

THE LOOMING THREAT OF EVICTION

THE CONTINUED DISPLACEMENT OF THE MAASAI UNDER THE GUISE OF CONSERVATION IN
NGORONGORO CONSERVATION AREA



The Oakland Institute



THE LOOMING THREAT OF EVICTION

THE CONTINUED DISPLACEMENT OF THE MAASAI UNDER THE GUISE OF CONSERVATION IN
NGORONGORO CONSERVATION AREA



OAKLAND
INSTITUTE

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This report was authored by Andy Currier and Anuradha Mittal. We are grateful to all the individuals who provided valuable documentation for the report. Their names are not listed to ensure their safety.

The views and conclusions expressed in this publication are, however, those of the Oakland Institute alone and do not reflect opinions of the individuals and organizations that have supported the work of the Institute.

Design: Elijah Allen

Cover Photo: A boma in the Ngorongoro District © The Oakland Institute

Back Cover Photo: Ol Doinyo Lengai, the Mountain of God, Ngorongoro District © The Oakland Institute

Publisher: The Oakland Institute is an independent policy think tank bringing

fresh ideas and bold action to the most pressing social, economic, and environmental issues.

This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (CC BY-NC 4.0). You are free to share, copy, distribute, and transmit this work under the following conditions:

Attribution: You must attribute the work to the Oakland Institute and its authors.

Non-Commercial: You may not use this work for commercial purposes.

Translations: If you create a translation of this work, please add the following disclaimer along with the attribution: *This translation was not created by the Oakland Institute and should not be considered an official Oakland Institute translation. The Oakland Institute shall not be liable for any content or errors in this translation.*

All queries on rights and licenses should be addressed to:

The Oakland Institute
PO Box 18978
Oakland, CA 94619 USA
info@oaklandinstitute.org


The Oakland Institute, 2021

INTRODUCTION

Bordering the Serengeti National Park, in Northern Tanzania, is the Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA), an area of 8,100 km² [810,000 ha], brimming with rich wildlife amidst breathtaking landscape. The NCA is the home of Maasai pastoralists, a semi-nomadic ethnic group, who have stewarded the area for generations. The Oakland Institute's 2018 report, *Losing the Serengeti*,¹ documented how conservation laws have been used to dispossess the Maasai, eroding their traditional ways of life and threatening their very survival.

On April 16, 2021, the Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority (NCAA) publicly released eviction notices to 45 people and ordered over 100 buildings to be destroyed on the basis they lacked proper permits.² The condemned buildings included homes, public schools, religious centers, medical dispensaries, and administrative offices. The occupants and owners of the buildings were given 30 days to comply. The notice additionally identified over 150 "immigrants" within the NCA as a first step towards their future removal.³

On April 20, 2021, as a result of widespread outrage created among NCA residents, the NCAA suspended the relocation and demolition orders "until further notice."⁴ Despite this pause, the threat of relocation scheduled to unfold on an unprecedented scale within the NCA looms over the communities. The Tanzanian government has prepared a multiple land use model (MLUM) and accompanying resettlement plan.⁵ If implemented, this plan would radically rezone the NCA and remove the vast majority of residents – tens of thousands of people – threatening the very survival of the Maasai pastoralists who have stewarded the land for generations.



MAMLAKA YA HIFADHI YA NGORONGORO

Kumb. Na. BF.151/662/01/45 12/4/2021


Mtendaji kata

- Ngorongoro ✓
- Enduleni
- Laitole
- Kakesyo
- Ngoile
- Olbalbal
- Nainokanoka
- Alelelel
- Nayobi
- Eyasi
- Misigio

Yah: NOTISI YA SIKU 30 YA KUONDOKA NDANI YA MAMLAKA YA HIFADHI YA NGORONGORO

Tafadhali husika na mada tajwa hapo juu.

1. Mamlaka ya Hifadhi ya Ngorongoro kupitia maazimio ya kikao cha Kamati ya Ulinzi na Usalama cha Wilaya kilichokaa tarehe 4/3/2021 kupitia barua yenye **Kumb. Na. CAB.68/98/03/102**, iliyoelekeza Mamlaka ya Hifadhi ya Ngorongoro kutoa Notisi ya siku 30 ya kuondoka eneo la Mamlaka ya Hifadhi ya Ngorongoro wananchi 45 (Arobaini na tano tu) waliotoka Jema na Oldonyosambu na kurudi Hifadhini Ngorongoro.
2. Hivyo, kwa mamlaka niliyopewa na kwa mujibu wa kifungu cha 23 (2) (a) kikisomwa pamoja na kifungu cha 35 cha Sheria ya Ngorongoro sura 284 ya mwaka 1975, pamoja na marekebisho yake, ikienda sambamba na maelekezo ya Kamati ya Ulinzi na Usalama ya Wilaya napenda kufanya yafuatayo,
 - i. Nawapa Notisi ya siku 30 kuondoka ndani ya mamlaka ya Hifadhi ya Ngorongoro.
 - ii. Pia kwa aliyejenga nyumba ndani ya hifadhi abomoe kwa gharama zake mwenyewe.

MakaoMakuu: S.L.P. 1 Ngorongoro Kreta. Simu: +255 27 2537006/19 Nakushi +255 27 2537007.
Simu - OfisiyaMhifadhiwa Ngorongoro: +255 27 2517046
Barua Pepe:  Telegram: NGOROASILIA
OfisiyaUhusiano: S.L.P. 776 Arusha Simu +255 27 2503339 Nakushi +255 27 2548752
OfisiyaMadizo: Simu: +255 27 2544625 Nakushi +255 27 2502603

BaruazotezelekezewkaMhifadhiwa Ngorongoro

Eviction notices issued on April 12, 2021 that were paused several days later following outrage from NCA residents



Developed to address the concerns of international conservation agencies and generate tourism revenues, the plan is the latest chapter in Tanzanian history of displacement and destruction of the livelihoods of Indigenous pastoralists in the name of “conservation.”

For centuries, the Maasai have been the ancestral occupants and guardians of the land in East Africa’s Great Rift Valley. Their lifestyle, livelihoods, and culture are dependent on the thriving surrounding ecosystems. This kind of long-term care and conservation should be rewarded and lauded. Instead, the Maasai are fighting for their lives – facing violence, starvation, eviction, and disease, as foreign investors and tourism enterprises seek to profit off of their stewardship.

Under new leadership of President Samia Suluhu Hassan, the Tanzanian government has the opportunity to change course and respect its international obligations as a signatory of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which states “Indigenous peoples have the right to own, use, develop and control the lands, territories and resources that they possess by reason of traditional ownership or other traditional occupation or use,” and that “States

shall give legal recognition and protection to these lands, territories and resources, with due respect to the customs, traditions and land tenure systems of the indigenous peoples concerned.”⁶ Additionally, Tanzania has commitments under the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, as well as national obligations including the right to life, as enshrined in the country’s Constitution.⁷

When a government fails to uphold such national and international obligations, international scrutiny and action is necessary. Without access to grazing lands and watering holes, and without the ability to grow food for their communities, the Maasai are at risk of a new period of emutai (“to wipe out”). This loss – of culture, knowledge, tradition, language, lifestyle, stewardship, and more – is unfathomably large.

But it does not have to be this way. Unlike the emutai of the 19th century, the hardships and abuses currently faced by the Maasai can be halted. The international community must support the struggle of the Maasai in resisting further displacement at the hands of international conservation agencies and the Tanzanian government. The colonization of Indigenous land in the name of conservation must end.



HISTORY OF DISPLACEMENT IN THE NAME OF CONSERVATION

The Maasai are a semi-nomadic ethnic group based in the Great Rift Valley of East Africa, between Northern Tanzania and Southern and Central Kenya.⁸ They have inhabited the region for centuries, moving their herds of cattle with the seasons. Oral history tells that the Maasai originated in the Lower Nile Valley, not far from Lake Turkana, near the present-day border of Kenya and South Sudan.⁹ By the 15th century, they began migrating south and eventually settled in the vast and fertile Eastern section of the Great Rift Valley.¹⁰

The Maasai flourished in the region, with both human and cattle populations proliferating through the early 19th century. But with the arrival of European colonizers, disasters hit. Rinderpest and pleuropneumonia ravaged cattle populations, wiping out the Maasai's main source of food. Drought, cholera, and smallpox beset communities.¹¹ This period, known in the Maa language as *emutai*, "to wipe out," resulted in the drastic decline of the Maasai population and an estimated loss of nearly 90 percent of their cattle by the early 20th century.¹²

Today, the Maasai still reside in the Rift Valley. Population estimates vary widely between a few hundred thousand to over one million.¹³ The past century has delivered more threats to their survival. The privatization of land, conservation laws, and game parks have pushed the Maasai off their traditional lands and reduced the available space for grazing livestock. Over time, when cattle populations suffered for one reason or another, the Maasai have turned to subsistence agriculture to supplement their diet. Now is no exception as the available grazing lands have diminished.

The Maasai have been regarded as the first cattlemen, admired for the management of their herds and relationships with wildlife and the grasslands that support them. However, the colonial rulers, and after independence the Tanzanian government, failed to understand the symbiotic relationship that the Maasai have with the land. Consequently, conservation schemes, game parks, and development strategies aimed at attracting foreign investors have driven them off their ancestral land.



Maasai herders with their cattle inside the Ngorongoro Conservation Area © The Oakland Institute



Over the past century, numerous land laws – passed first by the British colonial government and then by the Tanzanian government, often with the support and backing of international conservation groups – have forced the Maasai onto smaller and smaller plots of land – stifling their livelihoods and threatening their very existence.

The 1940s and 1950s, witnessed crucial restrictions imposed in the name of conservation. By 1957, a British-led “community of enquiry” put forth the suggestion to split Serengeti National Park (SNP) into two regions in order to preserve the region’s natural beauty. One region would become present day Serengeti National Park, where all human habitation, including the Maasai, would be prohibited.¹⁴ The second region would become known as the Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA), an area of 8,292 km² [829,200 ha] including the Ngorongoro Crater – a three million-year-old caldera rich with wildlife, encompassing 260 km² [26,000 ha] within walls 600 meters high.¹⁵ The NCA was proposed as a multiple land-use area: conserving natural resources, protecting the interests of Indigenous groups, and promoting tourism.¹⁶

In order to enforce the plans, the colonial government needed to persuade the Maasai, who had resided in the area for centuries, to vacate. In exchange for leaving the plains, they were told they could inhabit the newly formed NCA and were promised the development of better water resources, participation in the governing of the conservation area, and more.¹⁷ The Maasai agreed to leave on these terms.¹⁸

The Governor of Tanzania (then called Tanganyika) affirmed the rights of the Maasai in the newly formed NCA, telling the Maasai Federal Council: “I should like to make it

clear to you all that it is the intention of the government to develop the Crater in the interests of the people who use it. At the same time, the government intends to protect the game animals in the area, but should there be any conflict between the interests of the game and the human inhabitants, those of the latter must take precedence.”¹⁹

Despite these promises, the Maasai representation on the Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority (NCAA) did not last long. Instead, a series of laws passed over the years have stripped the Maasai of their rights to cultivate crops and graze livestock, denied their right to their cultural heritage – their very means to subsistence and survival.²⁰

In recent years, the Tanzanian government has carried out violent evictions of the Maasai – burning *Bomas* [A thorn-bush compound that includes a series of small huts that house the Maasai, and provides an enclosure for cattle], destroying food, seizing cattle, and forcibly displacing tens of thousands from their village lands, all in the name of preserving the ecosystems for tourism.²¹

Restrictions on livelihood activities like home gardens have had a destructive impact on the Maasai. As documented in the Oakland Institute’s 2018 report, *Losing the Serengeti*, food insecurity, malnutrition, and dependence on inadequate food aid have ravaged the Maasai communities.²² This history has had a devastating effect on the Maasai – not just leading to displacement and dispossession, but eroding their traditional ways of life and threatening their very survival.

