²¹³

The wildlife policy also identifies that equitable-sharing of benefits of wildlife utilization is a problem and guarantees that the dispensation of costs and benefits that looks into the various stakeholder roles in relation to types of land and efforts invested by the institution in conservation will be adapted to include local communities.²¹⁴ The government has also reaffirmed that they will not introduce a compensation scheme for any damage or harm caused by wildlife, and will continue to devolve the responsibility of the PA's to operating community based conservation (CBC) programs and continue to give aid to village communities that have not yet developed this capability.²¹⁵ The government also recognizes in the wildlife policy the issue of high dependence by local communities on the wildlife resources and the cultural significance these resources hold to them. They also recognize the intrinsic nature of these resources to local communities and have affirmed that they will try to promote indigenous knowledge in these areas. Through the village land act, the government encourages and facilitates the establishment of these conservation resources on village land and devolves the management responsibilities of those acres to village councils through authorized associations, however the state will remain as the legal owners of these resources.²¹⁶ The wildlife policy

²¹¹*World Wildlife Fund, A Future for All, 27.*

²¹²Hampson, *Living in the Greater Serengeti Ecosystem*, 638.

²¹³*United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, The Wildlife Policy, 27; Hampson, Living in the Greater Serengeti Ecosystem, 638.*

²¹⁴*Tanzania National Parks National Policy Committee, National Policies for National Parks in Tanzania, 26.*

²¹⁵*Tanzania National Parks National Policy Committee, National Policies for National Parks in Tanzania, 26-27.*

²¹⁶*United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, the Wildlife Policy, 39.*

revised and published in 2007 also identifies the failures and problems that have resulted from the various conservation practices that have been pursued and these include ; *the failure of conservation to act as a form of land use as opposed to other forms of land use that are beneficial to villages communities, inadequate wildlife use-rights significantly to the local communities; poor remuneration and difficult working conditions that resulted in low staff morals and erosion of professional ethics in PA's; low budgetary allocation for conservation and development of the wildlife sector at the local government level, coupled with illegal hunting and trade, poor infrastructure , insufficient coordination mechanisms and limited gender inclusion perspectives* .²¹⁷ This list confirms that the government is aware of the exclusion of local communities from the decisions of wildlife and the lack of redistribution and remuneration that has followed with an increase in illegal trade and poor morals in the PA's. The only way wildlife conservation has created any legal benefit through the central legislation that exerts control over these resources is through the destruction of crop-raiding animals.²¹⁸ Protected Areas are proven to not provide any legal benefits to the rural communities which results in the resource being undervalued and not effectively conserved. This can be seen as one of the reasons HWC occurs. The minister of MNRT talks about the importance of wildlife to the future livelihood of Tanzanians but expresses his doubts on whether the rural communities believe that the conservation measures being implemented are in their benefit.²¹⁹ He talks about looking at the history of conservation in Tanzania from a rural perspective which would show that most efforts have been focused around removing them from large areas of land to establish NP and GR's. It resulted in them losing control over their resources and the implementation of central control on these resources. Government has confirmed that the long-term survival of PA depends on the local communities and their willingness to cooperate.²²⁰ This indicates how important local communities are to the protection of wildlife and with the poor decisions in conservation that have resulted in them only losing resources and being excluded from any decisions and receiving any benefits. HWC is then more likely to occur as they have become disillusioned about conservation.

²¹⁷*United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, The Wildlife Policy, 2. 10, 13,*

²¹⁸*The International Union for Conservation of Nature, Species Survival Commission Report, 22.*

²¹⁹M.A. Ndolonga, "The Need for Community-based Conservation Policy in Tanzania: The Department of Wildlife's Perspective", *The International Union for Conservation of Nature, Species Survival Commission Report, 22.*

