

This document is intended for a readership composed of international development agents, aid organizations, government officials, planners and students of anthropology and development. In recent years the situation of the Hadzabe has become a cause of concern for a number of human rights organizations, development agents and individuals who have observed the ongoing marginalization and erosion of land rights of this group of African hunter-gatherers.

With text, some maps and photographs this document provides some background information on the experiences of the Hadzabe with government and development agents, relations with neighbouring communities, church and NGO organizations.

The complex situation of the Hadzabe represents one of the most serious cases of alienation and marginalization in Tanzania today and in many ways reflects on the status of administrative, government and land reforms in Tanzania and on the future for other Tanzanian communities if the country cannot come to terms with its diversity, poor administrative structures and policies. The Hadzabe have taken all appropriate steps and measures outlined in Tanzanian law and administrative practise to secure a land base, yet even the minimal rights that they have secured are being systematically eroded. Under the current conditions many other communities in Tanzania may find themselves in similar circumstances to that of the Hadza: disenfranchised and experiencing the deepest of poverty, that which comes from landlessness.



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THE HADZABE OF TANZANIA

Land and Human Rights for a
Hunter-Gatherer Community



by Andrew Madsen



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Andrew Madsen

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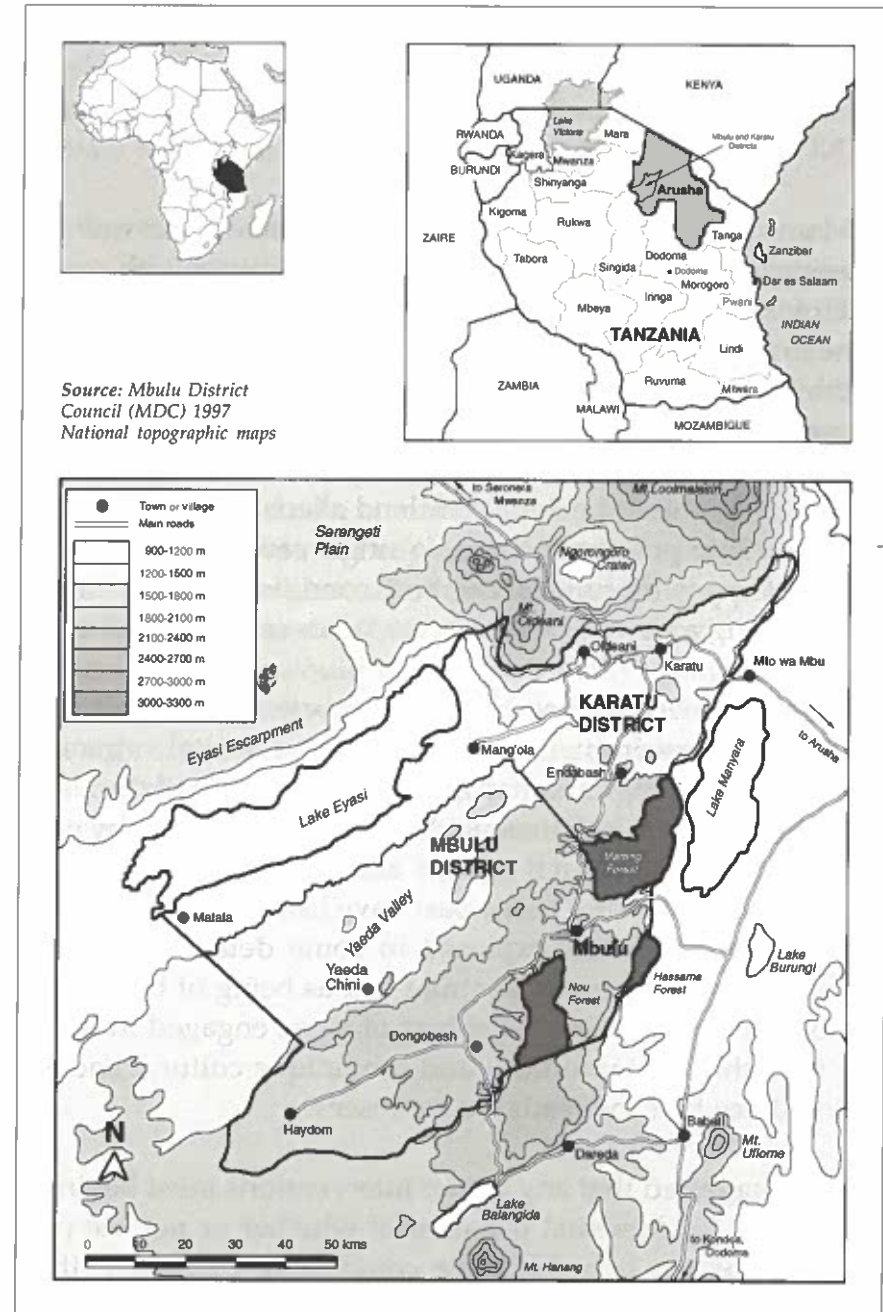
INTRODUCTION

WHY WRITE THIS DOCUMENT?

The Hadzabe, a group of hunter gatherers inhabiting an area of northern Tanzania commonly referred to as the Lake Eyasi basin, are losing their land. Their traditional territory extends over three modern day administrative regions: Arusha, Shinyanga and Singida regions in northern Tanzania, but in recent years their occupation of the Yaeda Valley and Kideru Ridge above the valley in Arusha Region, Mbulu District has increased in terms of numbers and density of use. This is the only area of their traditional territory to which the Hadzabe have any measure of legal protection. Land and village registration activities carried out in the early 90s were a last ditch effort to secure a land base for the Hadzabe and halt the long-term processes of alienation that have resulted in their almost total dispossession. To the west in Singida and north west in Meatu the land is taken by herders and farmers, to the east around Mangola the story is the same... everywhere the land is overrun by outsiders. Until recently the village lands of Mongo Wa Mono represented their last recourse, their last refuge; everywhere else they had lost their land to outsiders. Now, even this area is being taken.

The situation of the Hadzabe has entered a critical stage. For a number of years they have been recognized as a people in the process of losing their land. As we have seen elsewhere, once a people lose their land it is not long before they lose everything else: their language, their heritage, identity, children, culture and all too frequently their lives. The causes for this loss are ancient but also all too modern: population pressures of neighbouring peoples, land degradation in surrounding areas, discriminatory attitudes on the part of majority populations, government inattention and/or, even worse, gov-

MAP 1: Mbulu and Karatu Districts, Arusha Region, Tanzania



ernment attention. Misguided and destructive government policies and the uninformed interventions of foreign aid agencies and non-government organizations (NGOs) have had a significant impact on this community through forced relocations on the part of the government and dependence forming by NGOs and aid organizations.

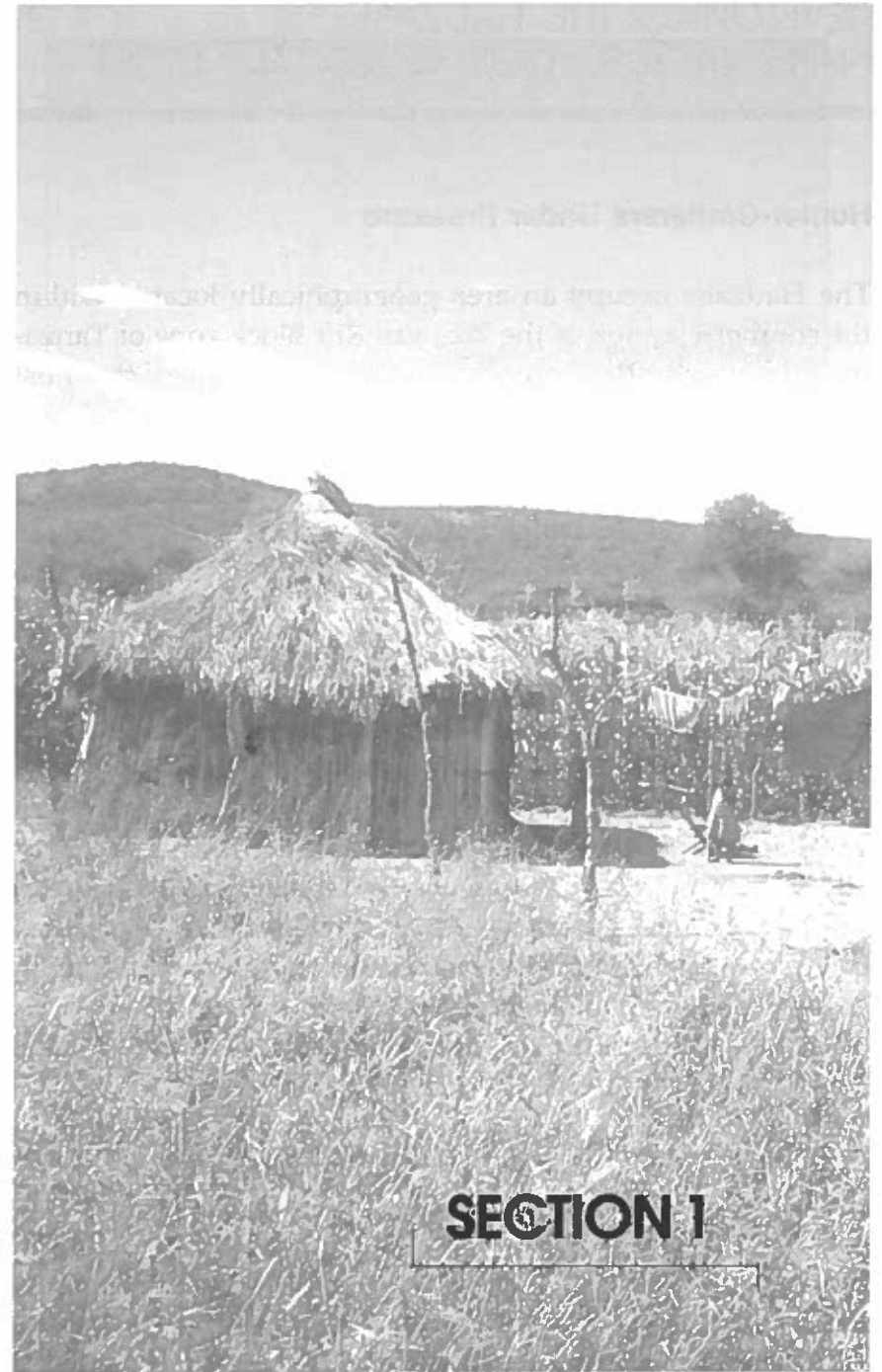
Many individuals and organizations have observed the ongoing destruction of the Hadzabe communities with a mixture of confusion and concern. Confusion over what is to be done to reverse the situation and concern that there is little or nothing to be done that has a realistic chance of success. Those who are closest to the situation and most knowledgeable regarding the dynamics of the problems are often at a loss as to what is to be done. The land alienation has not been an immediate process linked to a single cause but rather the result of many circumstances and conditions found in the surrounding area with impacts spread over many years.

This document has been written as a briefing for concerned individuals, governments and non-governmental organizations regarding the circumstances surrounding Hadzabe land and human rights in Tanzania. Many of the attempts by governments, NGOs, church groups and concerned individuals to address these issues in the past have had mixed results, the reasons for which are explored in some detail below. The problems can be broadly summarized as being of two kinds: philosophical and ideological bias of those engaged in working with these communities and the unique cultural and social realities that the Hadzabe represent.

It is suggested that any future interventions must begin by asking the fundamental question of whether or not the proposed measures help Hadzabe communities maintain their self-determination, or not. Previous interventions have been

characterized by the application of force on Hadza to adopt new ideology and value systems; or more recently the pressures of some outside individuals and organizations to push the people to preserve static (real or perceived) systems of values and lifestyle. Both processes have resulted in serious threats to their ability to maintain self-determination.

Any future intervention by foreign NGOs, development agencies, the government of Tanzania and local officials must be informed about the circumstances surrounding the Hadzabe communities. Understanding how the current context has evolved is necessary in order to avoid repetition of mistakes in policy development, implementation and follow-up, and to ensure that any future interventions recognize the legitimacy of Hadzabe communities and their right to determine their own future. People can only do this in an environment free of coercion, discrimination and the application of force by government, church, NGO and individuals in the community who would benefit personally from the destitution of their neighbours. This document intends to contribute towards a wider understanding of the problems, opportunities and dilemmas surrounding human rights and what may be termed "development" of this marginalized community of African hunter-gatherers.