A fact-finding mission in early 2021 to settlements and villages within the NCA revealed the impact these policies continue to have in shocking detail.





Women from Ngorongoro travelling to Karutu seeking maize. Credit: Anonymous Indigenous resident

“We, Ngorongoro residents, do not have food. We are permanently starving because of bad policies. Driven by hunger and poverty women and youths are leaving Ngorongoro because hunger is no longer bearable. In distant lands women and children are victimized by criminals. Some women have died of hunger. It is genocide against Ngorongoro pastoralists.”

– Alaililai Village Resident²³

“About 12 years ago the Government banned cultivation of [home] gardens in Ngorongoro. The ban triggered serious hunger and starvation among the people of Ngorongoro. We use to depend on cultivation of small gardens for food self-sufficiency...Food insecurity in Ngorongoro Conservation has caused a lot of problems. Women, especially pregnant and lactating, are poorly fed. The same is true about children and elderly people. This is in tens of thousands. It is a very hard situation. This is unacceptable.”

– Nainokanoka Village Resident²⁴



TIMELINE OF LAND LEGISLATION IN TANZANIA²⁵

- 1895** German Land Decree: All territorial land becomes crown land, controlled by the German Empire. Any land without evidence of ownership or continued use is considered vacant and ownerless.
- 1923** Land Ordinance No 3: All land in Tanzania is considered public land and is controlled by a Governor “for the use and common benefit, direct or indirect, of the natives of the Territory.”
- 1940** Game Ordinance: Creates distinctions for national parks and game reserves, including setting the original boundaries of the Serengeti National Park. This ordinance imposes the first restrictions on settlement and use of the lands surrounding the SNP.
- 1957** Community of Enquiry: Recommends that the existing SNP be split into two parts – one (the SNP) would not allow inhabitation; the other (the Ngorongoro Conservation Area) is designated as a multiple-use land area.
- 1959** National Parks Ordinance: Creates new boundaries of the SNP (based on the suggestions of the Community of Enquiry) and gives the Governor the ability to declare any land in the country as a national park. Customary rights of the Maasai in national parks are lost.
- Ngorongoro Conservation Area Ordinance: Establishes the Ngorongoro Conservation Area. Maasai are granted settlement rights but the governing body (Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority) is given the ability to prohibit, restrict, or control various activities in the region, including cultivating land, grazing cattle, and creating settlement dwellings.
- 1961** Arusha Manifesto: Creates a specific role for international conservation groups to provide technical expertise in the planning and management of conservation areas in Africa. These groups later lobby to restrict the rights of the Maasai to cultivate, graze, and move within the NCA.
- 1974** Wildlife Conservation Act: Creates three types of conservation land, in addition to game parks – game reserves, partial game reserves, and game controlled areas. Significant restrictions are placed on activities within game reserves.
- 1975** Ngorongoro Conservation Ordinance Amendment: Section 9A of the amendment bans all forms of cultivation within the NCA.
- 1992** Prime Minister Allows Cultivation: Prime Minister overturns the ban on cultivation within the NCA. The announcement is verbal and not written into law.
- 1999** Land Act & Village Land Act: Replaces Land Ordinance No. 3 (1923). Land is classified into three categories: general land, village land, and reserved land, but general land is defined differently in the two acts, creating confusion. The Village Land Act gives the President the power to declare “village land” “reserved” or “general” land, provided that the reclassification is done in the public interest. Both were enacted in 2001.
- 2009** Wildlife Conservation Act: Greater restrictions are put on activities within Game Controlled Areas – including the prohibition of crop cultivation and livestock grazing.



DRIVEN BY INTERNATIONAL CONSERVATION AGENCIES, TANZANIAN GOVERNMENT'S NEW PLAN THREATENS SURVIVAL OF THE MAASAI

The cycle of broken promises with dispossession and devastated livelihoods of the Maasai continues today.

In March 2019, a joint monitoring mission report from the UNESCO World Heritage Centre (WHC), the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) visited the NCA and held consultations with local stakeholders. The mission report stated: "The NCAA urgently needs to implement stringent policies to control population growth and its subsequent impact on the OUV [outstanding universal value]"²⁶ and called on the Tanzanian government to "complete the Multiple Land Use Model review exercise and share the results with World Heritage Centre and Advisory Bodies to advise on the most appropriate land use model, including in the matter of settling local communities in protected areas."²⁷ The report specified, "while the State Party is conducting the review of the Multiple Land Use approach, maintaining the

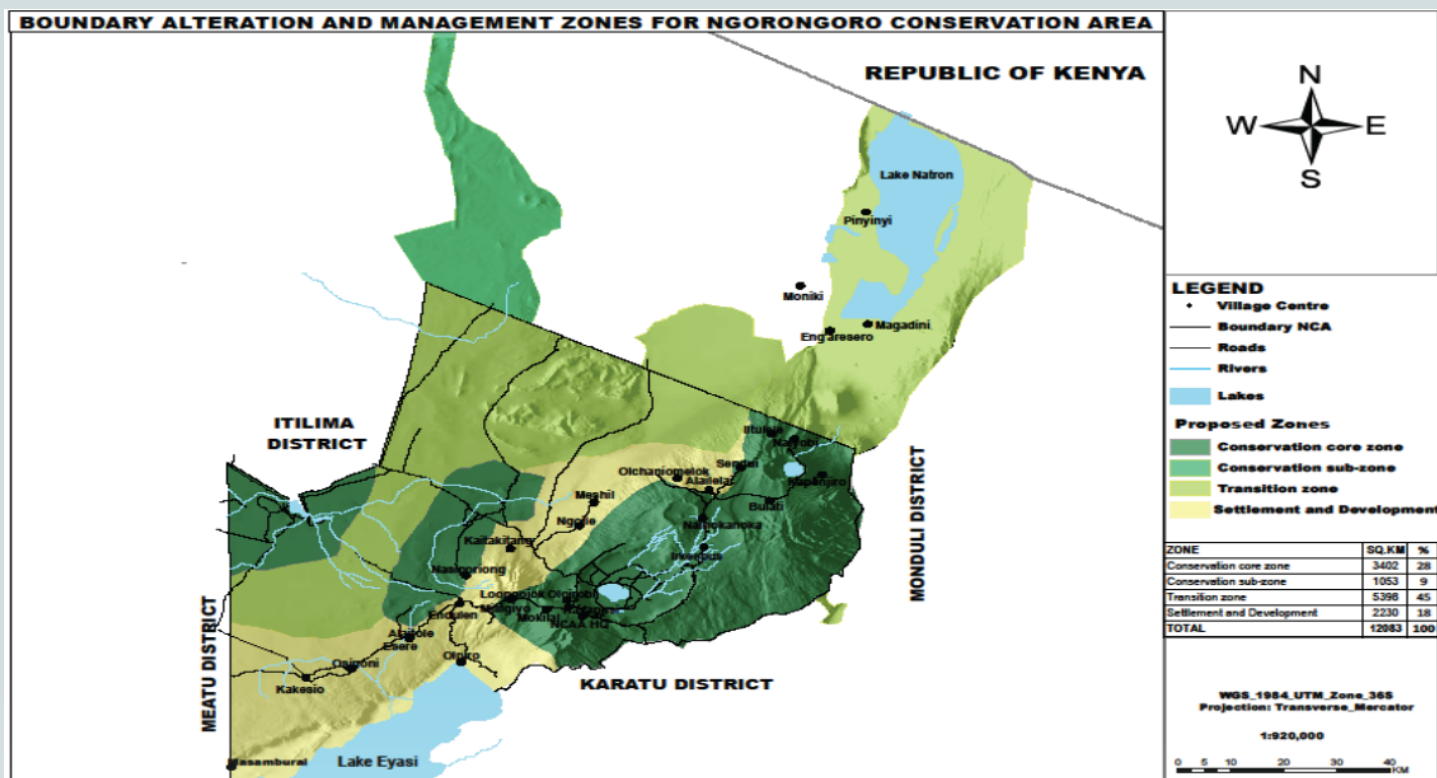
ecological and biological processes in the property should remain a priority."²⁸

Drawing from the list of recommendations from the joint monitoring mission, the Tanzanian government proposed a new MLUM and resettlement plan with the stated goal of "promoting natural resources conservation, safeguarding the interests of indigenous residents and promoting tourism."²⁹

If enacted, the plan will expand the size of the NCA from 8,100 km² to 12,083 km² [810,000 ha to 1,208,300 ha] by including areas from Loliondo Game Controlled Area (GCA), already contested in the East African Court of Justice, and Lake Natron GCA.³⁰ The plan then divides the NCA into four management zones with varying land use rules governing the areas. The proposed zones include a conservation core zone, conservation sub-zone, transition zone, and a settlement and development zone.³¹



Figure 1. Boundary Alteration and Management Zones for Ngorongoro Conservation Area³²



With its expansion, the new NCA reduces significantly the land available to the Maasai for pastoralism, settlements, and farming crucial to their lives and livelihoods. This is particularly devastating given the severe food insecurity that the Maasai already face with the existing restrictions.³³

The proposed plan restricts nearly all human settlement and development to 2,230 km² – just 18 percent of the total area.³⁴ The lack of resources within the “settlement and development” zone presents a grave threat to the continued survival of the Maasai.

Under the proposed plan, NCA residents would be strictly restricted

from entering the “core conservation zone,” which covers an area of 3,402 km² – 28 percent of the NCA.³⁶ The core conservation zone will consist of areas identified for conservation, wildlife refuge, and water catchment, and will only be used for “tourist development” and “research and training.”³⁷

The “core conservation sub zone” covering 1,053 km² (9 percent) will also be primarily used for “tourist development” and “research and training” with no settlement, grazing, or crop production permitted.³⁸ The “transition zone” covering 5,398 km² (45 percent), prohibits settlements and crop production while allowing “seasonal grazing for livestock.”³⁹

“The land cited for development despite its size, does not have a single water stream and is not suitable for pastoralism. If this plan is to prevail, cows will perish in the NCA ...and it will mark the end of the Maasai community in the famous World Heritage site.”