²²⁰Ndolonga, "The Need for Community-based Conservation Policy in Tanzania,"13-1

Charles Machandi, a farmer in the area surrounding a protected area in the western Serengeti corridor offers his perspective on the HWC and the effects it has on him and his livelihood. He relies on harvesting crops to support his family, but elephants frequently trample on his crops. He states that because of HWC they are losing their crops and their wealth.²²¹ He states that it's up to luck whether he makes a profit.²²² He has had to resort to poaching many times because of this, he understands the effect it has on the environment but he needs to help his family, 'you have to struggle for your family to be at peace'.²²³ He also states that he will just 'suffer silently and the government should do something about this'.²²⁴ Charles states that he has no other option but to stay on this land, he has always lived there, he doesn't have money to buy more land and he doesn't know where he would get the money.²²⁵ Indigenous environmental struggles are situated and converge with a greater undertaking of colonial dispossession and socio-economic disparity.²²⁶ The progressive loss and instability that have accompanied conservation produces the conditions under which poaching unfolds.²²⁷ This illustrates the effects long-term socio-economic disinvestment, vulnerability and disempowerment can create. However, the narrative that poverty is the prime motivator for poaching holds a narrow view of 'economic deprivation' as this reduces the decline in status, dignity and self-determination and ignores poaching because of these losses. This demonstrates the role conservation plays in disempowering and impoverishing these local communities. The conventional understanding is that conservationists, contributors, and the government are 'doing a favor' for the local people by bringing them access to basic services, markets, development opportunities and protecting them from dangerous wildlife. This understanding bypasses pivotal matters such as self-determination and appropriate compensation. Charles Machandi's case is an example of how he has been disempowered and not protected by his government from these harms which has resulted in him feeling like he has no other choice but to participate in poaching to support his family.

²²¹Sutar, and Luckock, *The Edge of Existence*, 08:35.

²²²Sutar, and Luckock, *The Edge of Existence*, 44:13.

²²³Sutar, and Luckock, *The Edge of Existence*, 35:00.

²²⁴Sutar, and Luckock, *The Edge of Existence*, 1:16:00.

²²⁵Sutar, and Luckock, *The Edge of Existence*, 1:16:00.

²²⁶John Sandlos & Keeling Arn, "Toxic Legacies of Slow Violence, and Environmental Injustice at Giant Mine, Northwest Territories," *Northern Review*, no. 42, (2016): 7-21.

²²⁷Rebecca Witter & Terre Satterfield, "Rhino Poaching and the "Slow Violence" of Conservation- Related Resettlement in Mozambique - Limpopo National Park", *Geoforum* 101 (2019): 275- 284.

Bakari Makura, a local hunter in the Serengeti, hunts because it is what his ancestors did and what his father and grandfather did. This is how he sustains his family. Labeling him as a ‘poacher’ denies him his right to practice what he believes is part of his identity. Hunting is not seen as a problem as it is legal if properly compensated for but, this excludes those that are not socio-economically able to pay to hunt as it is already a means for them to support themselves.²²⁸ Frida Mollel, discussed in the previous chapter, believes that the local communities feel that the issue of HWC has been brought about by conservationists being there, they are protecting the wildlife which is why their numbers are increasing, causing a lot of chaos.²²⁹ People are unaware of the role conservationists play and the importance of protecting wildlife because they have not been incorporated into these methods. This is why conservationists like Grant Burden believe that there is a fine line between right and wrong when it comes to animals moving out of protected areas into community areas as it is never an even fight, it is always one-sided, it’s either animals on the back foot or humans on the back foot.²³⁰ For conservation to succeed, it's imperative that there is a relationship between the community, the government and the private sector. However, now there is no balance between the rights of the people, the animals and conservation. *‘When the rules of the government are superimposed over the rules of nature, nature does not yield, but those who rely upon it-the indigenous- are forced to adapt, which usually means surrendering a way of life.’*²³¹ This quote perfectly captures the burden conservation has been on the local communities in the Serengeti.