SECTION 1

DEVELOPING THE HADZABE: NATIONAL IDEOLOGY VS. LOCAL NEEDS

Hunter-Gatherers Under Pressure

The Hadzabe occupy an area geographically located within the southern section of the Western Rift Block zone of Tanzania. This area of the East African Rift Wall is one of the most geographically diverse landscapes in Tanzania. Within a relatively small area there are upland plateaus, such as the Endanawishi Plain, characterized by relatively high rainfall (over 800mm p/year), productive soils for agriculture and varied vegetation cover to low lying areas of the Eyasi Basin. The Eyasi Basin is typically arid and semi-arid with little rainfall (less than 400mm p/year), high mean temperatures and a terrain characterized by rocky and sandy soils that are very poor for agriculture (Mbulu District Council 1997).

The Hadza, singular, or Hadzabe, plural, number between 1,000 and 1,500 individuals and occupy the most agriculturally marginal lands of this area in the Eyasi Basin. The vegetation, typical of semiarid savannah-rangelands, is dominated by *Accacia*, *Commiphora* and related vegetation, there is a high concentration of baobab trees (*Adansonia digitata*) and various other plants which provide important food resources for the Hadzabe (Armitage 1996, Woodburn 1968).

The Hadzabe traditional area covers approximately 1,500 square kilometers within which Hadza pursue a semi-nomadic lifestyle characterized by hunting and gathering. Although in recent years some Hadzabe have chosen to diversify their income by engaging in limited gardening, small scale agriculture and trade with neighbours, the majority of Hadza



Hadzabe lands have some of the lowest rainfall levels in Tanzania
Photos: Andrew Madsen

View from the Yaeda escarpment west to the Eyasi escarpment

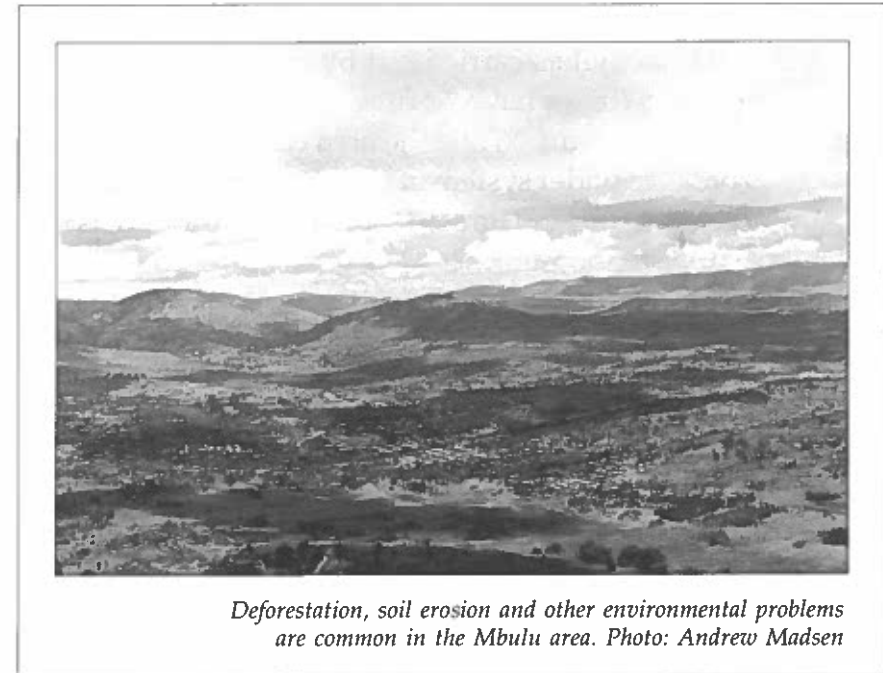


continue to live primarily from hunting and gathering. Establishing their precise population is difficult due to this semi-nomadic lifestyle and a tendency towards frequent name changes but also because many of their neighbors will claim to be Hadza from time to time in order to benefit from various programs that have been designed to support the Hadzabe.

Hadzabe lands have had a great diversity and density of wildlife species such as buffalo, zebra and giraffe which Hadza lived from in addition to gathering foods such as berries, different tubers and fruits from natural, uncultivated sources. Until recently this lifestyle was practical and met all of their daily needs but now, with increasing land alienation by immigrants from neighbouring communities and the subsequent environmental pressures, this lifestyle is under severe pressure.

Living in a part of Tanzania that experiences frequent drought and unpredictable rainfall, the Hadzabe have never known famine or hunger while their neighbours, depending on agriculture and livestock, have. The hunter-gatherer economy as it is practised by the Hadza provides a much more varied range of foods than that of their neighbours, and many of these food sources are drought resistant. In fact, some of these resources are best found during the driest times of the year (McDowell 1991).

Like many nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples, the Hadzabe leave little visible impact on their environment. They do not clear large tracts of land for agricultural purposes, graze large herds of cattle, dig deep wells, establish irrigated farms or build permanent structures. The fact that they leave little visible signs of their occupation and use of the land is one of the reasons why neighbouring communities regard their land as "open" or unused lands. Although the land is largely unsuitable for agriculture due to low rainfall and poor soil condi-



tions, the combined pressures of increased population, land degradation in surrounding communities and Tanzania's single-minded policy of agricultural development, regardless of social, economic and ecological conditions are forcing more and more non-Hadza into the area.

Until recently the Hadzabe were the only residents of the Eyasi Basin but in recent years Barabaig pastoralists and a growing number of Iraqw and other agriculturists have been moving in. Even with this influx the valley is sparsely populated relative to neighbouring areas but the movement of just a few pastoralists and agriculturists into this fragile ecosystem is having a profoundly negative impact on the environment and its original hunter-gatherer occupants.

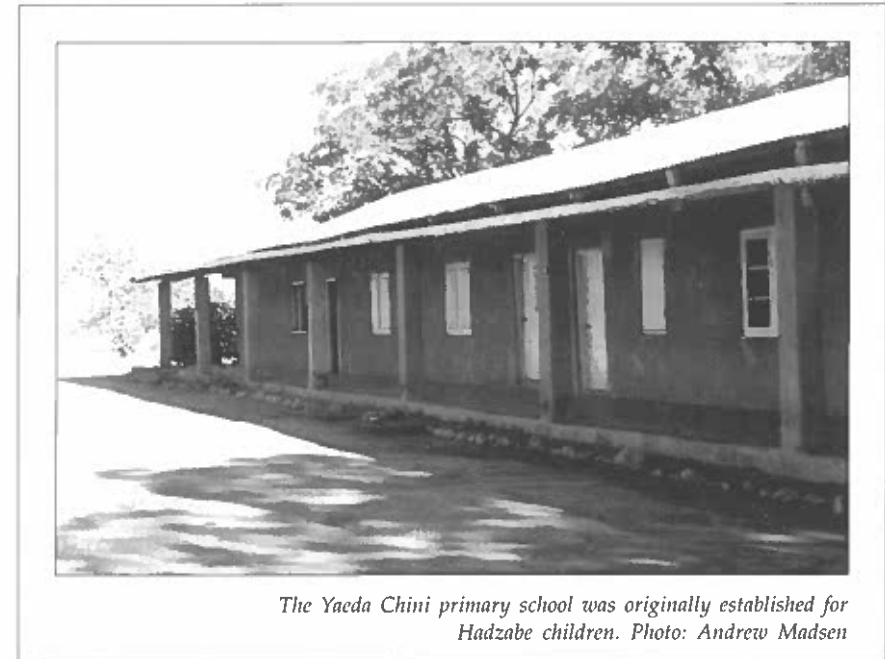
There are now three distinct land use systems at work in the Hadzabe lands: hunting and gathering, pastoralism and agri-

culture, as well as some mixed agro-pastoralist production. These differing activities carried out by more than three distinctly different peoples have resulted in a variety of specific environmental problems. While the area can support pastoral activity as part of a wider system of transhumance, subsistence hunting and gathering and limited tourism, there are signs that it cannot support the current intensity of use. Soil erosion resulting from losses of vegetation coverage due to overgrazing and deforestation and increased pressure at water points is changing local conditions to the point where any long-term livelihood strategy is becoming unsustainable (Armitage 1996).

A direct result of this influx of outsiders and the widening variety of subsistence strategies engaged in the area is the increased tensions between the various communities now living in the area. The natural resources of the area are marginal and finite and there is great potential for conflict over their access. These resource pressures coupled with the low status of Hadza in Tanzanian society result in a situation where Hadzabe communities and individuals come into increasing danger of dispossession, a direct result of their experience in the national context as a people in need of "development."

"Developing" the Hadzabe

Hadza experience a high degree of pressure from government, church, neighbours and other organizations to abandon their hunting and gathering lifestyle. Since the independence of the former British colony of Tanganyika in 1961 and the formation of Tanzania in 1964 through the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, there have been various programs to sedentarize Hadza into permanent villages and for them to take up



The Yaeda Chini primary school was originally established for Hadzabe children. Photo: Andrew Madsen

agriculture. These programs inevitably failed due to the incompatibilities of settlement life with Hadza values and lifestyle and the often violently forceful and coercive methods employed by government officials mandated to "develop" them.

There were three main objectives behind settlement plans for the Hadzabe:

1. to persuade the Hadzabe to abandon their traditional economy of nomadic hunting and gathering;
2. to persuade the Hadzabe to become sedentarized participants in national institutions and programs;
3. to persuade the Hadzabe to become self-sufficient in food production as producers of agricultural products. (McDowell 1981)

In the immediate post-Independence phase Tanzania adopted development policies in order to "catch-up" with the developed world. Tanzania adopted a modernization strategy implemented through a socialist development ideology that focused on peasants and workers as the key actors in centralizing economic production. Since pastoralists and hunter-gatherers are neither workers nor peasants it was believed that these communities required even further "catching-up." In this environment hunter-gatherer communities were viewed as being in need of special efforts to curb their migratory lifestyles and what was perceived as their irrational economies. The objective of the government became the transformation of these communities into what officials viewed as the more rational mode of life of sedentarised agriculture which would then allow these communities to enter into mainstream development programs. (Kaare 1998)

Wherever these measures were attempted the result was the eventual, sometimes rapid, abandonment of the settlements by the Hadzabe and the subsequent arrival of people from neighbouring communities to take their place. Every attempt at settling the Hadzabe resulted in another piece of their land being lost, either through people moving into the facilities built for them or through their enforced absence from other areas of their traditional territory.

To date, there is surprisingly little debate in Tanzania as to what constitutes development, particularly for communities such as the Hadzabe. While various political parties style themselves as "the party for development" none of them state what this means in practical terms. Despite various donor driven initiatives and decades of failed "development" programs, most government officials continue to view development as a process of modernization in line with early development theory.

Conventional thinking in the early years of modern development practice held that the expansion of industrial capacity and the mass production of goods in concentrated centres of manufacturing and production were the means by which the needs of the world's poor could be met. Central to this particular development paradigm is technological faith and belief in the superiority of western ways and means. This faith relies on the denial of the viability of local knowledge in planning (Gardner & Lewis 1996) and thereby rejects local concerns and priorities by assuming that everyone wants the same thing, which is far from the truth. Not everyone wants to live in big industrial cities, not everyone wants to work in mines, manufacturing plants and live in high-density housing. Not everyone wants to be a farmer.

The unfortunate thing about Tanzania in the 00s is that these attitudes still persist throughout society and in particular among government officials. In Tanzania the foreign colonial officials have been replaced by African officials, but the attitudes, perceptions and biases are reminiscent of the colonial era. The Eurocentric post-war view of development that created the third world is recreated by Tanzanian government officials and mainstream society when referring to indigenous people such as the Hadzabe within Tanzania. Terms such as "under-developed," "backward," "primitive," and worse are regularly applied to Hadza as well as to the more populous pastoralist groups such as the Barabaig and Maasai. Along with the stereotyping comes outright dismissal of these peoples' customary rights to land and resources and a negation of their means of livelihood, which subsequently allows the alienation of their lands.