– Maasai elder³⁵



Resettlement Plan: Clearing Settlements And Relocating Immigrants & “Volunteers”

To restructure the NCA into these four zones, a new *Proposed Resettlement for the Villages within the NCA Plan* has been developed to relocate up to 82,000 NCA residents, including the vast majority of the Indigenous pastoralists. While the full proposed resettlement plan has yet to be made public, the Oakland Institute obtained a copy of the plan currently under review.⁴⁰

In the proposed resettlement plan, the supposed “rising population” within the NCA is used as the argument to justify massive relocation efforts scheduled to unfold through 2027.⁴¹ Basing its estimates on series of disputed assumptions,⁴² the plan calculates that 40 percent of those living within the NCA are “immigrants,” defined as “families, which were not present and those which were not resettled in NCA from Moru area in Serengeti National Park when the Conservation Area was established in 1959 and their descendants.”⁴³ The plan thus outlines how 40,000 “immigrants” will be identified and moved back to their “place of origin” by the end of 2021.⁴⁴ No details, however, are provided on how NCA residents will prove that they descended from the original families resettled from SNP.

Despite legal requirements to prioritize employing Maasai for jobs within the park, the number employed remains exceptionally low, at just 60 in 2017 – resulting in the vast majority of NCAA employees

being non-Maasai from other parts of Tanzania.⁴⁵ Included among the “immigrants” are former employees of the NCAA who remain in the area after retiring, as well as employees from NGOs, religious organizations, and members of the tourism industry. Additionally, migrants who moved to the NCA between 1992 and 2008 when cultivation bans were lifted, are also included.⁴⁶

Aiming to resettle 40,000 people in such a short period raises concerns about the diligence of the process and the threat of Maasai pastoralists being considered immigrants in their own land. The classification of NCA residents as “immigrants” has begun with lists in several villages already produced.⁴⁷ As feared, residents who have lived in the NCA for generations have reportedly been added to the list.⁴⁸

Indigenous residents recognize the high number of migrants into the NCA and largely support their relocation. However, the resettlement plan outlines a top-down approach that does not grant authority to the local communities to control the process. Given the absence of documentation, it will not be possible for many Indigenous to prove that they descend from the original inhabitants of the NCA and this plan opens the very real possibility of Indigenous Maasai forcibly relocated under this pretense.

Table 1. Resettlement Plan Settlement Classifications⁵⁷

“Should Be Abandoned”	“Continue as Settlements with Strict Land Use and Development Activities”	“Demarcated with physical boundaries and given registration numbers like any other villages in the country”
Irtulele, Alchanimerok Alaitole, Kayapus, Oloirobi, Masamburai, Misigiyo, Longojoo and Kaitakiteng as well as Irmelili sub-settlement of Bulati settlement	Irkeepus, Bulati, Nainokanoka, Nayobi, Kapenjiro, Sendui and Mokilal	Meshili, Ngoile, Osinoni, Kakesio, Alailelai, Esere, Endulen, Olpiro, Nasipooring



The plan also estimates that 40,000 “destitute and very poor pastoralists” will be “interested to resettle out of NCA voluntarily to specified areas.”⁵⁰ It vaguely outlines⁵¹ how they will be assisted to relocate to an area with social facilities and basic infrastructure that the NCAA will help provide. It additionally estimates that 2,000 people will voluntarily move out and find their own place to live, once provided with cash and transportation. The 42,000 “volunteers” will be resettled by 2027, according to the plan.⁵²

In addition to the tens of thousands of people marked for resettlement outside of the NCA, the plan rules on the future fate of current settlements within the NCA (Table 1). Under Tanzania law, the demarcation of “village” grants communities more control over their territories compared to areas that are categorized as settlements.⁵³ While the plan recommends that nine settlements be elevated to village status,⁵⁴ it also rules that nine settlements “should be abandoned.”⁵⁵ The remaining seven settlements will continue to be settlements with

strict land use and development activities but will be subject to “major internal resettlement and demolishing of buildings both public and private that are currently located in sensitive conservation areas like wildlife movement routes.”⁵⁶

The identification of buildings without proper permits has already commenced, as several homes, primary schools, religious centers, medical dispensaries, and administrative offices were condemned for destruction, by orders issued by the NCAA on April 16, 2021.⁵⁸ While the eviction orders have since been paused following opposition from communities, there is no guarantee that they will not be reactivated any time soon.

The resettlement plan concludes, “Future encouragement of people to move outside NCA should focus more on proposed settlements and no further settlement shall be allowed.”⁵⁹

Complicity of International Conservation Groups

The 2019 joint monitoring mission report from the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) exerted strong influence over the Tanzanian government’s MLUM and resettlement plan.⁶⁰ The power of international conservation in determining the fate of the Maasai spans decades, continually constraining Indigenous livelihoods.⁶¹



Joint WHC/ICOMOS/IUCN Mission report on NCA from March 2019 that called on the NCAA to review the Multiple Land Use Approach and urgently control population growth



The 1961 the Arusha Manifesto created a specific role for international conservation organizations to provide technical expertise in the planning and management of conservation areas across Africa.⁶² These groups lobbied for increasing restrictions on cultivation, grazing, and movement within the NCA. Throughout the 1960s, enforcement of these rules increased, including jail time, fines, and the confiscation of property of the Maasai.⁶³ Then in 1974, the Wildlife Conservation Act created three different types of conservation land outside of the already created game parks: game reserves, partial game reserves, and game controlled areas. The stipulations within game reserves precluded habitation, the use of firearms and bow and arrows, the fire and felling of vegetation, and grazing without a permit – restrictions that would eventually marginalize the Maasai.⁶⁴

The NCA was added to the UNESCO World Heritage Site List for its natural characteristics (wildlife, ecosystem, landscape) in 1979 and again for its cultural values (paleontological and archaeological significance) in 2010. For both designations, the NCA resident population was not consulted and the decision resulted in additional livelihood restrictions.⁶⁶

This legacy of international conservation agencies displacing and constricting Indigenous livelihoods continues through the influence of the current MLUM and resettlement plan. In the stakeholder consultation for the MLUM review, the UNESCO Commission was one of the consulted groups that called for the total abandonment of the multiple land use model, and advocated for the removal of all people to create a Nature Reserve – while keeping the Bomas intact for “cultural tourism.”⁶⁷

S/N	Stakeholders' names	Key Comments	proposed options
1	TFS, WD, CAWM-Mweka, NCAA-Board, TATO, HAT, TTGA, TTB, National Museum, UDSM, WWF-TCO, TWPF, Ngorongoro-DC, Ngorongoro-CMT, Lodges, FZS, SUA, NGOs, NCAA, NPC, Meatu-CMT, MGR, NCA (VEOs, WEOs, VCs), Political Leaders (NDC)	Very high human and livestock population; poor roads; revisit governance issues; GMP & CSP are not followed; MLUM is the selling point for NCA; Invasive plant species is wide spread; Reduce number of small stock; social services e.g. schools be outside NCA; Educate all children in NCA	Retain MLUM but reduce number of people and livestock to acceptable minimum.
2	TAWIRI-HQ, SWRC, National Museum, UNESCO Commission, TANAPA, TAOA, TWPF, TFS, WD, NM-AIST, SUA, TCT, Longido-CMT, Monduli-CMT, Karatu-CMT	Very high human and livestock population, extensive habitat destruction has caused invasive alien & pioneer plant species; Spoon feeding is affecting communities psychologically; Retain cultural bomas; Majority of Maasai families have dual settlements; Resettlement of Maasai in NCA will not be a new event in Tanzania.	Abandon MLUM by relocating people to establish Ngorongoro Nature Reserve. Retain historical bomas for cultural tourism.

Stakeholder opinions and views on the NCA model from the October 2019 Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism MLUM, Screenshot⁶⁸



Ignoring the fact that Maasai have lived sustainably alongside thriving wildlife populations within the area for generations, UNESCO advocated for an even more extreme plan than the Tanzanian government ended up advancing. UNESCO cynically justified their view with the fact that “relocation of Maasai will not be a new event in Tanzania.”⁶⁹ The role played by UNESCO – a UN agency whose motto is “building peace in the minds of men and women”⁷⁰ – demonstrates not only its blatant disregard for the historical wrongs inflicted upon

the Maasai, but also for the internationally recognized rights of Indigenous Peoples. It also contradicts UNESCO’s own assessment that “Cultural diversity is under attack and new forms of intolerance, rejection of scientific facts and threats to freedom of expression challenge peace and human rights.”⁷¹

The continued influence of agencies such as UNESCO is not lost on local residents.

“UNESCO and the government of Tanzania’s plan is detrimental not only to the Maasai but also for the conservation of wildlife. Dividing the ecosystem doesn’t provide a long-term solution. It is a repeat of the myopic actions of the British colonial government, and our challenges have continued.”

– Maasai elder⁷²

NGORONGORO HERDERS AGAINST EVICTION FROM THEIR LAND

Wednesday, April 21, 2021  No Comment



DEBUNKING THE JUSTIFICATIONS FOR THE MLUM AND RESETTLEMENT PLAN

The justifications for the MLUM and resettlement plan ignore the historic role Maasai pastoralists have played in conservation. Instead of incorporating their views and their needs, the plan prioritizes economic returns from the tourism industry.

MLUM and Resettlement Plan Created without Consideration for Needs of Indigenous Residents

While the Tanzanian government and NCAA claim⁷³ that the proposed MLUM and resettlement plan were developed through consultation with Indigenous residents, the most recent version of the plan does not adequately incorporate their concerns or recommendations.

In 2017, a new Ngorongoro General Management plan began to be drafted by a group that did not include a single NCA resident.⁷⁴ By August 2018, the Secretary of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism formed a taskforce to review the MLUM of NCA and recommended management options. Again, residents within the NCA were not initially included on the taskforce. Eventually, four community members joined the taskforce after much of the document was already drafted but were reportedly “side-lined almost instantly.”⁷⁵

As a result, the majority of the MLUM plan was developed with little consideration of opinions and viewpoints of the Indigenous

communities. An Indigenous NCA resident echoed this concern: “We were not given a chance to present our opinions on the matter. The prepared report which will later be presented to the president does not include residents' opinions.”⁷⁶

The Indigenous representatives who had been sidelined later drafted a “Dissenting Position on the Proposed Zoning Scheme” which highlighted how “some of critical concerns expressed by the community have not been appreciated and captured by some of the MLUM team,” during the development of the plan.⁷⁷ The Dissenting Position noted, “Even with in-depth discussions and sharing our ecological knowledge, we have failed to reach a consensus on the removal of some villages from the proposed ‘core’ [conservation] zone.”⁷⁸ Despite the fact that these villages did not overlap with critical [ecological] hotspots, they remained designated for abolishment by the MLUM plan.⁷⁹



Indigenous NCA residents have also expressed grave concern over the specific areas of land that they will be permitted to live within under the new plan. “We do not agree with zoning because we are the real conservationists,” added one Maasai NCA resident when shown the prospective MLUM plan.⁸⁰ Another noted that despite the current restrictions that are already in place on grazing in Moru, Ngorongoro crater, Embakaai and Ormoti – “you still want to get us out of here. We are not ready.”⁸¹

Sidelining Indigenous residents, the plan fails to incorporate their basic needs. In the MLUM “Stakeholder opinions and views on the NCA model” section, Indigenous residents were clear in voicing their desire to be allowed to grow food, graze cattle, and build decent housing, while leaving the rest of the land for conservation and tourism.⁸² Instead, they will be relegated to areas without adequate water and further restricted from growing food or grazing cattle – crucial for their very survival.