*‘They collude in the name of conservation, not just to force indigenous groups off their land- but to force them out of existence’.*²³² *‘We are Tanzanians but the laws that govern the other do not apply to us. Instead, we are still governed by the colonial laws of the past, after 1975, our lives changed. We were left powerless with the prohibition on cultivation’.*²³³ These quotes help to illustrate the emotions that the Maasai are feeling towards conservation and the loss of power they have experienced because of this. It also shows how they are perceiving

²²⁸Sutar & Luckock, *The Edge of Existence*, 17:38,

²²⁹Sutar & Luckock, *The Edge of Existence*, 29:41,

²³⁰Sutar & Luckock, *The Edge of Existence*, 59:25,

²³¹The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*, 11,

²³²The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*, 11,

²³³The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*, 28,

wildlife and conservation in a negative way which as has been discussed above influences the chances of HWC. 1975 was when the NCA was first established and marked the year in which they lost security in their land and lifestyle. They also feel that the bans that have been introduced since the inception of the NCA all depend on who is in power.²³⁴ The back and forth that has happened with regards to the ban on cultivation in these areas are an example of this. The local communities are begging for leaders that will listen to them as they feel that the NCA is managed by people who are outsiders and who have no comprehension or understanding of the local struggles.²³⁵ This has been confirmed by conservationists such as Grant Burden who works on the ground with these local communities and understands how most traditional conservationists will overlook the demands of the local communities. An example of this is the constructing of a fence around village communities, the local community are in favor of fencing however there is resistance from the conservationist or as he likes to put it “armchair conservationists”, he feels that they haven't had to experience what it is like to deal with people on a day-to-day basis where starvation is an issue, where people are being killed by an elephant or lion, where kids cannot go to school because they cannot walk home in the late evening or early morning.²³⁶ There are significant opportunity costs related to the establishment and maintenance of wildlife and the sharing of the revenue is important, but conservation also requires huge amounts of money, the enduring success of conservation hangs on how it is perceived by the public and communication is a vital part in developing a dialogue between the actors and understanding and changing individual actions.²³⁷ Human-wildlife conflict is a type of problem that is not going to be solved by only one solution, ‘Conservation and community, those two words go hand-in-hand more and more than ever before’.²³⁸

It is important to identify who is it that benefits from these activities that degrade the environment? if no one was benefitting they wouldn't be happening.²³⁹ In the case of the Serengeti and HWC, those that benefit from the conservation restrictions are the regional government authorities, tourism enterprises and the upper-middle class Tanzanians who receive

²³⁴The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*, 29,

²³⁵The Oakland Institute, *Losing the Serengeti*, 30,

²³⁶Sutar & Luckock, *The Edge of Existence*, 1:14:00,

²³⁷*United Republic of Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism*, The Wildlife Policy,

²³⁸Sutar & Luckock, *The Edge of Existence*, 1:09:47,

²³⁹ James Boyce, “Environmental Costs of inequality”, *Scientific American* (November 2018): 73-77.

the economic benefits from these conservation areas. Another important question to ask is who is harmed by these activities? If no one is being harmed it wouldn't be a problem.²⁴⁰ The local and village communities that live around or near to these conservation zones are the ones being harmed in the Serengeti as they are most vulnerable to HWC and have been excluded from conservation. Lastly, it is important to ask why is it that those who benefit from these environmentally harmful activities can impose these costs on others? The answer to this question is the inequalities of wealth and power between those who were creating the environmental problems and those who were on the receiving end of the environmental harm.²⁴¹ This happens because as has been discussed throughout the paper, the local communities being harmed don't know what is going on - they have been excluded from the negotiations and the planning processes and when they do know what is going on they don't have the power both political and purchasing power to change it. This results in wider disparities between those who are imposing the costs and those who are on the receiving end of the costs which then leads to more environmental degeneration.²⁴² The exercise of power is involved in the shaping and defining of both environmental problems and the agents capable of and responsible for solving them.²⁴³ Environmental problems are created and become constructed as objects of control and knowledge however environmental agencies become constructed in the same way.²⁴⁴ That is why it is also important to look at the responsibilities indigenous communities hold as environmental agents. Indigenous communities are thus subjected to the power relations within which they are embedded and are also able to act as subjects within the same relations. In most cases indigenous communities are seen as important entities that possess environmental knowledge which does empower them with a degree of autonomy, therefore making individuals and communities active citizens includes making them capable of and responsible for managing their own risks.²⁴⁵ In the case of the Serengeti and the local communities, they are framed as harmful to the environment and are not given the recognition for being important entities with regards to conserving the

²⁴⁰Boyce, "Environmental Costs of inequality", 73-77.

²⁴¹Boyce, "Environmental Costs of inequality", 73-77.