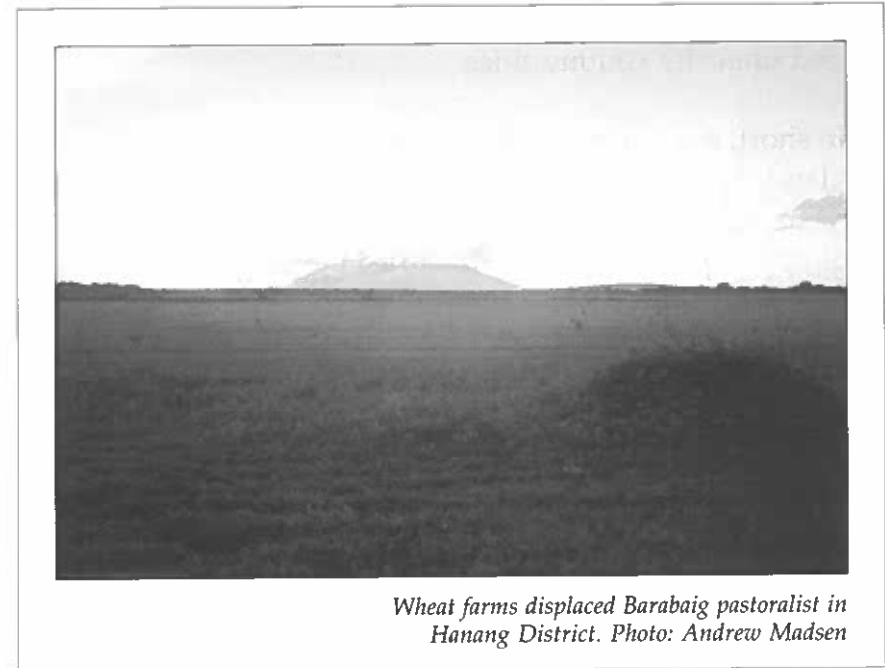
Recently enacted land legislation in Tanzania fails to protect peoples' claims to traditional territories and as Ringo Tenga, law professor at the University of Dar es Salaam, has noted:

If the colonizers were guilty of ignoring customary rights generally, the indigenous African officialdom is similarly guilty of ignoring pastoral tenure with the same air of prejudice, indifference, ethnic chauvinism and discrimination (Tenga 1996).

This ignoring of customary rights has been enforced through the enactment of legislation extinguishing peoples' customary title as well as administrative measures taken against people in order to remove them from their land. In a number of cases the legislation has been introduced after people have been illegally dispossessed in an effort to retroactively sanctify illegal removals. Examples of such legislative attempts can be found in various Government Notices (GN), such as 102/85, 88-87 and 659-86, enacted to undercut growing legal challenges in Mbulu District and other parts of Arusha Region over land alienation dating from the villagization programs of the 1970s. However, the failures of these measures to meet constitutional criteria (see Tenga & Kakoti 1993 for discussion) led to the government passing the Regulation of Land Tenure Act (1992) that attempted to extinguish all customary rights throughout Tanzania.

The Hadzabe and other hunter-gatherers share similar circumstances with that of pastoralists in the fact that the interests of minority populations are not taken into account in national development programs. All too often the interests of the national majority takes precedence as demonstrated in the situation of the Barabaig pastoralists of Hanang.

The Barabaig lost over 10% of their land composed of the most important grazing areas to a government parastatal organization establishing large, mechanized wheat farms in the area (Lane 1996). The subsequent movement of large numbers of outsiders into the area further displaced the Barabaig who are now scattered all over Tanzania, including the near by Yaeda Valley where they are in turn displacing the Hadzabe.



Wheat farms displaced Barabaig pastoralist in Hanang District. Photo: Andrew Madsen

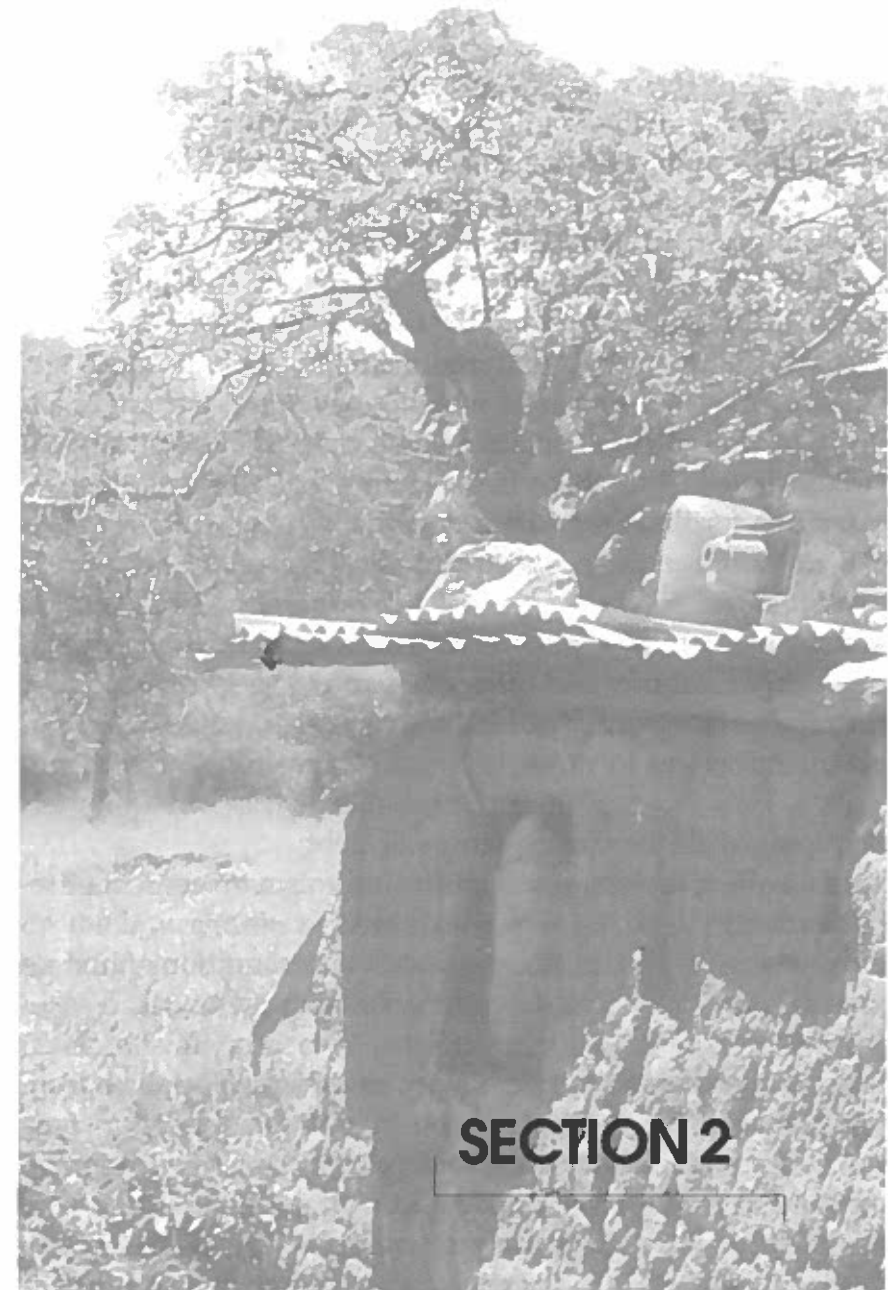
Many continue to be pushed onwards by shortages of land in neighbouring areas and conflict with longer-term residents; there are now reports of Barabaig moving into neighbouring countries such as Malawi in search of pasture and water resources for the maintenance of their herds.

The Maasai of Tanzania have been and are experiencing similar dislocations. Evictions of Maasai from the Mkomazi game reserve in 1988 by the government used the same rationale and "legal" arguments that the colonial authorities used for the mass evictions of the colonial era. The alienation of the lands of minority communities has remained a constant in Tanzania; the only thing that has changed is that now the displacers are other Tanzanians. The status of these and other Tanzanian communities demonstrates that the situation of the Hadzabe is not an isolated case but is particularly serious since they are losing

lands not only to majority interests but also to other displaced minority communities.

In short, the future for these minority groups is bleak without land. They fight one another for the most marginal lands, they are subjected to abusive conditions by government and their communities continue to suffer the deepest of poverty: that which results from landlessness.

Continued bias in government circles, a low level of community-based organization and various other obstacles make the prospects of reversing this situation complex. The overall situation of indigenous peoples such as the Hadzabe in Tanzania and the wider conditions of Tanzanian society make a resolution to this situation difficult and the role of outside organizations problematic. But without intervention the Hadzabe will soon be completely landless and dispossessed.



SECTION 2

The Challenges of Accountable Nation Building

The United Republic of Tanzania, located on the Indian Ocean with neighbouring Kenya to the north, Mozambique to the south, Burundi, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to the west is undergoing a period of rapid change. Observers are divided as to whether or not these changes are positive or negative, there are strong aspects of both in current circumstances, but there is no doubt that this is a time of transition for this East African country.

With a relatively secure domestic situation, Tanzania is seen by many foreign governments, aid agencies, non-government organizations and others as one of the great hopes for the region. However, there are many challenges facing Tanzania such as:

1. coping with the consequences of debt;
2. controlling endemic corruption and mismanagement of resources;
3. ensuring continued democratization, recognition of human rights and open debate within the country.

With a post-independence history of African Socialism, central planning and dependence on international aid, Tanzania now faces significant debt to foreign sources, widespread corruption in the civil service and civil society at large, and widespread human right abuses, particularly in the area of land rights.

While there has been some progress in the area of human rights and establishing accountable public institutions and policy, for most Tanzanians the processes of democratization and liberalization have little meaning. This is particularly true outside of the urban centers, where recent shifts in government policy have little impact and are often poorly understood by officials accustomed to central planning and a command oriented political process. These circumstances as well as a general lack of awareness on the part of the majority of the population with regard to their rights result in continued abuses and severe constraints on an emerging civil society.

Corruption: Official and Unofficial

Corruption is one of the largest problems faced by the country. Having reached epidemic proportions in the 1990s this constant in Tanzanian daily life makes itself felt at all levels: government, NGO, church and community. While official corruption has been addressed by the Warioba Commission in its first report in 1996, which led to the resignation of some government ministers, many feel that not enough is being done to address the underlying problem.

Recent anti-corruption initiatives appear to have focused on the lower ranks of public officials such as district medical personnel, education and taxation officials while the higher level practitioners continue unrestrained. While these lower level officials and civil servants are widely viewed as the most corrupt, the reality is that their corruption is for the most part petty, representing the day-to-day face of corruption that is most frequently encountered in Tanzania.

The Warioba Commission is supposed to release a second report that is expected to be controversial due to the naming

of powerful individuals. However, with the prospect of the coming elections in October of 2000, the release of this second report on schedule is problematic.

Public debate in Tanzania has gone further to address the root causes of corruption and predictably a great deal of responsibility for corruption has been put at the doorstep of bilateral aid, NGOs, business and other actors in development. Judge Warioba, Chairman of the Warioba Commission, and others have argued that corruption is linked with international aid which is implemented without adequate consultation, planning and follow-up.

While the effects of official corruption pose significant problems for Tanzania, unofficial corruption is increasingly having an impact on the country as a whole. There is a perception that petty corruption is more common in Tanzania than grand corruption as noted in some of the responses to the findings of Transparency International (TI) in their annual Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) (East African, September 28, 1998). This index, in which Tanzania rated the fourth most corrupt out of eighty-five countries, focuses on perceptions of official corruption rather than actual corruption. The results were found through a methodology focusing on soliciting the views of international and domestic businessmen, development organizations and other actors. Transparency International does not attempt to address the level and extent of corruption at non-official levels although their findings have strong implications throughout Tanzanian society.

According to their mission statement TI seeks to:

... focus on corruption in the public sector and define(s) corruption as the abuse of public office for private gain. The CPI makes no effort to reflect private sector fraud. The surveys used in

compiling the CPI tend to ask questions in line with the misuse of public power for private benefits, with a focus, for example, on bribing of public officials, taking kickbacks in public procurement or embezzling public funds, etc.

TI makes two distinctions regarding public corruption: administrative corruption, such as illicit payments to tax inspectors, and political corruption, such as bribes to politicians and political parties. These areas have their own particular dynamics but also overlap in the Tanzanian context. It is this area of overlap that is most significant in regards to land alienation where the combination of administrative and political corruption are the main methods by which the land of indigenous peoples is alienated.

While official corruption functions to impede human rights in Tanzania, it is the day-to-day corruption at the local level that has the most immediate impact on local and international organizations. When it becomes impossible to get a passport, a driver's license or any other form of government service (including health services) without paying a bribe, the impact on the growth of democratic governance through publicly accountable institutions becomes increasingly problematic.

Non-Government Organizations and the Challenges of an Emerging Civil Society

The growing Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Community Based Organizations (CBOs) sectors of the emerging civil society in Tanzania are experiencing significant problems with their capacity, programming and accountability. These emerging organizations are the subject of increasing donor attention and support in recent years as a result of the

liberalization of Tanzanian society and persistent government failure in program delivery and accountability.