Through consultative meetings and focus group discussions, the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism collected clear suggestions from Indigenous pastoral communities on how to improve the MLUM. Their priorities included:⁸³

- Permission to build decent permanent houses according to building code that should be developed;
- Maintaining MLUM with more benefits generated from tourism revenue;
- Land ownership with title deeds;
- Allowed to grow crops to ensure food security;
- More social services in terms of water, health facilities, schools and electricity;
- More grazing land including access to restricted management zones,
- Reclaim encroached and excised area of NCA (192 km²);
- Involvement in all issues which affect community livelihoods; and
- Compensation for livestock depredation and human attacks.

Despite recording these priorities, the MLUM fails to adequately incorporate them into the new plan.

The failure of prioritizing the needs of Indigenous residents in development of the MLUM and resettlement plan reflects their broader marginalization in the governance of the NCA, which dates back decades. Past surveys given to Indigenous residents reveal that “the NCA management only superficially considers management input from them, and in reality it fails to consider or integrate their concerns into the management of the area.”⁸⁴ Since the NCA’s

creation in 1959, local Maasai residents have been largely excluded from management positions in the NCA.⁸⁵ The Pastoral Council, created to give Indigenous groups more authority over management decisions, has not been able to exert strong influence.⁸⁶ As a result, decisions continue to be made at the behest of “conservation” and tourism dollars.



Maasai Pastoralists Stewards of NCA's Wildlife and Ecology

The impact that growing population within the NCA has supposedly had on ecological habitats and diminished wildlife populations is one of the most prevalent myths used to justify the MLUM and resettlement plan. Claiming that the population of the NCA has surpassed 100,000, the plan details how the number of people living in the park will be reduced to 20,000 – the alleged carrying capacity necessary for the “sustainability of the NCA-MLUM to persevere.”⁸⁷ The dynamic carrying capacity used in the resettlement plan additionally lists the NCA as capable of supporting 300,000 Large Herbivore Units (LHU) for both wild (140,000) and domestic herbivores (160,000).⁸⁸

The narrative that growing Indigenous population is responsible for supposed ecological decline within the NCA ignores the finely honed symbiotic relationship that the Maasai have developed over centuries which has allowed local ecology, domesticated livestock, and people to coexist in a resource scarce environment.⁸⁹ This local knowledge has been largely credited as allowing the large mammal population and ecological diversity to grow under the stewardship of the

Maasai.⁹⁰ Furthermore, Maasai hold great cultural respect for wildlife and do not hunt or kill animals within the NCA for sustenance.⁹¹

The health of wildlife populations within the NCA is not in an urgent state of decline. According to a 2020 study, the NCA currently contains: “Approximately 25,000 large animals...the highest density of mammalian predators in Africa including the lion population... endangered wildlife species including the black rhino, wild dog, cheetah, and elephant...” as well as “calving grounds for over 1 million wildebeest of the Great Serengeti-Mara ecosystem.”⁹² In 2017, the IUCN named the area the “most complex and diverse savanna community on earth,” and noted that while still critical, the status of the area’s two most endangered species (black rhino and wild dog) has shown signs of recovery.⁹³ Along the same vein, the 2020 IUCN World Heritage Outlook assessment of the NCA actually rated the status of the area “Good with some concerns,” the second best rating within their system.⁹⁴ The report did point to the “increase in the resident’s population alongside their livestock and the socio-cultural changes” as the greatest threat to the NCA.⁹⁵



Black Rhino living within the NCA © The Oakland Institute



The successful coexistence of Maasai pastoralists with the wildlife within the NCA is well established: “It has been shown that pastoral land and resource use has not had any deleterious effect on the NCA ecosystem. That pastoralism is compatible with wildlife conservation is today widely acknowledged. It is, therefore, obvious that there is no scientific basis for continued restriction of Maasai livestock in certain parts of the NCA, which are also crucial to their climate-driven pastoral land and resource use.”⁹⁶

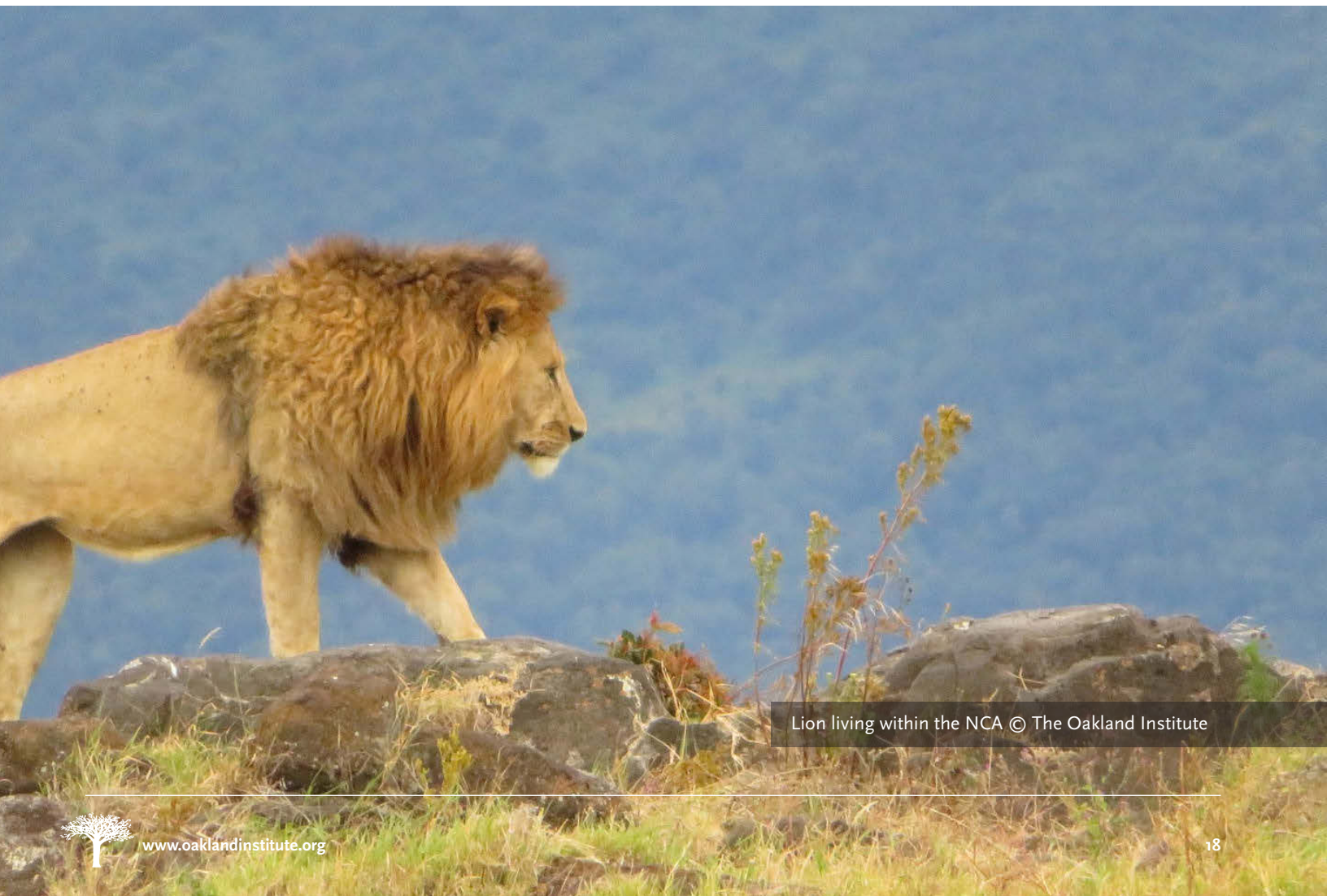
The MLUM and resettlement plan cites “range degradation” and an “increase in invasive alien and pioneer weed species” as evidence of the poor ecological condition of the NCA,⁹⁷ ignoring how restrictions placed on traditional practices are responsible for these conditions. For example, fire has been a crucial conservation tool used by the Maasai for centuries in managing the Savannah landscapes found within much of the NCA. The periodic burning of grasses removed ticks and tsetse flies – threats to the health of both cattle and wildlife – while spurring the growth of fresh grass that allowed livestock and wildlife to thrive.⁹⁸

However, once pastoralists were restricted from certain areas, mounting evidence has shown the absence of fire has allowed scrub and woodland to take over in the Ngorongoro caldera and other areas, making them unsuitable for herds of wild ungulates and their predators

while reducing plant diversity.⁹⁹ These research findings are echoed by pastoralists within the NCA, as explained by one community member: “Now that no burning is allowed, the Indigenous fauna have been suppressed thus why you see useless bushes and poisonous plants all over. The plants are radically reducing the pastures.”¹⁰⁰

As poverty has increased, the Indigenous rangeland management governance rules that have ensured the long-term preservation of natural resources for generations have been increasingly ignored. Research has shown that when poverty and dispossession rise, urgent needs in the short-term result in less sustainable practices taking precedence over Indigenous management practices.¹⁰¹

Finally, the scientific basis that determined the stated “carrying capacity” of people, wild and domestic herbivores that the NCA can sustainably support in the resettlement plan remains disputed.¹⁰² Centuries of sustainable stewardship by pastoralists leaves the burden of proof on the government and conservation agencies to concretely show how population growth among Indigenous is leading to environmental deterioration. They have categorically failed to prove that further restricting grazing and removing Indigenous populations will positively impact the NCA ecosystem, as the opposite is likely closer to the truth.



Lion living within the NCA © The Oakland Institute





Starving cattle. Credit: Anonymous Indigenous NCA resident

Restricting Livelihoods to Create “Volunteer” Resettlement

The resettlement plan specifically outlines the relocation of 40,000 people who are identified as “destitute” or “very poor” pastoralists and who own no livestock.¹⁰³ According to the plan, people without livestock will “volunteer” to be relocated outside of the NCA. While poverty is undoubtedly a major issue for NCA residents, the resettlement plan omits how current restrictions around land use and grazing have resulted in both limited access to cattle and subsequent destitution.

The privatization of land, conservation laws, and game parks have pushed the Maasai off their traditional lands and reduced the available space for grazing cattle. Previous restrictions on cattle grazing have decimated the health of livestock within the NCA and frustrated Maasai pastoralists.¹⁰⁴ Coupled with climate change induced draughts, the impacts on cattle health have been catastrophic, as evidenced in 2017, when the Ngorongoro division reported losses of 77,389 cattle, 72,881 goats and 78,490 sheep – an estimated 70 percent of total livestock – following a severe drought.¹⁰⁵

Over time, when cattle populations suffered for one reason or another, the Maasai have turned to subsistence agriculture to supplement their diet.¹⁰⁸ However with increasing restrictions on cultivating home gardens, hunger among the Indigenous residents continues to grow.¹⁰⁹

Instead of recognizing the impact grazing and cultivation restrictions have inflicted on NCA residents and the health of the NCA, the MLUM and resettlement plan doubles down on constraining livelihoods to create more “volunteers.” With restrictions on cultivation and grazing, NCA residents are left with little choice but to “volunteer” even if plans detailing where they will go remain light on details.