²⁴²Boyce, "Environmental Costs of inequality", 77.

²⁴³Lindroth, Marjo and Heidi Sinevaara-Niskanen, "At the Crossroads of Autonomy and Essentialism: Indigenous Peoples in International Environmental Politics," *International Political Sociology* 7 (3): 275-293, 2013.

²⁴⁴Marjo and Sinevaara-Niskanen, "At the Crossroads of Autonomy and Essentialism: Indigenous Peoples in International Environmental Politics,"

²⁴⁵Marjo and Sinevaara-Niskanen, "At the Crossroads of Autonomy and Essentialism: Indigenous Peoples in International Environmental Politics,"

environment, this then disempowers them and lessens their autonomy. This disempowerment also leads to disillusionment in conservation and wildlife which as discussed above influences HWC.

This chapter has looked at the role these tensions that have been created by the conservation industry has played in the presence of HWC. HWC is mostly present among the communities that live near to the protected areas as they have had to take on the burden of conservation. The perceptions and attitudes to wildlife significantly influence the likelihood of HWC occurring and the commitment and involvement of the local communities is found to be essential for the function of these protected areas and for conservation in general. The local communities are found to perceive conservation and wildlife in a negative way due to the disempowerment and exclusion they have experienced because of it.

CONCLUSION:

Examining the power disparities in the Serengeti and its role in human-wildlife conflict is clear when looking at the macro-decision-making regarding conservation and wildlife by the regional government authorities and the international conservation community- and the local level consequences that results from these decisions which include the marginalization and objectification of the local communities. This is indicative of the role power disparities play in contributing and fueling issues such as HWC. The decisions made by the conservation industry have dichotomized the local communities against the conservation and tourism industry. Socio-economic and political structures result in unequal distribution of vulnerabilities which include foregoing resource disparities, access to land, loans, technology , information and alternative employment opportunities.²⁴⁶ These decisions from both the colonial authorities and the independent Tanzanian government that led to the exclusion of the local communities from decision making and denied them access to and responsibility over the natural resource have resulted in the marginalization and discrimination of the local communities.

Although as has been discussed in the historiography there are many direct factors that influence the presence of HWC such as the demand for space as human population growth continues which creates habitat loss and fragmentation which leads to an increase in competition between humans and wildlife. There are also a number of other reasons as to why these conflicts exist and continue to exist which range from ; the lack of input and consideration of the local communities in the creation of these protected areas and nature reserves, as the criteria for the suitability of an area as a national park was based on the interests and priorities of Europeans ; the unequal distribution of tourism profits which allows powerful governments and international tourism enterprises to exclude and further marginalize local residents ; the quota system surrounding hunting permits which make it impossible for local residents to access and much more.²⁴⁷ This is indicative of a deeper issue one that transcends the human-nature dichotomy and is symptomatic of the power disparities between the conservation authorities and the local communities.

²⁴⁶Marjo and Sinevaara-Niskanen, "At the Crossroads of Autonomy and Essentialism,"

²⁴⁷Kideghesho, "Serengeti Shall Not Die", 230.

The power disparities between the conservation industry and the local communities have to a large extent significantly contributed to HWC in the Serengeti from the beginning of the twentieth century until the present day. This has been illustrated by first explaining how wildlife conservation first developed in the Serengeti as a colonial enterprise that excluded the local communities from the decision-making processes and reduced their ability to access land. This was also continued by the subsequent administrations and further supported by international conservation organizations. The thesis then went on to show how in recent decades historical power disparities between the conservation industry and local communities have led to tensions in the Serengeti. Finally, the thesis explored how these tensions have contributed to human-wildlife conflicts in the present as the ongoing insecurity and marginalization the local communities experience due to the creation of protected areas that limit their ability to practice their livelihood and the continuous displacement to make space for wildlife and tourism practices. These tensions influence the values and attitudes the local communities hold towards wildlife which influences the presence of HWC.