The gradual liberalization which has taken place since the early 1980s has resulted in a dramatic growth of the NGO sector in Tanzania. Before 1980 there were few NGOs, most of them representing various church and religious interests, focusing almost exclusively on the delivery of a variety of social services in rural Tanzania. Non-Governmental Organizations in Tanzania now number over 9,000 and address not only service-delivery issues but also environmental protection, gender equity, democratization, human rights and a range of other issues (Danida 1999).

NGOs are perceived to have a number of comparative advantages over government such as being more locally accountable, able to independently assess problems, provide expertise and advice and being effective in the dissemination of information and awareness raising. However, they can also have significant problems with accountability and transparency as well as come under significant pressure, harassment and outright attack from government officials who feel that these organizations pose a threat to their interests. This is particularly true in Tanzania which has a long history of one-party rule and has repressive legislation, some dating from colonial times, in force to control non-government organizations (for e.g. Societies Ordinance Act 1954).

Recent events in Tanzania have seen the deregistration of a number of NGOs as well as initiatives to establish a National NGO Policy. This process is viewed by many observers as an attempt by the government to further control the terms and conditions under which civil society develops in Tanzania.

Shifts in Official Development Assistance (ODA) away from government to the emerging NGO sector in recent years have

had an effect of increasing tensions between the government and non-government sector. However, this shift is a direct result of increased opportunities for aid agencies to establish partnerships with a wider range of organizations than merely the government, as had been the case in Tanzania in the immediate post-independence phase.

The movement of resources from government to NGO management can be attributed to governmental inability to manage and implement programs in a sustainable and transparent manner. Donor governments continue to support increased aid delivery through the NGO sector. In 1998 NGOs in Africa managed approximately 3.5 bn USD in external aid compared with less than 1 bn USD in 1990 and this trend is likely to continue.

With these increases in resources come questions of capacity and accountability. While NGOs have various strengths they can also be very weak due to a variety of factors. Perhaps the most significant weakness in the NGO sector is the tendency to replicate conditions found in government. Abuses of authority mismanagement of resources, corruption and various other features of government administration can be found among NGOs which threaten their validity and the viability of programming through these organizations. There are three main reasons for this:

1. the movement of former government officials into the NGO and CBO sectors;
2. the general absence of publicly accountable institutions and organizations;
3. government suspicion and hostility towards the emerging NGO sector.

With retrenchment in the public service as a requirement of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), a growing number of

former civil servants are seeking employment opportunities outside of government service. Given the failures of government in the delivery of services to the majority of Tanzanians and the subsequent movement of donor attention and resources into the NGO sector, many of these former officials are either finding positions in existing NGOs or forming new NGOs to meet donor interest. Unfortunately, they bring with them many of the poor administrative habits developed in government.

Rapid organizational growth coupled with poor administrative skills in an environment where law enforcement is ineffective constitute a poor environment for donors to build partnerships with national and local organizations. While there is a new generation of Tanzanians coming of age in an environment where there is more space for a nascent civil society, these individuals have few positive role models to counter the daily face of petty corruption in Tanzania. With the persistence and spread of petty corruption in recent years have come signs of resignation to the status quo. Too many people in the Tanzania NGO sector view corruption as a great monolithic reality to daily life and are resigned to its influence on programs and organizations. These attitudes must be countered effectively through programs of capacity building that take into account both the strengths and weaknesses of the emerging civil society in Tanzania and the legacy of statist development approaches in the post-independence era.

As a one party state the government sought to control all aspects of civil society in Tanzania. The transition from a single-party to multi-party state has not eased the hostility that government officials have towards non-governmental organizations working directly with communities, particularly if these organizations are working with greater resources than those at the disposal of government departments and agencies.

Causes for Optimism?

While there is much cause for pessimism when regarding the tentative steps of an emerging civil society in Tanzania, there is also a corresponding sense of the possible; that these difficulties can, with time and effort, be overcome. The relatively recent establishment of a free press, ongoing judicial reform and other measures can lead to an improvement in the conditions and circumstances necessary for the development of a range of democratic, open, effective and accountable public institutions. This, however, given the prevailing circumstances, will take time, far-sighted policies and, most significantly, well-advised practices to assure the difficult transition of Tanzania from its current status as a "failed state" to a successful and peaceful society where fundamental human rights are assured for all citizens.

Corruption and the Hadzabe

As a marginalized community the Hadzabe feel the impact of corruption as does much of Tanzanian society. Their rights and claims to land are not considered legitimate, they are under-served by state institutions and their low status in relationship to neighbouring communities is perpetuated by individuals who view the land and other resources of the Hadzabe as easy to alienate. This is despite the fact that they have followed all government regulations and guidelines in establishing a demarcated village and title deed to village lands. Established processes, procedures and policy in regard to immigration are ignored and unimplemented. So long as individuals can act with impunity in the alienation of Hadzabe lands there is little hope of a lasting solution to resolve these circumstances of alienation and marginalization.

While the preconditions for effective and accountable public institutions do not exist, the Hadzabe have almost no means of countering the current situation of land alienation and discrimination at the hands of government and neighbouring communities. Due to their small numbers, their political impact is limited and there is no viable recourse to the judiciary. In addition to this, administrative solutions through local government are constrained by poorly motivated government staff with little understanding of the changing policy environment in Tanzania, particularly around issues of human rights. Given the absence of information on new policy directions, government officials frequently revert to officially abandoned authoritarian processes.

Debt, Debt Relief and Tanzania

Tanzania is one of the most indebted countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Amounting to approximately 8 bn USD, debt servicing costs Tanzania more than a third of the state budget. However, some debt relief is planned.

Tanzania was recently identified as qualifying for debt reduction under the World Bank's revised Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC2) program. Initial reports indicated that Tanzania's debt will be reduced by 1.6 bn USD over the next 5 years, however, the full extent to which the debt will be reduced is still to be determined. In addition to this Tanzania also qualifies for debt relief under the United States' recently proposed bilateral debt relief plan. The US is owed approximately 5.7 bn USD by poor countries such as Tanzania, much of it considered unrecoverable. As a result of active lobbying by a variety of debt reduction advocates, the waiving of a large part of this debt, including the portion owed by Tanzania, is being considered.

However, even with these reductions in debt and the service of debt, Tanzania will still have a debt burden beyond its capacity to cope. Debt service and the conditions of the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) have had serious impact on local conditions throughout Tanzania. Social services have essentially collapsed and low government pay is a major factor in increased corruption.

Many government services such as health and primary education have introduced fee structures which did not exist in the past. With a primarily subsistence economy in rural areas such fee structures pose significant barriers to services for most families and the quality of services, where available, is low.

NATIONAL AND LOCAL POLITICS

Multi-partism and National Elections

It has been five years since Tanzania established multipartism. There will be local district council and national elections in October of 2000 which are expected to be hotly contested but ultimately won by the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) the party which has formed the government since independence. As a result of the 1995 national elections, 12 opposition parties won only 56 of 275 seats in parliament and these seats were divided between only four parties: the Civic United Front (CUF), NCCR-Mageuzi, the United Democratic Party (UDP) and Chadema. The prospect of any of the opposition parties forming the next government, individually or as a coalition, are thin since most of these parties are experiencing internal conflicts. Also few of them have the organizational capacity of the CCM which has been actively organising and mobilizing its membership base. Until recently there has been little

doubt that the CCM will win despite widespread dissatisfaction with the current government.

Following the death of Tanzania's first president, Julius Nyerere, on October 14 1999 there is increasing speculation regarding the future of the party he founded. Nyerere continued to be heavily involved in party, national and regional issues after he stepped down from office in 1985 and the party chairmanship in 1987. His influence was instrumental in the choosing of his two successors, Ali Hassan Mwinyi (1985-1994) and Benjamin Mkapa (1994-present). The Burundi peace process, national politics, party politics and a wide range of issues were heavily dominated by Nyerere and there is now wide-spread speculation as to what will happen after his departure from the scene.

For a number of years there have been fissures in the CCM, many of the newly formed opposition parties are composed of former CCM members. The death of Nyerere raises the possibility that the party will divide further putting increased pressure on the upcoming coming elections and the ability of the current president to keep the party united.

President Mkapa has opponents within the party and branches of the civil service due to his public statements on corruption and actions taken to address the problem. He is also under increasing public pressure, becoming more and more identified with the difficult times that Tanzanians have experienced under his presidency; a strong sign of his unpopularity is that the Kiswahili word for hard times, "ukata" is increasingly being replaced by the new word "umkapa." Such word-play on the Presidents' name is a serious political statement in a country where there is little tradition for speaking out openly on political issues.

Mbulu and National Elections

The impact of these elections at the local level can be significant since Mbulu has a history of dissent dating to colonial times and of selecting Members of Parliament (MPs) prone to criticize government policies in post-independence times. The current MP in the newly established neighbouring Karatu District is a member of an opposition party and has been actively involved in such key local issues as water project development and education policy. Mbulu may be one of the priority areas for the CCM since it poses some potential for supporting an opposition MP, should a viable candidate come forward in the upcoming campaign. However, the problems found in the opposition parties at the national level appear to be replicated at the local level and no clear alternative to the CCM seems to exist.

The elections would ideally represent an opportunity for bringing Hadzabe issues forward for greater attention and redress than they have had in the past. Unfortunately, to date local politicians have not shown any sign of recognizing the fundamental issues inherent in the situation of the Hadzabe but rather rely on stereotypical attitudes and remain committed to failed policy initiatives of the past.

Local Elections

Local elections for the seats on the District Councils were to have been held in 1998 but were postponed to November 1999 but were then cancelled by the government citing financial constraints. The local elections were to have been a mechanism for disseminating information in advance of national elections about multi-partyism, democracy and various rights of voters. A funding request from the Tanzanian government

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THE HADZABE OF TANZANIA



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Land and Human Rights for a
Hunter-Gatherer Community



by Andrew Madsen



to hold these elections had been rejected by donors on the grounds that there has not been sufficient lead time to the application and that within the application itself there were no provisions for information campaigns to advise voters of their rights.

Local authorities have significant influence over policy issues and the impacts of these on people like the Hadzabe. It is principally through these officials that day-to-day operations are carried out. Many decisions are made, policies implemented and programs like the Mbulu Dutch Rural Development Programme (MDRDP) planned and initiated with the cooperation and input, primarily, of local officials. The presence and influence of local officials are key as their perceptions and interests in issues relating to local indigenous populations can have serious impact on the conditions in these communities.

Unfortunately, the attitude of many district councillors in Mbulu has been, at best, one of disinterest in the Hadzabe and in the Yaeda Chini area more generally. When discussing the area in terms of its significance within the district many officials consider it primarily a cattle grazing area. There are a number of non-resident cattle owners grazing their animals in the area where there are significant dry season water sources and, in the past, abundant grasses could be found. This reflects long-held views of the economic potential for the area dating to the colonial era when Yaeda Chini was designated a cattle and livestock keeping area.