A



B

Burning of cattle carcasses that died during the 2017 drought¹⁰⁶

“The Government prohibited livestock from accessing pastures in many places in Ngorongoro. Livestock without food, water and saltlicks are like sacks of skeletons. They cannot produce milk. If slaughtered they are unpalatable. Selling them is not an option since they would not fetch good prices. So many people have lost their livestock over the decades.”

– Kayapus village resident explains the damage caused by restrictions¹⁰⁷

“If we can break the ground to lower a body, why can’t we break it for cultivation?”

– Nainokanoka village resident¹¹⁰





Vehicle congestion within the NCA¹¹¹

The restrictions constraining tens of thousands of livelihoods for NCA residents are not about ensuring conservation but driven by tourism revenues within the World Heritage Site.

percent of total gross domestic product (GDP) in 2019.¹¹⁵ In the same year, revenues from tourism activities in Tanzania generated over US\$2.6 billion.¹¹⁶

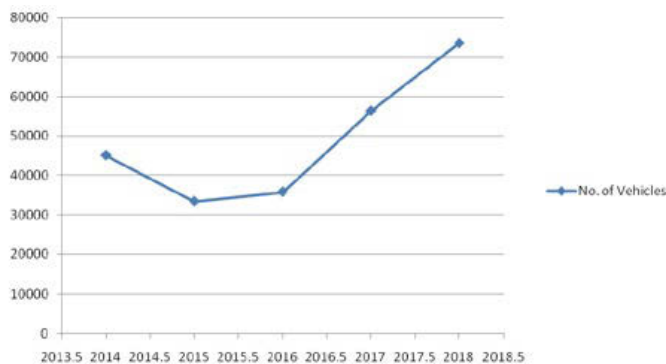
Tourism within the NCA has exploded in recent years. The number of annual tourists to the NCA rose from 20,000 in 1979¹¹² to 644,155 in 2017/2018¹¹³ making it one of the “most intensively visited conservation areas in Africa.”¹¹⁴ This growth has made the tourism sector a significant economic resource for Tanzania, contributing 10.3

Tourist accommodation facilities within the NCA include six lodges, 12 permanent tented camps, and 48 campsites, with additional facilities in the nearby Karatu district.¹¹⁷ According to the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, these facilities are no longer sufficient to satisfy the growing number of visitors.¹¹⁸



Map of hotels located within the NCA¹¹⁹

Figure 2. Number of Vehicles Entering Ngorongoro Crater by Year¹²²



Between 2014 and 2018, the number of vehicles entering the Ngorongoro Crater, one of the most popular sites within the NCA, rose from 45,090 to 73,514 – an increase of 63 percent.¹²⁰ At its peak, the number of tourist vehicles entering the crater can number 350 per day.¹²¹

The 2019 joint monitoring mission report from the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) noted that the “number of tourist and passenger vehicles into the property [NCA] has increased, posing a threat to the Outstanding Universal Value.”¹²³ Similarly the 2020 IUCN Conservation Outlook Assessment of the NCA noted that the “number of tourists and tour vehicles to the property has increased thereby disturbing the “naturalness” of the property,” and yet categorized the threat it poses as “low.”¹²⁴

Despite acknowledging the rapid growth of tourism within the NCA and mentioning several strategies to ensure it does not negatively impact the health of the ecosystem, the MLUM and resettlement plan does not implement specific restrictions on tourism. Several actions to mitigate the threat posed by tourism on the ecological health of the NCA have been proposed, including placing a moratorium on additional lodges and commercial facilities along the rim of the Ngorongoro crater and reducing the number of vehicles entering the crater each day.¹²⁵ However, as the MLUM notes, these actions “have not been well implemented.”¹²⁶

Financial motives likely play a role in allowing tourism’s unfettered growth. The MLUM plan explicitly mentions the financial stakes conceding that: “maintaining the status quo or leaving the NCA to

Indigenous pastoralists the government would lose 50 percent of expected revenue by 2038.”¹²⁷ By limiting settlements and areas that residents can access, areas available for tourism expand. While buses full of tourists continue to pour into the NCA, the environmental threat this poses is not being prioritized as restrictions instead primarily target local residents.

This double standard is further illuminated by restrictions on housing within the NCA. The 2019 joint monitoring mission report from the international conservation agencies expressed concern for the “emerging modern housing architecture and impact on the integrity of the landscape.”¹²⁸ While recognizing that “modern architecture and comfort are needed for better lives,” the mission subsequently recommended that “the existing policy should therefore be made more explicit as to the types of houses that can be developed inside the property.”¹²⁹

During an April 2021 fact-finding mission to the NCA, residents voiced frustration with government restrictions on their ability to build permanent housing structures.¹³⁰ These restrictions constrain NCA residents despite the fact that “there are many massive permanent tourist accommodation facilities in the area.”¹³¹ Allowing infrastructure for tourism while limiting the ability of communities to make even modest improvements to their housing reveals the hypocrisy of international conservation groups.





NGORONGORO WILDLIFE LODGE

[HOME](#) [ACCOMMODATION](#) [DINING](#) [FACILITIES](#) [ACTIVITIES](#) [FACT FILE](#) [PHOTO GALLERY](#)



Ngorongoro Wildlife Lodge, located above the Ngorongoro Crater. Screenshot from: http://www.hotelsandlodges-tanzania.com/properties/en/ngorongoro_index.ph¹³²



Ngorongoro Serena Safari Lounge Guest Suite and Dining Room. Screenshot from: <https://www.serenahotels.com/serenangorongoro/en/default.html>¹³³



THE WAY FORWARD

The plight of the Maasai in Tanzania is not an isolated case but rather indicative of broader hardships faced by Indigenous worldwide. Despite their demonstrated ability to preserve biodiversity and ensure ecosystem health, the Indigenous continue to face hunger, poverty, loss of livelihoods, displacement, and violence.

At a time where human actions threaten more than one million species with global extinction – a greater number than ever before – action must be taken to reduce biodiversity loss.¹³⁴ Extensive research has found that “Nature is generally declining less rapidly in indigenous peoples’ land than in other lands, but is nevertheless declining.”¹³⁵ Encompassing 22 percent of the world’s land surface, traditional Indigenous territories coincide with areas that hold 80 percent of the planet’s biodiversity, demonstrating that Indigenous “provide the most effective and sustainable form of conservation.”¹³⁶ Despite this evidence, “the important role played by Indigenous Peoples as

environmental guardians still fails to gain due recognition.”¹³⁷

The failure to recognize Indigenous stewardship is perhaps nowhere more clearly exemplified than by the Tanzanian government in their treatment of Maasai pastoralists.

Shortly following her inauguration, President Samia Suluhu Hassan signaled approval for the need to take drastic measures in the NCA. In a speech on April 5, 2021, she stated: “Ngorongoro runs the risk of being extinct,” adding: “We agreed that Ngorongoro is an area of a particular kind where people and animals can co-exist. But it appears now that the number of people surpasses that of animals... I don’t know how you’re going to relocate these people [to other areas], but at least you can control the population to 100,000 so that the number doesn’t increase.”¹³⁸



Speech from President Samia Suluhu Hassan on April 5, 2021. Screenshot from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W15Uza3cBjA>¹³⁹

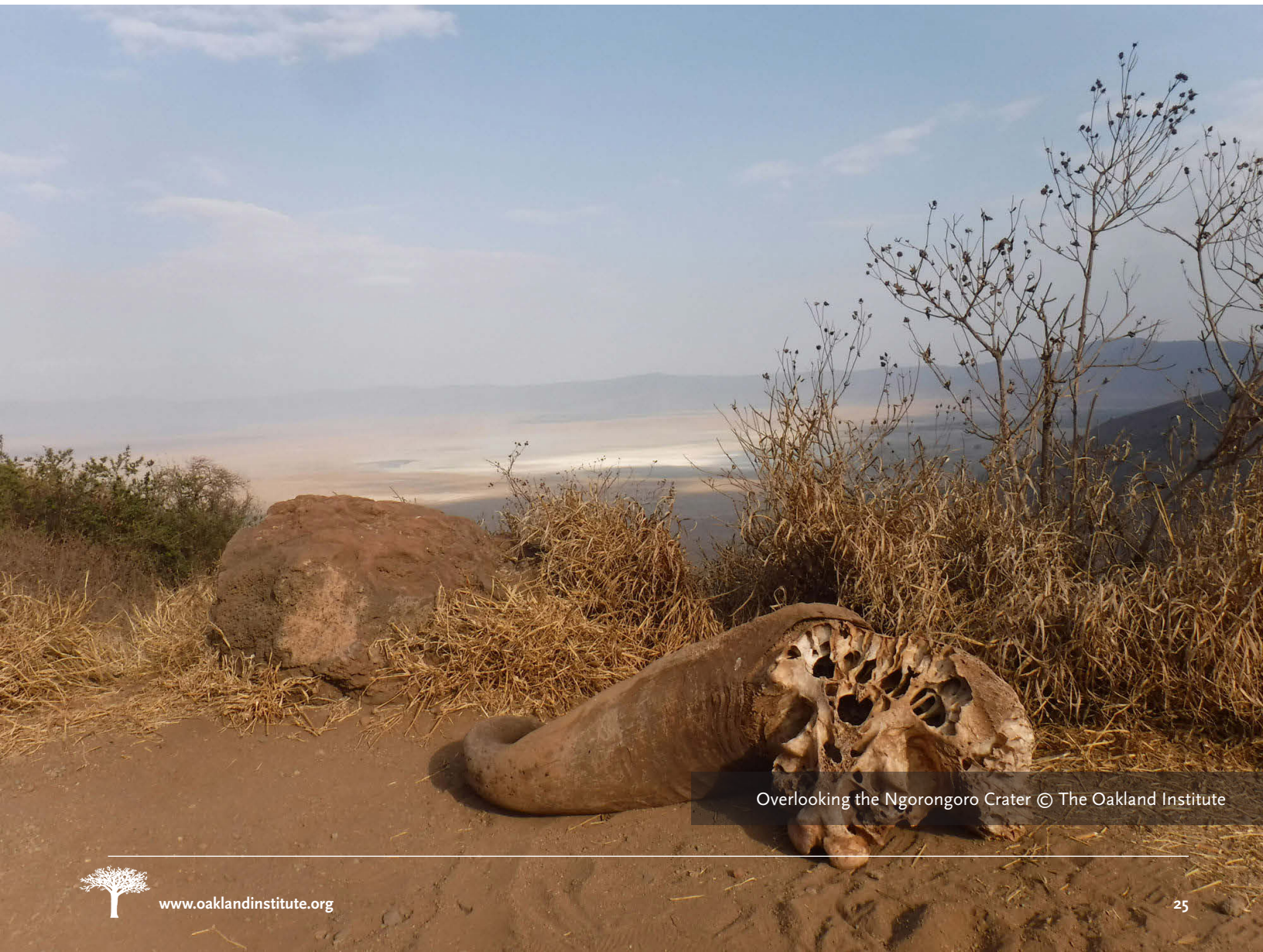


It is imperative that Indigenous residents of the NCA are not just consulted but given substantial authority over any resettlement schemes or changes to land use regulations. Instead of prioritizing the decisions coming from international agencies such as UNESCO and IUCN, giving proper consideration to the needs of the Maasai will effectively ensure the sustainability of the NCA.