Marginalization and discrimination have resulted in a lack of agency experienced and felt by these communities as they do not have access to the right to land and do not have any say in the resolution of these environmental problems. This has created feelings of reservation and resentment towards wildlife and conservation which as discussed above results in situations of HWC. The creation of conservation areas and the relocation of village communities from these zones has also created situations in which HWC is conducive as is the case with the Loliondo district and the Ikorongo Grumeti Game Reserves. The power disparity between the conservation industry and the local communities is representative that HWC and its causes are not only because of human-wildlife conflict and about people damaging nature but also about human-human conflicts and people harming other people. The relationship between humans and wildlife should not be understood as a dichotomy. HWC is an environmental harm because of social harms. This means that the conventional understanding of HWC needs to be deepened to understand it not only as a dichotomy between humans and wildlife but as this thesis has revealed there are social, political, and economic broader systems at play that influence these conflicts which fall in line with a political ecology approach. Deep-rooted conflicts that involve

the intersectional socio, cultural and historical contexts of a conflict situation have not been explored until now.²⁴⁸

As discussed in the historiography, African ideas and perceptions on the environment have been neglected and the case of the local communities in the Serengeti stands true to this. Drawing on what was discussed in the historiography, the same colonial approach that was seen to encompass conservation in Africa continues to overshadow conservation efforts that are in practice in Africa today. Settler colonialism compressed African societies into certain areas of land and masked the real intentions of the colonial state using conservationist discourses; the earliest intervention on the African continent to protect wildlife was created to secure hunting for colonial elites and economic benefits from tourism. This thesis has shown how this continues to happen under the independent Tanzanian government and the international conservation community. Colonial scientists would frame the need for interventions in a way that would show African people misusing natural resources, this thesis investigated the role current governance structures and conservation organizations play in reproducing this conflict in the Serengeti while also paying attention to the role colonialism has served in the current conflicts. The thesis also confirms the points discussed in the historiography that colonial and post-colonial conservation efforts have deprived African communities of access to resources and land. The colonial government would represent environmental changes because of the mismanagement by African people, emphasizing the need for conservation measures. This same argument is being used by the regional government authorities and the international community to justify the relocation of the local communities in the Serengeti. The main way this was done and continues to be done is through the weakening of communal and customary land rights and increasing the privatization of land. These processes of reallocation create different social structures for controlling access to natural resources. The power disparities between the two groups explains this and those that are at the losing end are the ones that are affected the most by HWC.

Wider relevance:

HWC is a growing concern as human population continues to grow and climate change alters the environment making land scarcer and increasing the competition between

²⁴⁸*World Wildlife Fund, A Future for All, 32-35.*

humans and wildlife. The Serengeti is an important ecosystem that is home to a lot of wildlife, and it is important to continue to conserve and protect these animals however, not at the expense of the local communities. HWC harms both the humans and wildlife involved and hampers any efforts made to help conserve wildlife and allow the people experiencing these conflicts to have both physical and economic security. To help reduce these conflicts it is important to understand what the root cause of these conflicts are and if they are a symptom of a more underlying conflict than what they are conventionally understood to be. This understanding can help reduce these conflicts by addressing these underlying causes.

Limitations of research:

There are several limitations to this research as HWC is not well documented in Tanzania and access to the direct number of HWC incidences and their circumstances are limited. Therefore, the thesis has had to make use of mostly global reports on HWC which only allows for more general conclusions. There is also a lack of quantitative and qualitative information documenting HWC and accounts on the effects these conflicts have on the local communities which is why this thesis had to make use of letters sent to human rights organizations and the documentary. The best way to gain a better understanding of the situations on the ground and the effects of the power disparities is by interviewing the local communities and conducting field research on the frequency and prevalence of these conflicts however, due to time and money constraints this was not possible. The use of the documentary does help in being able to capture a better understanding of the situation from all angles.

Further research:

The topic of local communities in the Serengeti has just started to be explored and now the issue of relocation and resettlement has not yet been resolved, it will be an important area of further research. There is a need to understand environmental change that takes into consideration all these aspects such as the social consequences of intervention, the need for participatory development as well as strategies that do involve the state. African ideas and practices also evolve and change over time, and this is evident in their attitude to common land and settlement this could also be an important avenue to further explore. It is also imperative that further research is done in finding ways where the local communities, the conservation industry

and wildlife can coexist as it is important to conserve both the wildlife and the local communities.

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