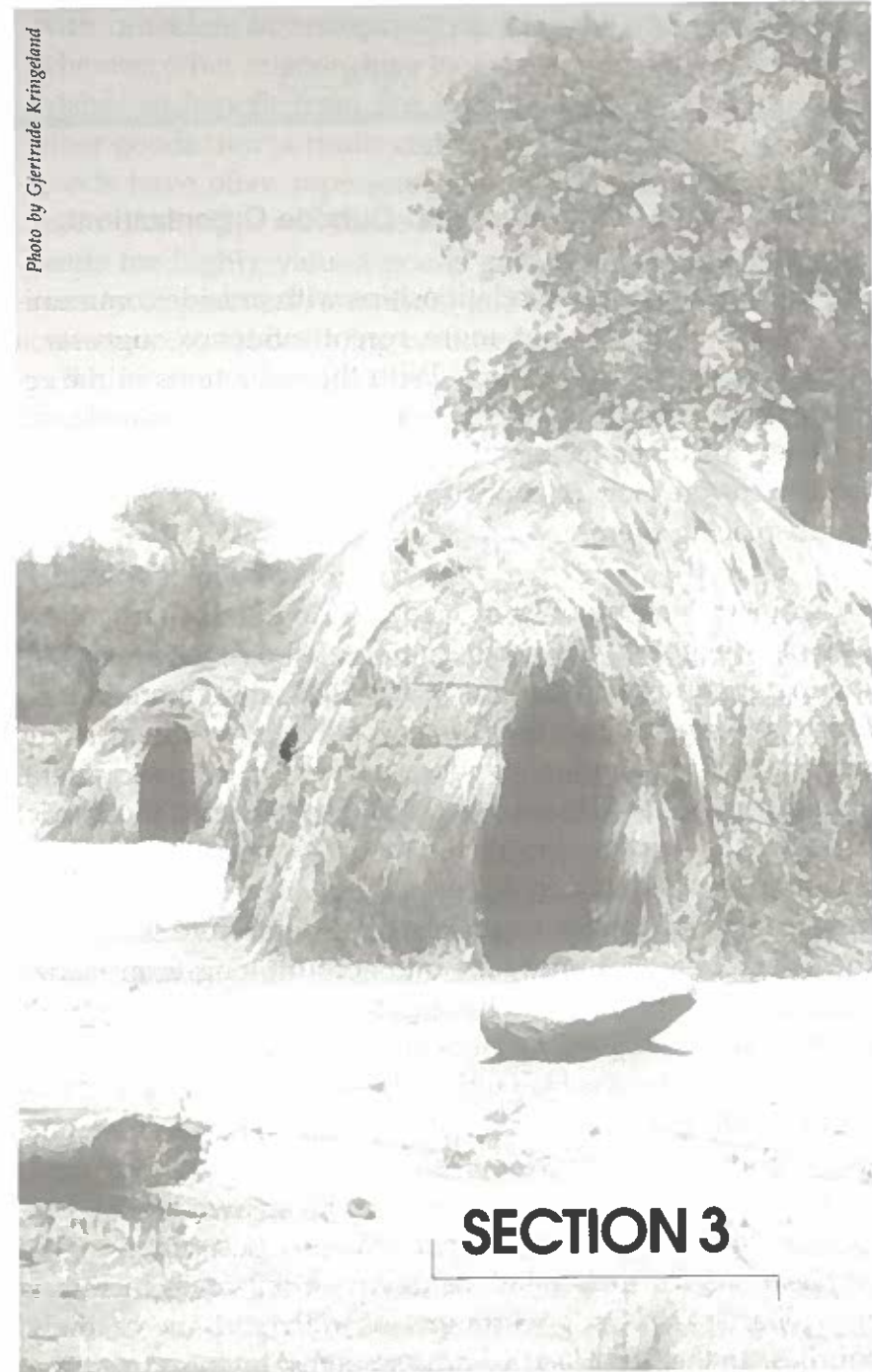


Photo by Gjertrude Kringsland

SECTION 3

THE HADZABE OF TANZANIA

Land and Human Rights
for a Hunter-Gatherer Community

Andrew Madsen

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THE HADZABE OF TANZANIA

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Relations with Neighbours and Outside Organizations

Hadza avoid protracted relationships with outside communities and individuals but more recent evidence suggests a change in these relationships. With the reductions in the resource base, loss of land, decreases in numbers of animals and a variety of other factors Hadza are becoming much more dependent on their relationships with the very people who are displacing them.

An increasing number of Hadza individuals, particularly around Mangola at the northern tip of Lake Eyasi, are engaging in agricultural labour on the farms of newcomers to their territory, entertaining tourists and relying on the periodic handouts of food and other goods brought in by government, church and NGOs. This is not unusual considering the impact of increased immigration of the last few years. The dispossession of the Hadzabe in this area is now nearly total. Recent government initiatives to register and demarcate villages in the Mangola area do not take into account long-term Hadza occupation of the area and have allocated all the village lands to the recently arrived farmers and herders. It is in this area that the future for the Hadzabe, if the status quo is to continue becomes clear: a life of landlessness, begging, exploitive tourism and deep poverty.

This decline in the traditional economy has wide-ranging implications for their relationships with outsiders including missionaries, NGOs, government officials and, increasingly, tourists. In the past Hadza were compelled by force to engage

with outsiders in enterprises such as the various settlement schemes; other relationships have been pursued as suit Hadza wishes to benefit from the handouts of food, clothing and other goods that periodic contact with outsiders offers. These goods have often represented trade opportunities to Hadza individuals who will trade unwanted items such as hoes and seeds for highly valued goods such as tobacco, cloth and a variety of practical household goods. In the present day circumstances of a declining resource base Hadza may be compelled by circumstances to engage in longer-term relationships at disadvantageous terms that they would have avoided in the past.

Relations with Pastoralists

Tatoga pastoralists, particularly the Barabaig, represent the front line of Hadzabe land alienation. Having been dislocated from their own traditional lands by agriculturists and other pressures they are now migrating into lands occupied by Hadza. With large herds of cattle, sheep and goats these pastoralists change the bush land habitat through a variety of means. They use fire to encourage the growth of grasses for their cattle, clear large numbers of trees for house and cattle corral construction (bomas), and dig deep wells in the dry season for watering their cattle.

The main source of conflict between Tatoga pastoralists and the Hadzabe is over water resources. Pastoralists transform the critically important dry season natural springs to meet their own needs by digging deep wells from which they water their livestock. This effectively alienates these water resources from wildlife which is a mainstay of the Hadzabe traditional economy as well as contaminating the sources for domestic use. With no water available, wildlife

soon abandons the area leaving the Hadzabe with a much reduced diet.

While there are high levels of conflict and potential conflict between Barabaig and Hadzabe, these two groups share an affinity with bush land and value keeping their distance from agriculturalist who often displace them. When Hadza and Barabaig meet they refer to themselves as people of the bush and recognize one another as such, particularly when contrasting their interests with those of agriculturalists. The semi-nomadic Hadzabe and Barabaig do not view the bush as an unfriendly, frightening and mysterious place as do many settled agricultural peoples. However, this mutual identification and satisfaction with the bush is perhaps only expressed in terms that are in contrast with their common objection to the encroachment of agriculturalists. These pastoralists view bush land in terms similar to those of Hadzabe, albeit with a significantly different outlook on the resource potential of the area: where Hadzabe see bush products and wild animals, pastoralists see cattle.

The common view of Hadzabe among Barabaig in the Yaeda area is that of a begging people. Some individuals view their relationship to the Hadzabe as one of charity, a kind of stewardship which Hadzabe are no doubt well aware of and willing to exploit as the occasion arises but there are also significant trade connections between these two communities, principally in honey. Wild honey used to brew *gisoda*, a honey beer, is an important item of trade between Barabaig and Hadza and there are signs the Barabaig recognize wild honey as being an exclusive Hadzabe resource (Eshgesh Natural Resources Training Seminar 1998).

Relations with Missionaries

The role and activity of missionaries among the Hadzabe have and continues to be influential in the lives of this community. While missionary interventions among the Hadzabe typically do not last long or have the immediate effect the missionaries would wish, there are a variety of worrying aspects to the current missionary presence in Yaeda Chini. Perhaps the most serious threat posed by missionaries is their role in furthering the divisions of an already divided community.

Hadzabe social organization tends to make the most of individual movement and freedom of choice. Within such an environment one of the effects of missionary activity can be the introduction of conflict and competition between individuals and families which poses further challenges for the self-organization that is necessary for these communities in order to address issues of land loss and alienation.

Many missionary organizations actively support the government position that Hadzabe must settle into communities. Both the government and church perspectives insist on sedentarization and the adoption of an agricultural lifestyle since this facilitates the delivery of social services and church attendance. As with many interventions, the typical Hadzabe response is one of either short-term cooperation with the wishes of the missionaries or avoidance of their influence.

Tanzania Assemblies of God (TAG)

The most active of the missionary movements currently in the Yaeda area is the Tanzania Assemblies of God pentacostal group which has had a missionary from another part of Northern Tanzania in the sub-village of Sonola since 1995. Religious

services, church construction but also persuading the Hadzabe to take up agriculture are the main activities of this group.

One of the effects of the Tanzania Assemblies of God (TAG) in relationship to their activities in first the Sonola and Domanga sub-villages of Mongo wa Mono is the deepening of rifts among the Hadzabe. There are serious divisions between missionary and non-missionary affiliated families in addition to problems created by the missionary who opposes attendance at important Hadzabe ceremonies such as the *epeme* ceremony which has been described as a ritual with the purpose of "reconciling the differing interests of women and men" (Woodburn 1972).

Even more disturbing are recent activities of this church involving the taking of young children to Moshi far from Hadzabe communities, to work as domestic servants in the homes of church members for little or no pay. A total of 18 children have been taken to Moshi over the last three years, fourteen of whom were young girls. Until February of 1999, 10 of these girls were still in Moshi. Some had not been home in over a year.

This situation was only resolved after significant problems and a mobilization of district and community officials on this issue. The children were returned home in early 1999. However, there are no guarantees that this activity will not be repeated in the future particularly since many local non-Hadza view such forced assimilation of Hadzabe children as necessary and desirable objectives of a development program.

Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL)

In 1997 SIL missionaries arrived in the area to begin translating the bible into the Hadzabe language. The advent of this

program is a new development in the area although SIL has been active in East Africa for a number of years but have focused on pastoralist communities in both Kenya and Tanzania. The Barabaig of Hanang have been the subject of an SIL program for several years but the program is no longer active in the district.

Establishing a base at Mongo Wa Mono and Mbulu town the SIL missionaries were present for about a year in the area. They began their linguistic research, hired several Hadza to act as informants, provided a great deal of medical services to the community and assisted in a food relief program in early 1999. They also sponsored one of their Hadzabe informants to attend secondary school in Mbulu along with the other ten students sponsored by the CUSO-Novib program in 1999.

Haydom Lutheran Hospital (HLH)

One of the most significant NGOs in the area is the Haydom Lutheran Hospital (HLH), established in the early 1950s bringing medical services to Mbulu District. Supported by Norwegian Church Aid and various other Nordic aid organizations, this hospital has over the years become the best source of medical services in the area. Given the serious decline in the provision of health services by the Tanzanian state, organizations such as the HLH plays an essential role in the provision of health services throughout the country. The hospital has long been involved and aware of the particular health needs of the Hadzabe communities in the area and provide a number of services for them.

Activities in the Yaeda area have included the provision of monthly flying doctor visits to the Yaeda Chini airstrip, assistance in making alternative arrangement possible for Hadzabe

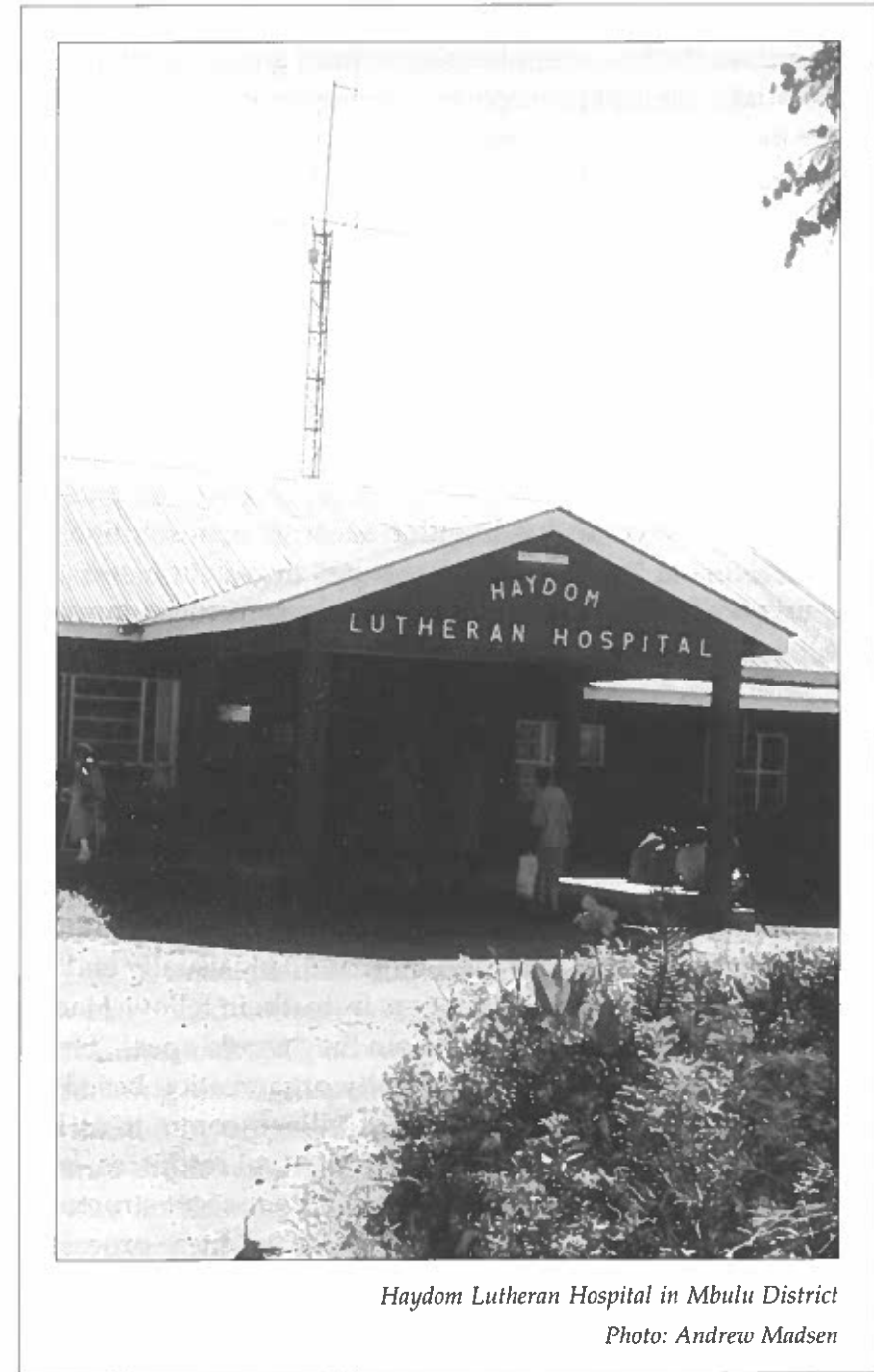
patients visiting the Haydom Hospital and a willingness to expand services to the Hadzabe where appropriate. Unfortunately, given the general decline of health care provision by the Tanzanian state, and the poor level of care available at the district hospitals results in the resources of organizations such as the HLH being stretched to the limit. Future initiatives such as an airstrip to serve the Hadzabe community at Sanola and expanded Hadzabe services at the hospital must be met with increased resources from other sources.