The dominant framing used by international conservation agencies and Tanzanian government departments – that the NCA must either prioritize conservation or Indigenous livelihoods – ignores the evidence that empowering local communities often ensures environmental sustainability. Research has shown: “Participation of different communities in conservation planning can do more than meet basic human rights obligations and placate local populations into accepting conservation. It can actually be good for conservation and for maintaining the ecological integrity of an area.”¹⁴⁰

The most recent Global Assessment Report on Biodiversity and Ecosystems echoes this finding, concluding: “Recognizing the knowledge, innovations, practices, institutions and values of indigenous peoples and local communities, and ensuring their inclusion and participation in environmental governance, often enhances their quality of life and the conservation, restoration and sustainable use of nature.”¹⁴¹

For centuries, the Maasai have been the ancestral occupants and guardians of the land in East Africa’s Great Rift Valley. Their lifestyle, livelihoods, and culture are dependent on the thriving surrounding ecosystems. This kind of long-term care and conservation should be rewarded and lauded. Instead, the Maasai are fighting for their lives – facing violence, starvation, eviction, and disease, as foreign investors and tourism enterprises seek to profit off of their stewardship.¹⁴²



Overlooking the Ngorongoro Crater © The Oakland Institute



The international conservation community continues to promote land use restrictions without proven ecological benefits. But the Indigenous communities within the NCA have outlined clear steps that the Tanzanian government must take to drastically improve their livelihoods while ensuring the sustainability of the land they have called home for generations.

The restrictive bans on cultivation and limited area available to grazing have been the driving force behind the ongoing hunger crisis facing the Maasai. Lifting these bans will not threaten wildlife within the NCA – given the proven record of the Maasai in sustainably balancing the needs of livestock and wildlife for generations.

In an April 2021 “Statement on the Fate of People Living in the Ngorongoro National Park,”¹⁴³ the pastoral communities living in the NCA called on President Samia Suluhu Hassan to take immediate action. Their demands begin with the halting of the implementation of the MLUM and resettlement plan. It also calls for the resignation of both NCA Conservation Commissioner Dr. Freddy Mangogi and the Minister of Tourism and Natural Resources, Damas Ndumbaro; establishment of a judicial committee to investigate the injustices, brutality, and human rights violations driven by these departments; and creation of a new “independent and participatory commission,” comprised of ecology experts, human rights activists, and NCA residents, “in an equal ratio.” The commission will then work to

“recommend the best way forward to develop the area improved livelihood of the communities in the manners that both the area’s ecology, wildlife and pastoral livelihoods will be developed.”¹⁴⁴

The PINGOS Forum, representing over 50 civil society groups of pastoralists and hunter-gatherers, echoes many of these calls. In addition to lifting of grazing, cultivation, and housing restrictions, a 2021 report from PINGOS calls for increased representation of Maasai in NCA decision-making bodies and a higher proportion of tourism income to be allocated to the residents.¹⁴⁵

These calls are rooted in the past experience of dealing with a government that has failed to respect the rights of the Indigenous time and time again. Following violent government-led evictions of Maasai villagers in the Loliondo region from their legally registered land in August 2017 which left 5,800 homes damaged and 20,000 homeless, four impacted Maasai villages sought recourse against the government – perpetrator of these abuses – in the regional East African Court of Justice (EACJ).¹⁴⁶ In September 2018, EACJ granted an injunction prohibiting the government from evicting communities, prohibited the destruction of Maasai homesteads and the confiscation of livestock on said land, and banned the office of the Inspector General of Police from harassing and intimidating the plaintiffs, pending the full determination of their case. Despite the injunction, intimidation and threats made by the government have continued.¹⁴⁷



In October 2019, several United Nations Special Rapporteurs wrote to former President John Magufuli expressing concern that: “decades of successive forced evictions and displacements, the shrinking of Maasai peoples’ vital space, and the lack of protection against commercial and private interests on their remaining land has had a highly detrimental impact on the preservation of Maasai pastoralist culture and is now threatening the very existence of this people...”¹⁴⁸ The Special Rapporteurs called on the government to provide information on the “measures undertaken, legislative or otherwise, to protect the Maasai

from forced evictions, and to ensure that any decision affecting their homes and lands is taken with their free, prior and informed consent, and that any resettlement or relocation agreement includes just and fair compensation.” They further requested “information on whether your Government is working together with the Maasai peoples in order to restore trust between parties and design a land management plan with the active participation of the Maasai to ensure conservation and tourism activities are performed in harmony with the rights of the Maasai.”¹⁴⁹



Ol Doinyo Lengai, the Mountain of God, Ngorongoro District © The Oakland Institute

This letter followed several earlier communications from Special Rapporteurs on “allegations of attacks, forced eviction, arrest, harassment and intimidation in the context of the use of Maasai traditional lands for tourism” that the Tanzanian government failed to respond.¹⁵⁰ The Magufuli administration, which abruptly ended following his death in March 2021, was marred by growing authoritarianism and intolerance of dissent – implemented through legislation limiting the freedom of civil society and media.¹⁵¹

Under new leadership, the Tanzanian government has the opportunity to change course and respect its international obligations as a signatory of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which states “Indigenous peoples have the right to own, use, develop and control the lands, territories and resources that they possess by reason of traditional ownership or other traditional occupation or use, and that States shall give legal recognition and protection to these lands, territories and resources, with due respect to the customs, traditions and land tenure systems of the indigenous peoples concerned.”¹⁵² Additionally, Tanzania

has commitments under the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, as well as national obligations including the right to life, as enshrined in the country’s Constitution.¹⁵³

When a government fails to uphold such national and international obligations, international scrutiny and action is necessary. Without access to grazing lands and watering holes, and without the ability to grow food for their communities, the Maasai are at risk of a new period of *emutai* (“to wipe out”). This loss – of culture, knowledge, tradition, language, lifestyle, stewardship, and more – is unfathomably large.

But it does not have to be this way. Unlike the *emutai* of the 19th century, the hardships and abuses currently faced by the Maasai can be halted. The international community must support the struggle of the Maasai in resisting further displacement at the hands of international conservation agencies and the Tanzanian government. The colonization of Indigenous land in the name of conservation must end.



ENDNOTES

- 1 Mittal, A. and E. Fraser. *Losing the Serengeti: The Maasai Land that was to Run Forever*. The Oakland Institute. 2018. <https://www.oaklandinstitute.org/sites/oaklandinstitute.org/files/losing-the-serengeti.pdf> (accessed April 15, 2021).
- 2 Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority. *Notisi Ya Siku 30 Ya Kuondoka Ndani Ya Mamlaka Ya Hifadhi Ya Ngorongoro*. April 20, 2021. Available at: <https://www.oaklandinstitute.org/country/tanzania>.
- 3 *Ibid.*
- 4 Juma, M. "Activities to relocate invaders to Ngorongoro Conservation Area have been suspended." *Mwananchi*, April 20, 2021. <https://www.mwananchi.co.tz/mw/habari/kitaifa/shughuli-kuhamisha-waliiovamia-hifadhi-ngorongoro-yasitishwa-3369994> (accessed April 20, 2021).
- 5 Both plans remain under consideration at the time of publication. Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, United Republic of Tanzania. *The Multiple Land Use Model of Ngorongoro Conservation Area: Achievements and Lessons Learnt, Challenges and Options for the Future*. October, 2019. Available at: <https://www.oaklandinstitute.org/country/tanzania> (accessed April 20, 2021).; Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, United Republic of Tanzania. *Proposed Resettlement for Villages Within the NCA*. 2020. Available at: <https://www.oaklandinstitute.org/country/tanzania>.
- 6 Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. "Mandates of the Special Rapporteur on the issue of human rights obligations relating to the enjoyment of a safe, clean, healthy and sustainable environment; the Special Rapporteur on the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health; the Special Rapporteur on the rights of indigenous peoples; and the Special Rapporteur on the human rights of internally displaced persons." *Op. Cit.*, p. 10.
- 7 Mittal, A. "An Open Letter to the Tanzanian Government with Regard to its Response to the Oakland Institute's Report, Losing the Serengeti." Public Letter. *The Oakland Institute*. June 6, 2018. <https://www.oaklandinstitute.org/open-letter-tanzanian-government-response-losing-serengeti> (accessed April 26, 2021).
- 8 The Maasai Association. The Maasai People. <http://www.maasai-association.org/maasai.html> (accessed April 12, 2021).
- 9 New World Encyclopedia. Maasai. <http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Maasai> (accessed February 28, 2018); Blue Gecko. Maasai – History. <http://www.bluegecko.org/kenya/tribes/maasai/history.htm> (accessed April 19, 2021).
- 10 New World Encyclopedia. *Maasai*. *Op. Cit.*
- 11 Blue Gecko. *Maasai – History*. *Op. Cit.*
- 12 New World Encyclopedia. *Maasai*. *Op. Cit.*
- 13 For the entire Maasai population across East Africa. *Ibid.*; The Maasai Association. *The Maasai People*. *Op. Cit.*
- 14 Rogers, P. J. "International Conservation Governance and the Early History of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area, Tanzania." *Global Environment*, 4 (2009): p. 88.
- 15 "Encroachment reduced the size of NCA from 8,292 km² in 1959 to 8,100 km² by 2006. Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, United Republic of Tanzania. *The Multiple Land Use Model of Ngorongoro Conservation Area: Achievements and Lessons Learnt, Challenges and Options for the Future*. *Op. Cit.*, p. 69.
- 16 Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority. "Welcome to the Ngorongoro Conservation Authority." <http://www.ngorongorocrater.org/welcome> (accessed April 20, 2021).
- 17 Rogers, P. J. "International Conservation Governance and the Early History of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area, Tanzania." *Op. Cit.*, p. 89.
- 18 *Ibid.*; Shivji, I. G. and W.B. Kapinga. 1998. Shivji, Issa G., and Wilbert B. Kapinga. *Maasai rights in Ngorongoro, Tanzania*. International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), p. 9. 1998.
- 19 Taylor, G. and L. Johansson. *Our voices, our words and our pictures: Plans, truths and videotapes from Ngorongoro Conservation Area*. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. <http://www.fao.org/docrep/xo271e/xo271e06.htm> (accessed April 20, 2021).
- 20 For a detailed review of these amendments and the centralization of power see: Mittal, A. and E. Fraser. *Losing the Serengeti: The Maasai Land that was to Run Forever*. *Op. Cit.*
- 21 The Oakland Institute. "The Dangerous Legacy of Fortress Conservation." April 18, 2019. <https://www.oaklandinstitute.org/dangerous-legacy-fortress-conservation> (accessed April 21, 2021).
- 22 Mittal, A. and E. Fraser. *Losing the Serengeti: The Maasai Land that was to Run Forever*. *Op. Cit.*
- 23 Ndaskoi, J.N. *Report of the Fact Finding Mission Conducted in Ngorongoro Conservation Area*. PINGOS Forum, April 3, 2021. <https://pingosforum.or.tz/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/Ngorongoro-Fact-Finding-Mission-Report.pdf> (accessed April 20, 2021).
- 24 *Ibid.*, p. 6.
- 25 Mittal, A. and E. Fraser. *Losing the Serengeti: The Maasai Land that was to Run Forever*. *Op. Cit.*, p. 25.
- 26 Moukala, E., Taruvinga, P., Zulu, T. *Report on the Joint WHC/ICOMOS/IUCN Mission to Ngorongoro Conservation Area, United Republic of Tanzania*. UNESCO World Heritage Centre, International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), March 2019. p. 27. <https://www.oaklandinstitute.org/sites/oaklandinstitute.org/files/pdfpreview/unesco-nca-report.pdf> (accessed April 14, 2021).
- 27 Moukala, E., Taruvinga, P., Zulu, T. *Report on the Joint WHC/ICOMOS/IUCN Mission to Ngorongoro Conservation Area, United Republic of Tanzania*. *Op. Cit.*, p. 38.
- 28 *Ibid.*, p. 27.
- 29 Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, United Republic of Tanzania. *The Multiple Land Use Model of Ngorongoro Conservation Area: Achievements and Lessons Learnt, Challenges and Options for the Future*. *Op. Cit.*, p. xii.
- 30 Within the MLUM report, another estimate lists the amount of land to be annexed to the NCA as 4,304km² and new total size to be 12,404km². *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.
- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 97.
- 32 In the report, the amount of land within each zone differs slightly from what is included in the table that accompanies the map. This report lists the figures provided in the map. Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, United Republic of Tanzania. *The Multiple Land Use Model of Ngorongoro Conservation Area: Achievements and Lessons Learnt, Challenges and Options for the Future*. *Op. Cit.*, p. 97.
- 33 Mittal, A. and E. Fraser. *Losing the Serengeti: The Maasai Land that was to Run Forever*. *Op. Cit.*
- 34 The report lists slightly different values for the area within each zone in the map and the text. The values included in the map are included here. Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, United Republic of Tanzania. *The Multiple Land Use Model of Ngorongoro Conservation Area: Achievements and Lessons Learnt, Challenges and Options for the Future*. *Op. Cit.*, p. 97.
- 35 The Oakland Institute. "UNESCO and Tanzanian Government's Plan Threatens the Continued Survival of the Maasai." Press Release. October 10, 2019. <https://www.oaklandinstitute.org/dividing-ngorongoro-conservation-management-resettlement-plan> (accessed April 13, 2021).
- 36 Several settlements located within the "core conservation zone" are not designated as "should be abandoned," by the Resettlement Plan for Villages within the NCA plan, but will be subject to even more stringent land use rules. The future status of these settlements remains unclear at this time. Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, United Republic of Tanzania. *Proposed Resettlement for Villages Within the NCA*. *Op. Cit.*



- 37 Annex 1 of the Tanzanian government's proposed MLUM specifies that many "core conservation zones" will be "restricted to communities. Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, United Republic of Tanzania. *The Multiple Land Use Model of Ngorongoro Conservation Area: Achievements and Lessons Learnt, Challenges and Options for the Future*. Op. Cit., p. 110.
- 38 *Ibid.*, p. 112.
- 39 *Ibid.*
- 40 *Ibid.*
- 41 Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, United Republic of Tanzania. *Proposed Resettlement for Villages Within the NCA*. Op. Cit.
- 42 "Assuming an average growth rate of 3.5% per year is taken, human population would have grown from 8,000 people in 1959 to an estimated 63,025 in 2020 but in actual sense it will reach 103,262, which may mean that about 40,237, which representing about 40% of the total population was accounted for by immigration." *Ibid.*, p. 5.
- 43 *Ibid.*
- 44 *Ibid.*, p. 6.
- 45 Melubo, K., and B. Lovelock. "Living inside a UNESCO world heritage site: The perspective of the Maasai community in Tanzania." *Tourism Planning & Development* 16, no. 2 (2019): 206. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21568316.2018.1561505> (accessed April 22, 2021).
- 46 Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, United Republic of Tanzania. *Proposed Resettlement for Villages Within the NCA*. Op. Cit.
- 47 NCAA. *Notisi Ya Siku 30 Ya Kuondoka Ndani Ya Mamlaka Ya Hifadhi Ya Ngorongoro*. Op. Cit.
- 48 According to a local source who will remain unnamed for their safety who reviewed the Eviction Notices: "There are about 115 migrants whose their grandparents migrated to the area [a] long time [ago]."
- 49 *Dissenting Position on the Proposed Zoning Scheme*. 2021. Available at: <https://www.oaklandinstitute.org/country/tanzania>.
- 50 Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, United Republic of Tanzania. *Proposed Resettlement for Villages Within the NCA*. Op. Cit.
- 51 "An incentive scheme including provision of descent houses in areas, where people will settle, establishment of social facilities for education, health, water supply and electricity will also be a continuous process starting from 2020. Establishment and improvement of residential houses and social facilities will also be provided in areas to be annexed to NCA including Gilai Meigurur Ward in Longido District and Ngaresero Village in Pinyinyi Ward, Ngorongoro District. People will not move to new settlements until residential houses and social services have been provided." Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, United Republic of Tanzania. *Proposed Resettlement for Villages Within the NCA*. Op. Cit., p. 7.
- 52 *Ibid.*
- 53 *Dissenting Position on the Proposed Zoning Scheme*. 2021. Available at: <https://www.oaklandinstitute.org/country/tanzania>.
- 54 "Demarcated with physical boundaries and given registration numbers for development like any other villages in the country." *Ibid.*
- 55 *Ibid.*
- 56 *Ibid.*
- 57 In the October 2019 Multiple Land Use Management Review Document, several villages received different classifications. *Ibid.*
- 58 Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority. *Notisi Ya Siku 30 Ya Kuondoka Ndani Ya Mamlaka Ya Hifadhi Ya Ngorongoro*. Op. Cit.
- 59 Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, United Republic of Tanzania. *Proposed Resettlement for Villages Within the NCA*. Op. Cit., p. 1.
- 60 The Oakland Institute. "UNESCO and Tanzanian Government's Plan Threatens the Continued Survival of the Maasai." Op. Cit.
- 61 Mittal, A. and E. Fraser. *Losing the Serengeti: The Maasai Land that was to Run Forever*. Op. Cit.
- 62 Rogers, P. J. "International Conservation Governance and the Early History of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area, Tanzania." *Global Environment*, 4 (2009): pp. 98-99.
- 63 Shivji, I. G. and W.B. Kapinga. 1998. *Maasai Rights in Ngorongoro, Tanzania*. Op. Cit., p. 13.
- 64 United Republic of Tanzania. *Wildlife Conservation Act, No. 12, 1974*. July 30, 1974. <http://extwprlegs1.fao.org/docs/pdf/tan8960.pdf> (accessed February 28, 2018).
- 65 The property was inscribed under natural criteria [landscape, wildlife, ecosystem] in 1979 and under cultural criterion in 2010. World Heritage Centre. *Ngorongoro Conservation Area*. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/39> (accessed April 21, 2021).
- 66 Olenasha, W. "A world heritage site in the Ngorongoro conservation area: Whose world? Whose heritage." *World heritage sites and indigenous peoples' rights* (2014): 189-220. <https://www.iwgia.org/images/documents/popular-publications/world-heritage-sites-final-eb.pdf> (accessed April 23, 2021).
- 67 Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, United Republic of Tanzania. *The Multiple Land Use Model of Ngorongoro Conservation Area: Achievements and Lessons Learnt, Challenges and Options for the Future*. Op. Cit., p. 95.
- 68 *Ibid.*
- 69 *Ibid.*
- 70 UNESCO. "Building peace in the minds of men and women." https://en.unesco.org/70years/building_peace (accessed April 21, 2021).
- 71 UNESCO. "About us." <https://en.unesco.org/about-us/introducing-unesco> (accessed April 20, 2021).
- 72 The Oakland Institute. "UNESCO and Tanzanian Government's Plan Threatens the Continued Survival of the Maasai." Op. Cit.
- 73 Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, United Republic of Tanzania. *The Multiple Land Use Model of Ngorongoro Conservation Area: Achievements and Lessons Learnt, Challenges and Options for the Future*. October, 2019, pp. xvii-xix. Available at: <https://www.oaklandinstitute.org/country/tanzania>.
- 74 Email Communication with PINGOS Forum, April 15, 2021.
- 75 *Ibid.*
- 76 Maasai Community member, name withheld for security reasons, 2020.
- 77 *Dissenting Position on the Proposed Zoning Scheme*. 2021. Available at: <https://www.oaklandinstitute.org/country/tanzania>.
- 78 *Ibid.*
- 79 *Ibid.*
- 80 Maasai Community member, name withheld for security reasons, 2020.
- 81 *Ibid.*
- 82 Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, United Republic of Tanzania. *The Multiple Land Use Model of Ngorongoro Conservation Area: Achievements and Lessons Learnt, Challenges and Options for the Future*. Op. Cit., p. 95.
- 83 *Ibid.*, p. 82.
- 84 Melubo, K., and B. Lovelock. "Living inside a UNESCO world heritage site: The perspective of the Maasai community in Tanzania." Op. Cit., p. 207.
- 85 Olenasha, "A world heritage site in the Ngorongoro conservation area: Whose world? Whose heritage." Op. Cit., p. 212.
- 86 "Moreover, while the Pastoral Council was initially intended to be an autonomous body of local people contributing to the management of the NCA, this has not been achieved as the Pastoral Council was set up as a branch of the NCAA. It is therefore often perceived as an arm of the NCAA rather than an independent organ safeguarding the interests of local communities." *Ibid.*, p. 212.