Leadership and Social Organization

Leadership is perhaps the greatest challenge for any efforts at working with the Hadzabe communities in Tanzania. Although there are now some signs of an emerging leadership from the communities, the prospects for the long-term effectiveness of these leaders are slim.

This is largely because their egalitarian social organization actively and systematically undermines the development of leaders and leadership. Unlike their neighbours the Hadzabe have no hierarchical elder councils guiding and ruling the community, responsibility to clan and family do not exist as all Hadza are free to move and chose their living arrangements as they please. Hadza communities are egalitarian and characterized by high mobility with camps changing size and composition regularly. This is particularly important for conflict avoidance, if there are disagreements people simply move away from one another and so there is little need for arbitration and the kind of social organization that facilitates the settlement of disputes.

Not only do the Hadzabe not have these hierarchical relationships, anyone who tries to act as a leader comes under



*Haydom Lutheran Hospital in Mbulu District
Photo: Andrew Madsen*

extensive criticism, gossip and accusations which ultimately undermines the role of spokespeoples and any authority these individuals' attempt to exercise. When it becomes necessary to chose individuals to represent them, Hadza will typically select the weakest individuals among themselves, since this person will be the least able to exert authority over them in the future.

While these characteristics are suited a traditional lifestyle of hunting and gathering when their land base was intact, it does not help the current situation where they must organize to protect themselves, to retain what they have and perhaps recover what they have lost. Their prospects are not good if they cannot overcome this situation because the resolutions to the problems of land alienation requires negotiation and getting involved in the wider politics of neighbouring communities.

Another reason is the relatively limited role that legitimate community-based leaders can exercise in the wider national context where "leader" usually is narrowly defined to mean unelected civil servants and CCM party members. As a result, there are few opportunities for individuals who can claim to speak for their community, and those who try usually end up experiencing significant alienation from their fellow Hadza and rejection by authorities to whom they would speak. However, through a process of community organization based on participatory methods a network of village committees has been established to deal with issues of natural resources, land management and education. Through these nascent structures a kind of leadership is emerging but how long these processes can continue and what impact they will have in the long-term remains to be seen.

The absence of effective structures seriously hamper sustainable projects among the Hadzabe. Previous CUSO cooperants have noted the problems of working with a community where equality and sharing are emphasized but where there is no framework for political organization on the scale necessary to counter the interests of neighbouring communities. One of the results of this cultural feature is the absence of a cohesive and consistent community strategy in opposition to land alienation by outsiders; the absence of such a position has allowed a situation of ongoing and continued marginalization of village lands.

The Hadzabe tend to avoid establishing prolonged contact with outside organizations and agencies which James Woodburn has described as an important attribute of an immediate-return economy. Such an economy is characterized by activities oriented towards meeting peoples present, immediate, rather than future needs; in most cases where resources are gathered and consumed in the same day. This is in contrast to a delayed-return economy such as that of neighbouring Barabaig pastoralists and Iraqw agriculturists of Mbulu District who orient their activities towards both the present and future needs of their community.

With an intact land base it was possible for Hadza to avoid such prolonged contact which was a successful strategy for maintaining cultural, economic and linguistic identity. By maintaining small, dispersed camps based on high mobility and limited institutional structures they could maintain their distance from neighbouring communities, government authorities and generally choose the terms of their interactions with other peoples.

However, with a declining land base, rapidly increasing encroachment and the disappearance of many of their tradi-

tional resources the prospects for the future for the Hadzabe are not good. The social characteristics that served them well in the past do not help them in the present circumstances where there is a need for effective and immediate engagement with the people that are exerting pressures on their lands and resource base.

External Barriers

There are a number of external problems that make effective programming with the Hadzabe problematic. Perhaps the most difficult aspect of working with the Hadzabe and other marginalized communities in Tanzania is coming to terms with the extent and range of prejudice that these communities are subjected to.

The majority of Tanzanians make little attempt to hide their disdain and outright disapproval of Hadza. Subjected to a wide range of criticism, disapproval and prejudice Hadzabe find themselves excluded from mainstream Tanzanian life by a combination of internal and external processes which ultimately result in their marginalization. The Hadzabe may have no interest in establishing ties with non-Hadzabe communities for issues of well being and health, however, this reluctance to establish external ties can also be a result of the systematic persecution that they encounter whenever they come into contact with outsiders.

The relationships between Hadza and outside organizations has, in the past, been one characterized by dependence forming programming. Past encounters with government officials and aid organizations have involved the use of substantial food aid as a means of compelling Hadza to stay in one place and establish agricultural communities. Typically

such programs of villagization or sedentarization have run until the crops fail, food subsidies run out and the Hadzabe subsequently return to the bush and their traditional economy of hunting and gathering.

Government officials tend to explain the failure of these initiatives as being due to Hadzabe failure to appreciate what is being done for them, for their "stubbornness" and unwillingness to "develop" and ultimately what is termed as their stupidity. Government and other individuals tend to view these programs not as failures of planning and implementation flawed by top down methods and mistaken ideology of what development means for the Hadzabe, but rather as further evidence of the irrationality and inferiority of the Hadzabe.

To date, there is little debate in Tanzania as to what constitutes development. Most of the attitudes of government officials and the public in general seem to indicate that what they are thinking about is modernization, an early form of development theory which focused on greater production as the key to prosperity and peace. The predominance of this rhetoric into the present day is a striking feature of government policy and the attitude of its officials and is found in the governments approach to Hadzabe issues.

The colonial attitudes of many government officials is a significant barrier to adequately addressing the issues and needs of Hadzabe communities. Reminiscent of colonial discourse, present day government officials are continually referring to the need for the Hadzabe to "develop" to integrate with other Tanzanian communities, to produce agricultural products and to, in the words of one recent District Commissioner in Mbulu, "come down from the trees." Unfortunately, such attitudes are not unusual in official circles.

The intermittent delivery of various kinds of aid to Hadza has had the effect of raising expectations on the part of many individuals in the community that the primary role of outside organizations is to deliver goods and services in the process of coercing the Hadzabe to establish villages. This has resulted in a complex set of relationships where Hadza balance between their wish to receive these goods but also the incompatibilities of settlement life with their values and social organization.

In the past Hadza periodically traded with outsiders for food and other goods to supplement their bush resources but this trade was never a necessity for their survival. Rather than relying on one staple crop or product such as maize in the case of agriculturalists or cattle in the case of pastoralists, the Hadzabe have access to over ten species of wild fruits, five species of tuberous roots, three kinds of honey and several dozen species of game animals (McDowell 1981). While many of these resources are only seasonally available, there are always several sources available at any given time, this making the traditional diet unusually varied for sub-Saharan Africa. However, with the land alienation and degradation of recent years external resources have become increasingly important but also the manner in which these goods are acquired has changed from one of trade to one of aid. Hadzabe communities' relationships with outside organizations have been characterized by handouts of food, farming implements, seed and other materials by such organizations as Oxfam, CUSO/Novib, Danida and, most significantly of all, the Tanzanian government.

The combination of past programs focusing on aid and the declining Hadzabe resource base have brought about a circumstance where relationships that were previously optional are now becoming necessary for survival. Labour on the farms

of the encroachers, trading, tourism and a variety of other activities are becoming increasingly important to Hadza in the face of land alienation and with this growing dependence the options of a bush lifestyle becomes more and more difficult to maintain.

Recent Donor Interventions

Aside from challenges at the national, regional and district level in Tanzania there are also significant challenges in working at the most-local level, in the communities. Due to the history of past interventions by government and other agencies, Hadza themselves have certain expectations of organizations attempting to establish programs with them. The internal divisions of this community of hunter-gatherers are a significant factor, the interests of the "settled" Hadzabe are often at odds with those of non-settled Hadzabe, the "educated" Hadzabe who have dominated community development programs to date have used community resources for their own purposes and a wide range of opinions as to how to address the problems of the community. In addition to this there are the persistent pressures of the immigrants and the interests of local government officials and missionaries to contend with.

This has significant consequences for any program operating in the area where the pressures to deliver the goods is intense and the expectations on the part of many local people is the promotion of "development" as this concept is understood in government circles. It is particularly difficult to communicate principles of "participatory development" in an environment that has been so long been characterized by top down planning and implementation facilitated by force and a variety of coercive methods.

However, participatory methods have been a mainstay of the CUSO program in the area and recent training programs for District government personnel have focused on participatory methods with the result that some, not all, government extension workers are beginning to apply these methods. Recent experience of the natural resources training seminars are evidence of this shift on the part of some local government staff. This program carried out in the three villages of Yaeda Chini Ward resulted in significant data and decisions on fundamental land and resource use, far more than was anticipated at the outset of the programs design (Natural Resources Training (NRT) Reports 1998).

In short, it is a politically and socially complex environment. A number of organizations have periodically worked among the Hadzabe but only CUSO has stayed on for the long term. Aside from the CUSO program, which has been active on and off in the area for the past 10 years, both Danida and Oxfam have attempted short-term programs in the area and larger district wide programs have at times been implemented in the area.

CUSO

CUSO is a Canadian organization with a long history of working with pastoralist and hunter-gatherer communities in Tanzania. The CUSO program among the Hadzabe has run off and on for approximately 10 years with the first cooperants placed in Mbulu in 1990. The CUSO program has gone through various stages in the district working primarily through the local government structure due to the absence of an NGO among the Hadzabe.