- 87 Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, United Republic of Tanzania. *Proposed Resettlement Plan for the Villages within the NCA*. Op. Cit.
- 88 *Ibid.*, p. 5.
- 89 Melubo, K. "Why are wildlife on the Maasai doorsteps? Insights from the Maasai of Tanzania." *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples* 16, no. 3 (2020): 180-192. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1177180120947823> (accessed April 15, 2021).
- 90 *Ibid.*
- 91 *Ibid.*, p. 185.
- 92 *Ibid.*, p. 181.
- 93 IUCN. *Zone de conservation Ngorongoro: 2017 Conservation Outlook*. November, 2017. <https://worldheritageoutlook.iucn.org/index.php/fr/node/964/pdf?year=2017> (accessed April 22, 2021).
- 94 The four levels include: critical, significant concern, good with some concern, and good. IUCN. 2020 *Conservation Outlook Assessment: Ngorongoro Conservation Area*. December 1, 2020 <https://worldheritageoutlook.iucn.org/node/964/pdf?year=2020> (accessed April 22, 2021).
- 95 *Ibid.*, p. 7.
- 96 Lissu, T. "Policy and Legal Issues on Wildlife Management in Tanzania's Pastoral Lands: The Case Study of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area." *Law Social Justice and Global Development Journal*. 1 (2000). https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/law/elj/lgd/2000_1/lissu/ (accessed April 14, 2021).
- 97 Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, United Republic of Tanzania. *The Multiple Land Use Model of Ngorongoro Conservation Area: Achievements and Lessons Learnt, Challenges and Options for the Future*. Op. Cit., p. vi.
- 98 Melubo, K. "Why are wildlife on the Maasai doorsteps? Insights from the Maasai of Tanzania." Op. Cit., p. 184.
- 99 *Ibid.*; Estes, R. D et. al. "Downward trends in Ngorongoro Crater ungulate populations 1986–2005: Conservation concerns and the need for ecological research." *Biological Conservation*, 131 (2006): 106–120. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biocon.2006.02.009> (accessed April 20, 2021).
- 100 Melubo, K., and B. Lovelock. "Living inside a UNESCO world heritage site: The perspective of the Maasai community in Tanzania." Op. Cit.
- 101 Manzano, P. and L. Yamat. "Livestock sector in the Ngorongoro District: Analysis, shortcomings and options for improvement." *Wasso & Dar es Salaam: Ngorongoro District Council and GIZ* (2018). https://www.researchgate.net/publication/332447188_Livestock_sector_in_the_Ngorongoro_District_analysis_shortcomings_and_options_for_improvement (accessed April 22, 2021).
- 102 In 2012, after a UNESCO monitoring mission suggested undertaking a carrying capacity study, fierce community opposition cancelled the study as the mission concluded: "a study of carrying capacity should no longer be envisaged as it is impracticable, unnecessary and could lead to serious conflict with the Maasai pastoralist groups." Olenasha, W. "A world heritage site in the Ngorongoro conservation area: Whose world? Whose heritage." Op. Cit., p. 210.; UNESCO, ICOMOS and IUCN. *Report on the Joint WHC/ICOMOS/IUCN Mission to Ngorongoro Conservation Area, Republic of Tanzania*. April 10, 2012. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/documents/125457> (accessed April 23, 2021).
- 103 Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, United Republic of Tanzania. *Proposed Resettlement for Villages Within the NCA*. Op. Cit., p. 7.
- 104 Melubo, K., and B. Lovelock. "Living inside a UNESCO world heritage site: The perspective of the Maasai community in Tanzania." Op. Cit., p. 203.
- 105 "When compared with the livestock count the previous year, it translates into a total loss of 70% of livestock that can probably be extrapolated to the rest of the district." Manzano, P. and L. Yamat. "Livestock sector in the Ngorongoro District: Analysis, shortcomings and options for improvement." *Wasso & Dar es Salaam: Ngorongoro District Council and GIZ* (2018): p. iii. <https://researchportal.helsinki.fi/en/publications/livestock-sector-in-the-ngorongoro-district-analysis-shortcomings> (accessed April 23, 2021).
- 106 Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, United Republic of Tanzania. *The Multiple Land Use Model of Ngorongoro Conservation Area: Achievements and Lessons Learnt, Challenges and Options for the Future*. Op. Cit. Screenshot, p. 74.
- 107 Ndaskoi, J.N. *Report of the Fact Finding Mission Conducted in Ngorongoro Conservation Area*. Op. Cit., p. 8.
- 108 Mittal, A. and E. Fraser. *Losing the Serengeti the Maasai Land that was to Run Forever*. The Oakland Institute, 2018. Op. Cit., p. 11.
- 109 For more on the restrictions and subsequent hunger facing the Maasai living in the NCA see: Mittal, A. and E. Fraser. *Losing the Serengeti the Maasai Land that was to Run Forever*. Op. Cit.
- 110 *Ibid.*
- 111 *Ibid.*, p. 86.
- 112 Melubo, K., and B. Lovelock. "Living inside a UNESCO world heritage site: The perspective of the Maasai community in Tanzania." Op. Cit., p. 201.; Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, United Republic of Tanzania. Hotuba ya Waziri wa Maliasili na Utalii Mheshimiwa Dkt Hamisi A. Kigwangalla (Mb) wakati akiwasilisha Bungeni makadirio ya mapato na matumizi kwa mwaka wa fedha. 2018.
- 113 Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, United Republic of Tanzania. *The Multiple Land Use Model of Ngorongoro Conservation Area: Achievements and Lessons Learnt, Challenges and Options for the Future*. Op. Cit., p. 85.
- 114 IUCN. 2020 *Conservation Outlook Assessment: Ngorongoro Conservation Area*. Op. Cit., p. 4.
- 115 World Travel & Tourism Council. *Tanzania 2020 Annual Research: Key Highlights*. <https://wtcc.org/Research/Economic-Impact/moduleId/704/itemId/218/controller/DownloadRequest/action/QuickDownload> (accessed May 5, 2021).
- 116 Tanzania Invest. "Tanzania Tourism Revenues and Arrivals Slashed by Half in 2020." February 5, 2021. <https://www.tanzaniainvest.com/tourism/revenues-2020> (accessed May 5, 2021).
- 117 Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, United Republic of Tanzania. *The Multiple Land Use Model of Ngorongoro Conservation Area: Achievements and Lessons Learnt, Challenges and Options for the Future*. Op. Cit., p. xv.
- 118 *Ibid.*
- 119 *Ibid.*
- 120 Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority. "Tourism Information." Screenshot. <https://www.ncaa.go.tz/tourisminfo> (accessed May 5, 2021).
- 121 Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, United Republic of Tanzania. *The Multiple Land Use Model of Ngorongoro Conservation Area: Achievements and Lessons Learnt, Challenges and Options for the Future*. Op. Cit., p. 86.
- 122 *Ibid.*
- 123 *Ibid.*, p. 87.
- 124 Moukala, E., Taruvinga, P., Zulu, T. *Report on the Joint WHC/ICOMOS/IUCN Mission to Ngorongoro Conservation Area, United Republic of Tanzania*. Op. Cit., p. 32.
- 125 IUCN. 2020 *Conservation Outlook Assessment: Ngorongoro Conservation Area*. Op. Cit., p. 4.
- 126 Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, United Republic of Tanzania. *The Multiple Land Use Model of Ngorongoro Conservation Area: Achievements and Lessons Learnt, Challenges and Options for the Future*. Op. Cit., p. xxxvi.
- 127 It remains unclear if additional restrictions will be implemented through another policy. Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, United Republic of Tanzania. *The Multiple Land Use Model of Ngorongoro Conservation Area: Achievements and Lessons Learnt, Challenges and Options for the Future*. Op. Cit., p. xxxvi.
- 128 *Ibid.*, p. 100.



- 128 Moukala, E., Taruvinga, P., Zulu, T. *Report on the Joint WHC/ICOMOS/IUCN Mission to Ngorongoro Conservation Area, United Republic of Tanzania*. *Op. Cit.*, p. 20.
- 129 *Ibid.*, p. 21.
- 130 Ndaskoi, J.N. *Report of the Fact Finding Mission Conducted in Ngorongoro Conservation Area*. *Op. Cit.*, p. 13.
- 131 *Ibid.*
- 132 Hotels and Lodges Tanzania Limited. "Ngorongoro Wildlife Lodge." Screenshot. http://www.hotelsandlodges-tanzania.com/properties/en/ngorongoro_index.php (accessed April 27, 2021).
- 133 Ngorongoro Serena Safari Lodge. "Dining." Screenshot. <https://www.serenahotels.com/serenangorongoro/en/default.html> (accessed May 5, 2021).
- 134 S. Díaz et al. *Summary for policymakers of the global assessment report on biodiversity and ecosystem services of the Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services*, IPBES secretariat, Bonn, Germany, p. 14. <https://ipbes.net/global-assessment> (accessed April 16, 2021).
- 135 *Ibid.*
- 136 Statement of Ms. Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, at the 71st session of the General Assembly. October 17, 2016. <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=20748&LangID=E> (accessed April 16, 2021).
- 137 *Ibid.*
- 138 Ikulu Tanzania. MHE.RAIS SAMIA SULUHU HASSAN AKIWAAPISHA VIONGOZI WATEULE IKULU DAR ES SALAAM. Video, April 5, 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W15Uza3cBjA> (accessed April 20, 2021); Oleshangay, J. "What President Samia Needs to Know About Ngorongoro." *The Chanzo Initiative*. April 14, 2021. <https://thechanzo.com/2021/04/14/what-president-samia-needs-to-know-about-ngorongoro/> (accessed April 20, 2021).
- 139 *Ibid.*
- 140 Goldman, M. "Strangers in their own land: Maasai and wildlife conservation in Northern Tanzania." *Conservation and Society* 9, no. 1 (2011): 68. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/26393126.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A516ecbdb3e2b6556e859do827eb7c2e2> (accessed April 15, 2021).
- 141 S. Díaz et al. *Summary for policymakers of the global assessment report on biodiversity and ecosystem services of the Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services*. *Op. Cit.*, p. 18.
- 142 For more on the role of foreign investors, see: Mittal, A. and E. Fraser. *Losing the Serengeti the Maasai Land that was to Run Forever*. The Oakland Institute, 2018. *Op. Cit.*
- 143 People of Ngorongoro Ward. "Statement on the Fate of People Living in the Ngorongoro National Park." April 19, 2021. Available at: <https://www.oaklandinstitute.org/country/tanzania>.
- 144 *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- 145 Ndaskoi, J.N. *Report of the Fact Finding Mission Conducted in Ngorongoro Conservation Area*. *Op. Cit.*, p. 15.
- 146 The Oakland Institute. "Maasai Villagers Win a Major Victory in the East African Court of Justice in Case Against Tanzanian Government." Press Release. September 27, 2018. <https://www.oaklandinstitute.org/maasai-victory-east-african-court-justice-tanzanian-government> (accessed April 26, 2021).
- 147 *Ibid.*
- 148 Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. "Mandates of the Special Rapporteur on the issue of human rights obligations relating to the enjoyment of a safe, clean, healthy and sustainable environment; the Special Rapporteur on the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health; the Special Rapporteur on the rights of indigenous peoples; and the Special Rapporteur on the human rights of internally displaced persons." October 11, 2019. <https://spcommreports.ohchr.org/TMResultsBase/DownloadPublicCommunicationFile?gld=24872> (accessed April 23, 2021).
- 149 *Ibid.*
- 150 *Ibid.*, p. 4.
- 151 United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner. "UN experts call on Tanzania to end crackdown on civic space." Public Letter. July 22, 2020. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=26117&LangID=E> (accessed April 26, 2021); Mittal, A. "Tanzania's Withdrawal from the African Court on Human and People's Rights." The Oakland Institute. Blog. December 9, 2019. <https://www.oaklandinstitute.org/blog/tanzanias-withdrawal-african-court-human-peoples-rights-wrong-move> (accessed April 23, 2021).
- 152 Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. "Mandates of the Special Rapporteur on the issue of human rights obligations relating to the enjoyment of a safe, clean, healthy and sustainable environment; the Special Rapporteur on the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health; the Special Rapporteur on the rights of indigenous peoples; and the Special Rapporteur on the human rights of internally displaced persons." *Op. Cit.*, p. 10.
- 153 Mittal, A. "An Open Letter to the Tanzanian Government with Regard to its Response to the Oakland Institute's Report, Losing the Serengeti." Public Letter. *The Oakland Institute*. June 6, 2018. <https://www.oaklandinstitute.org/open-letter-tanzanian-government-response-losing-serengeti> (accessed April 26, 2021).