Stages of the CUSO Program in Mbulu District

- Stage 1: Evaluation and Assessment
- Stage 2: Hadzabe Program: Supporting the village of Mongo Wa Mono
- Stage 3: Hadzabe Program: Land Use Planning
- Stage 4: Yaeda Chini Valley Program: Strengthening Local Government, Registering Village title deeds service delivery, infrastructure improvements
- Stage 5: Yaeda Chini Valley Program: Strengthening Local Government, service delivery, infrastructure improvements, land use planning

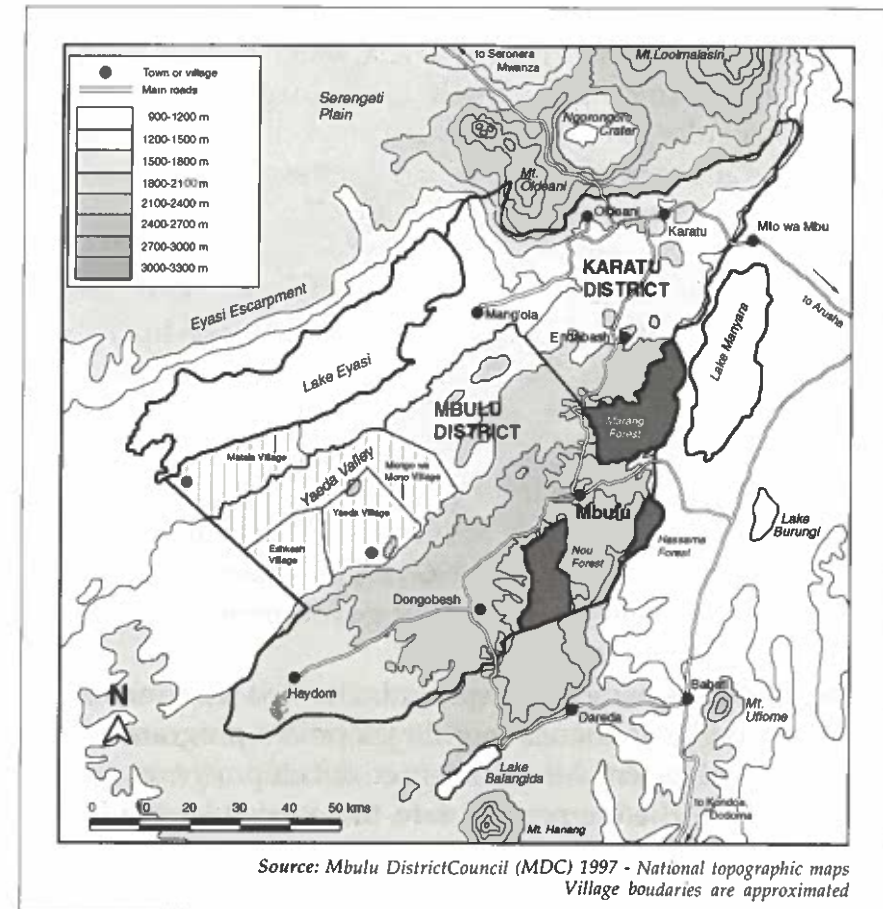
Preliminary evaluations in 1989 resulted in a series of recommendations aimed at supporting the then recently established Hadzabe village of Mongo Wa Mono. The resulting program, begun in 1990, focused on a number of activities such as providing community gardening projects, establishing a village cooperative, health program as well as agricultural advice and material assistance. This first stage of the program fell within the pattern of previous government inspired villagization programs in the area (Final Cooperants Report, 1991) in that it assumed that a settled, agricultural lifestyle was the ultimate goal of the community. This assumption was largely the result of the interaction with government employed Hadza who dominated the early stages of the community work. It soon became apparent, however, that the Hadzabe who were prepared to settle at the Mongo Wa Mono village site were a minority of the Hadzabe population of the area. Many other Hadzabe maintain traditional communities or camps scattered throughout the area and a significantly large semi-permanent settlement had been established on the Kideru ridge. Attempts by a Hadza civil servant to force these individuals to relo-

cate and remain at the village site of Mongo Wa Mono through the application of violence, a common feature of previous villagization programs, led to serious conflicts within the community and threatened future programming in the area.

Many of the initiatives of the first phase failed to continue after the departure of the first Canadian community workers in 1992. However, the initiative of village demarcation led to the village receiving a title deed to village lands in 1994. In the process of demarcating and establishing a village for the Hadzabe villages were also established for the recently arrived pastoralist and agricultural communities on what is part of the Hadzabe traditional land base.

Land use planning, environmental mediation and a wide range of service deliveries became permanent features of subsequent stages of the program. High demand for services from the communities and corresponding local government pressures to provide such services led to an emphasis on service delivery in the areas of health, education, water and infrastructural improvement. After 1995, the program expanded to include recently established neighbouring communities based on the assumption that if these neighbouring communities also were to benefit from the program and receive a secure land title deed and other measures, then they would be less likely to continue pressuring the Hadzabe. The most recent stage of the CUSO program (1997-1999) focused heavily on land use planning and strengthening of the village government structures while continuing and expanding service delivery work.

MAP 2: Villages with title deeds in Hadzabe traditional territory



Dutch Rural Development Program (DRDP)

The Mbulu District Rural Development Program (MDRDP) is an integrated rural development program providing wide-ranging support to the programs of the district government in Mbulu. In operation since the late 1980s, the MDRDP is the most significant donor operating in Mbulu District. The program supports efforts in the areas of training and capacity building for district government personnel, school and water supply programs, income diversification and supports a wide

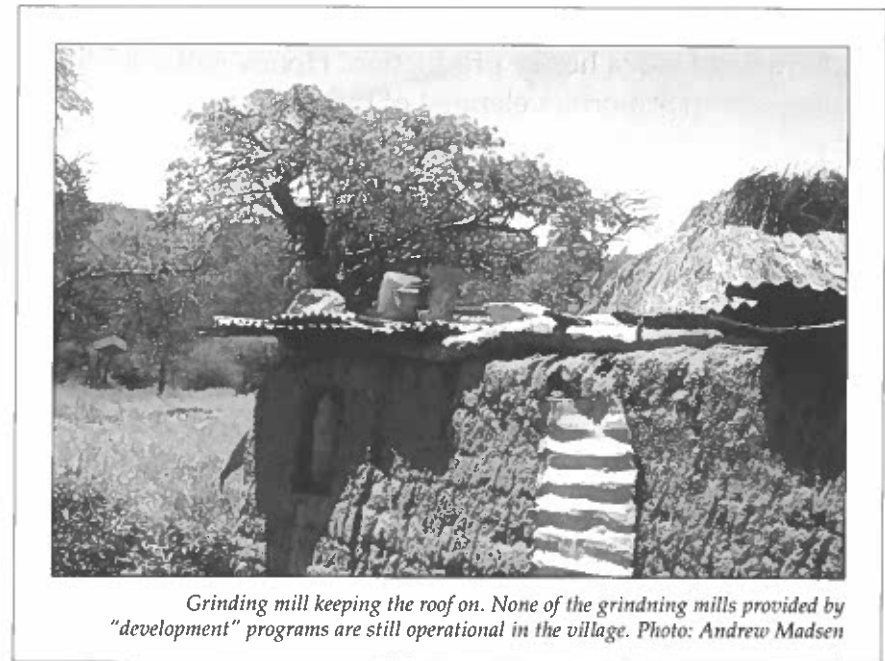
range of Tanzanian government run programs with Dutch bilateral development funds. In the Yaeda Chini area the MDRDP financed a water resources survey, a water tank at the local school, initial funding for a wildlife management program, supports regular government outreach services such as veterinary programs and supported many of the early initiatives at Mongo Wa Mono carried out through CUSO.

The MDRDP attempts to coordinate donor activity in the district but significant donor organizations, principally the church-based organizations, run their programs independently of local government and DRDP based programs. Annual development planning is a key feature of the DRDP and invitations are extended to all development actors in the area. However, the only NGO to actively participate at these planning sessions in recent years (1996-1999) has been CUSO which has also worked closely with local government.

Recent stages of the Dutch program has led to an increasing emphasis on local financing of development programs. Various drafts of recent Mbulu district development proposals (1998 and 1999) were sent back to the council by the DRDP due to the absence of local government funds for development programs. The Dutch Rural Development program requires local contributions in cash or kind for all projects implemented in the district in order to ensure "ownership" of these programs by local people but also, increasingly, funds from taxation revenues to illustrate local government commitment to development programs.

Oxfam

58 The Oxfam program, which ran from 1990 to 1992, fell into the pattern of many previous programs in that it attempted to ad-



Grinding mill keeping the roof on. None of the grinding mills provided by "development" programs are still operational in the village. Photo: Andrew Madsen

dress the needs of the Hadzabe as if they were a settled agriculturalist community. Working through the local government structure Oxfam provided hoes, grinding machines, seeds, agricultural advice, food aid and a wide variety of other assistance.

Problems of an administrative nature were common in this program. Much of this aid went unaccounted for and Oxfam subsequently abandoned their program with the Hadzabe due to misappropriation of resources and reports of a Hadza civil servant using violence to keep fellow Hadza in the village. Oxfam cancelled their program in 1992.

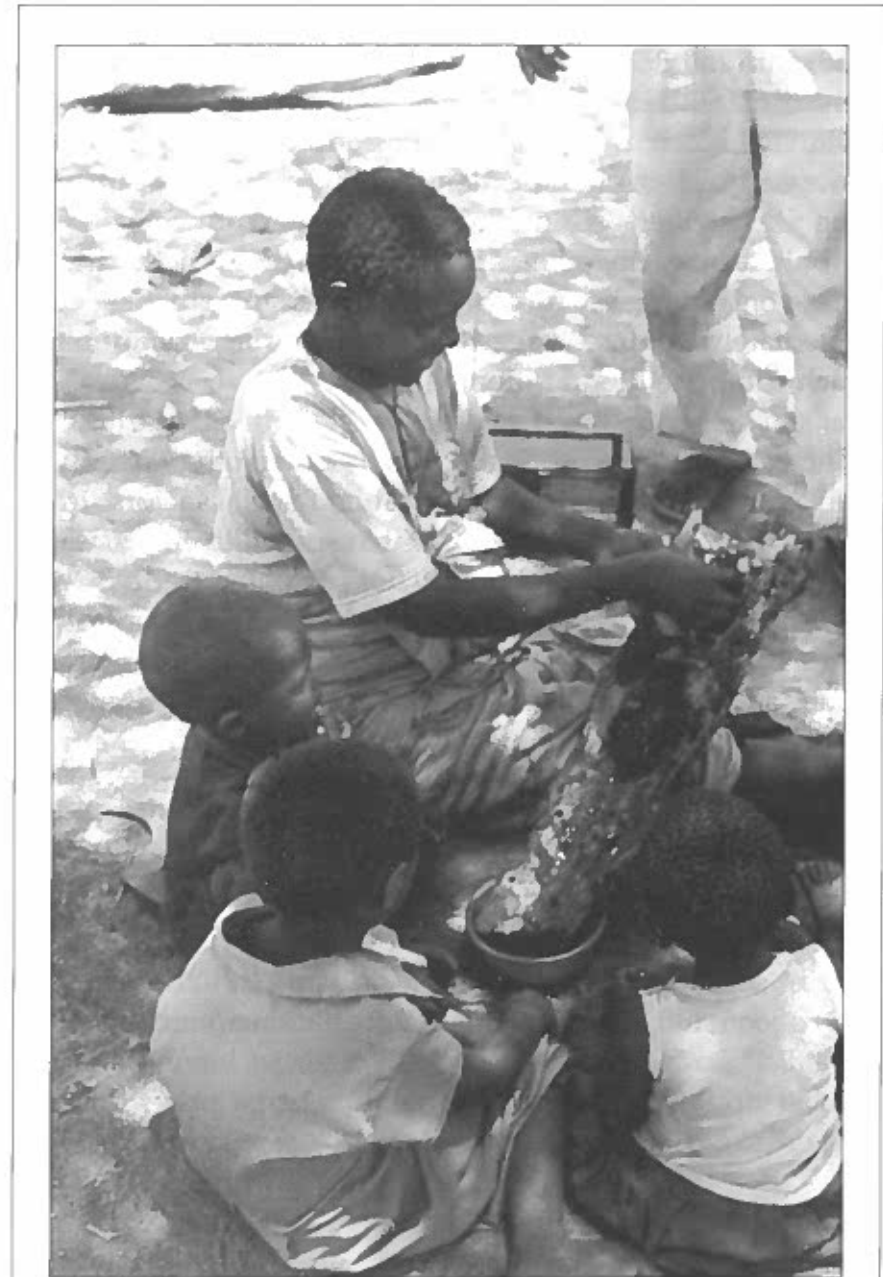
Danish Beekeepers Association/Arusha Beekeepers Association

In 1994 Danida and the Danish Beekeepers Association (DBA), through the Arusha Beekeepers Association (ABA), engaged 59

in a program with the village of Mongo Wa Mono focusing on modernizing Hadza honey production. Honey gathering from wild bees is an important element of the Hadzabe diet but also serves as an important activity for purposes of trade. Valued by neighbouring communities for its perceived medicinal value, and as a key ingredient in honey beer, wild honey is one of the few resources which the Hadzabe market for cash or trade goods.

The beekeeping program provided training for village workers, modern beehives and beekeeping apparel, processing and bottling materials and other items such as flashlights, cameras and other goods. Accusations of theft and misuse of these materials directed towards those local Hadza responsible for the program were common after the end of the program in 1997. No external evaluation of this program has been carried out to date but a recent review of Danish NGO activities in Tanzania revealed serious problems with the administration of the program through the regional umbrella organization, the Arusha Beekeepers Association (Danida 1999).

Founded in 1991 the Arusha Beekeepers Association was a loose coalition of community-based beekeepers in Arusha Region. The region-wide program which included the Hadzabe community at Mongo Wa Mono was the organization's first large scale program but also led to the organization's disintegration amid internal disputes and accusations over the misuse of resources, much as what appears to have happened at Mongo Wa Mono. The Danish Beekeepers Association severed its relationship with the ABA in 1996 and subsequently supported its member organizations directly through the administrative assistance of the Danish Consul in Arusha. However, problems with the members' financial accountability, management and control persisted under the new arrangements and the program ended in 1997.



*Wild honey is an important part of the Hadzabe diet.
Photo: Andrew Madsen*

Efforts have been made by local government personnel from the Community Development and Natural Resources Departments in Mbulu to bring Hadzabe honey to a wider market in Mbulu where it is much valued by Iraqw agriculturalists. However, there is no indication that this program resulted in a significant increase in Hadzabe honey production. What honey that may have been produced by these methods was either consumed as part of the Hadzabe subsistence diet or immediately sold or traded to neighbouring communities which comprise the traditional market.

Increasing honey production is difficult in the Lake Eyasi basin due to a variety of ecological and social factors. Inadequate rainfall, a lowering water table and other environmental factors make increased production, by either traditional or modern means, problematic since honey bees require immediate access to scarce water sources as well as flowering shrubs and trees. This coupled with the problems of transport of surplus production to distant markets and persistent problems in organizing equitable community-based trading associations makes the challenges of such a program significant.

Less ambitious initiatives based on improving the terms of local trade may be more realistic considering the limitations in local capacity to manage large scale projects that require a level of community organization uncommon among the Hadzabe. Facilitating individual Hadza trade of honey products at local monthly markets could result in better prices than the trade that currently takes place.

It should be noted that this was not the first attempt to establish "modern" bee-keeping activities among the Hadzabe. A beekeeping component has been part of many of the various settlement schemes that have been attempted among the Hadzabe as well as a feature of local government activities

in recent years. Previous to this initiative, the district council through the community development department in Mbulu provided ten modern bee hives to the Hadzabe community along with protective clothing and other materials. In the first year of operation, 1990, only one hive attracted any bees and the remaining hives were to have been distributed in the bush where there may be more bees available. There are no indications that this program resulted in any measurable increase in honey production.

Future plans for Hadzabe honey production need to take into account a number of factors:

1. Hadzabe willingness to engage in yet another beekeeping enterprise;
2. Hadzabe willingness to adopt another means of production for a familiar and reliable resource;
3. Determining whether ecological conditions support an intensification of production for this resource;
4. The implications of introducing a stronger marketing role for a subsistence resource.

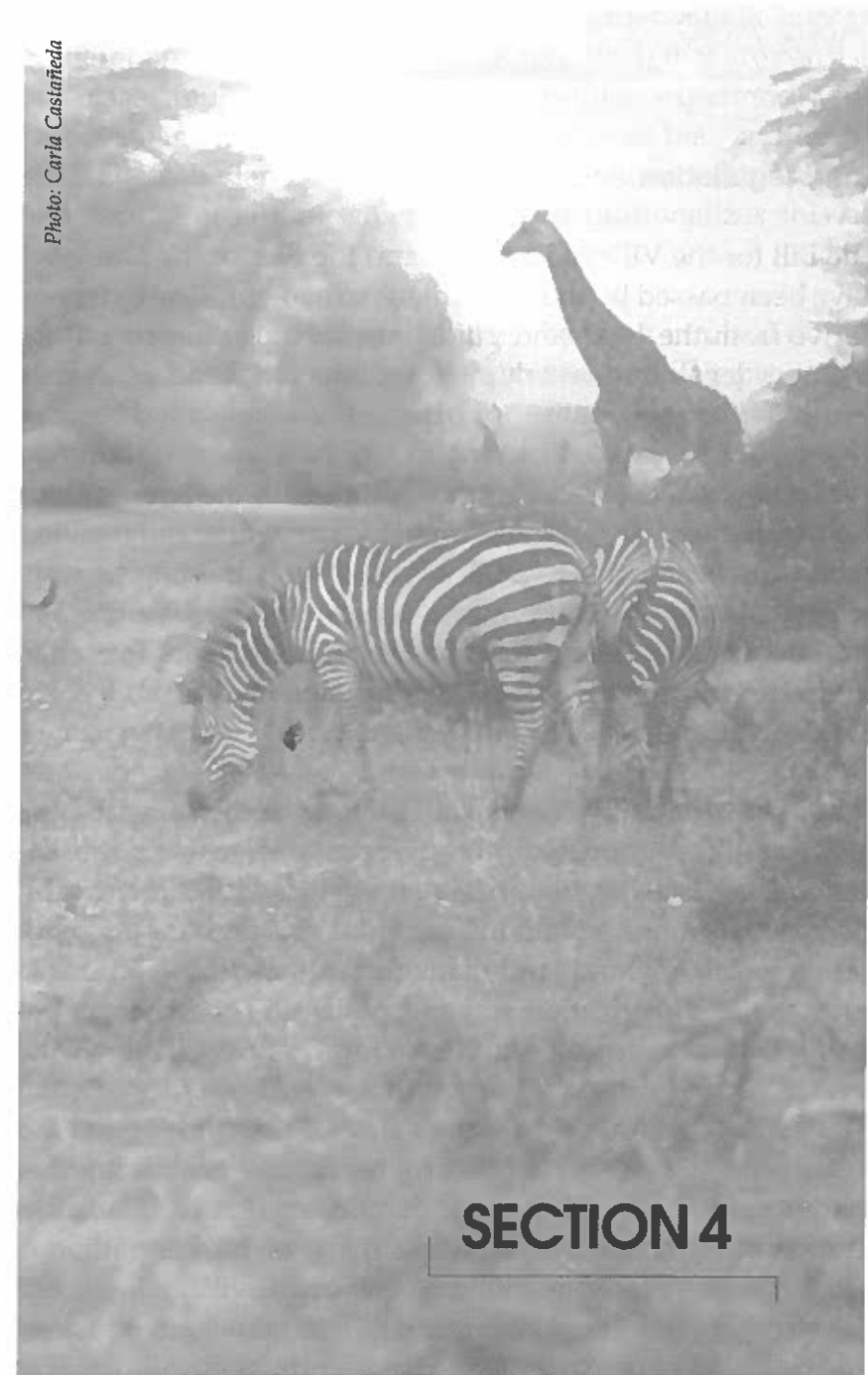
Hadza are primarily a nomadic people; large amounts of honey keeping equipment and materials are incompatible with a lifestyle that values freedom of movement and personal independence. In addition to this, any efforts at providing materials to intensify honey production will only benefit the minority of Hadza who are semi-permanently settled at the central village site of Mongo Wa Mongo.

The Hadzabe occupy a dry-lands environment and the amount of honey that can be produced in an area where there is little water needs to be assessed in realistic terms. The conditions of the Eyasi Basin differ greatly from those of the slopes of Mt. Meru in terms of rainfall, population densities,

access to markets and other considerations. Given the role that honey plays as an important component of the traditional diet, consideration also has to be given to the potential impacts of commodifying this resource. While Hadza do tend to trade honey for various goods and cash, there is a balance between its value for domestic consumption and as a trade good to be considered.

A common feature of all of these relatively recent programs is that they all experienced difficulties in dealing with Hadzabe communities characterized by a pervasive emphasis on equality and where no clear leadership structures exist (Woodburn 1982). A consequence of this is that some organizations end up working with Hadza individuals who claim a leadership role but in fact do not have the confidence of the community they claim to represent. Or, alternatively the outside organization comes to rely heavily on government personnel, many of whom hold prejudicial attitudes towards Hadza and/or conflicts of interest.

Photo: Carla Castañeda



SECTION 4

Land legislation and the Hadzabe

The Bill for the Village Land Act and the Bill for the Land Act have been passed by the Tanzanian parliament. The two laws derive from the 1996 land guidelines and together constitute the new legal framework surrounding land and resources issues in Tanzania.

The new Land Act is the key legislation of the two, providing a framework for the new land law by spelling out detailed procedures on such essential issues as land holding, tenure, and administrative mechanisms for dispute resolution. The land act creates three categories of land tenure in Tanzania: reserved lands, general lands and village lands. The Village Land Act applies to the third category.

With over 9,000 villages in Tanzania accounting for the majority of the non-urban, non-reserve lands in Tanzania, the legislation places the emphasis on villages as the main vehicle for lands management in Tanzania. This is consistent with earlier legislation and land management practice in Tanzania such as the Villagization Act and policies of the Ujamaa period, all of which vest significant powers over land in the village government.

How this works out in practical terms, however, is another matter particularly relevant for peoples such as the Hadzabe. Customary land rights including those of hunter-gatherers are, in theory, placed within the category of village lands but the structure of village government land management is one that complements a sedentarised, agricultural economy. This

is at odds with the needs of nomadic and semi-nomadic hunter-gatherer and pastoral economies (Kaare 1998) that are consistent biases found throughout the Tanzanian experience with land management. Given this consistency of bias and exclusion, Hadzabe lands will continue to be alienated under the new land legislation, which in fact institutionalizes this alienation.

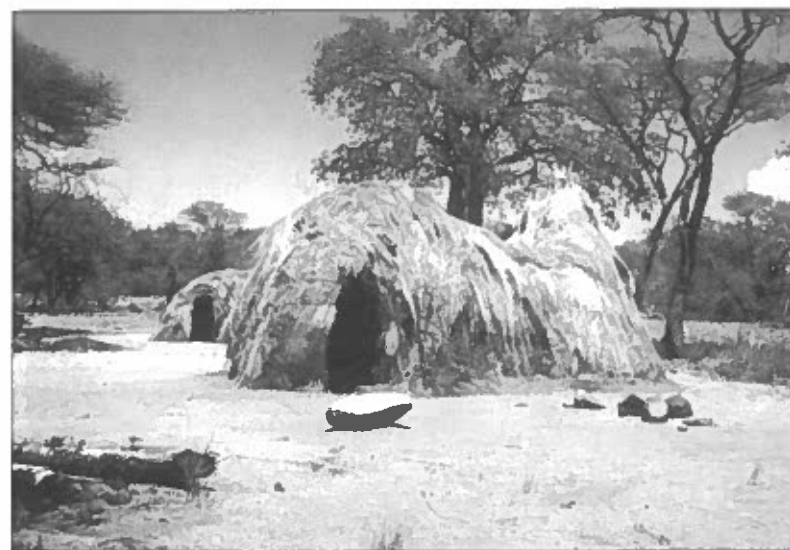
The current, standardized village by-laws in place do not reflect the needs of hunter-gatherers and nomadic peoples in general but rather are designed for sedentarized agricultural communities. An example of the inadequacy of the current by-laws can be found in the stipulations regarding the nature and quality of housing to be adopted in the community, a standard that is clearly at odds with the necessarily temporary and transitional dwellings of nomadic peoples. Housing such as the seasonal cattle corrals of the nomadic Barabaig and the grass huts of Hadza do not fall within the requirements of the village by-laws. The reality is that very little of the housing in Tanzania meets these standards and such by-laws are frequently flouted. However, this leaves people such as the Hadzabe and other people in a vulnerable position vis-a-vis government officials who may opt to levy fines selectively at a future date for non-compliance with this and other village regulations.

If the village structure is to be made workable for hunter-gatherers, these by-laws must be amended to reflect local realities. While some Hadza support a limited level of agricultural activity, the majority would prefer to maintain a hunting and gathering lifestyle. The realities of the ecological conditions of the area require a mixing of interests and priorities. Agriculture alone, even at a subsistence level, as practiced in the surrounding area is not viable in the long-term, in the arid conditions of the core area of Hadza country.

The initial response on the part of the village assemblies to the proposed by-laws is consistent with past experience with government policy: that local government will impose such legislation, the response of villagers is to employ strategies of non-compliance such as avoidance or withdrawal (Kaare 1999). While withdrawal from the scene, to move to another location, is no longer much of an option for the Hadzabe due to loss of land, the complex strategies of avoidance are still applicable. Avoidance allows Hadza to lead government, church and NGO officials into thinking that the community has accepted the proposals for their "development" while in fact the proposals are not implemented, and often the exact opposite is done. In such a circumstance there is little possibility of a community coming to terms with key issues of land and resource use particularly in a situation where limited resources come under heavy strain.

Villagization and Title Deeds

Villages and village councils were, and continue to be, mechanisms that the government of Tanzania uses to extinguish customary land rights. The Villagization Program of 1973-1976 did this en masse by vesting administrative responsibility for lands in the village government structure away from customary holders and management systems. The titling of village lands, such as that which took place in Mongo Wa Mono, was done under provisions in land legislation dating to colonial times (Section 9 of the 1924 Land Ordinance). In fact, the title deed that Hadza hold to part of their land does not recognize their customary title but rather permits their use of the identified lands for a period of 99 years as if they were any other corporate group applying for access to "unused lands." Under the new legislation of 1999 all such title deeds become Land Management Certificates (LMCs) but which also



*Hadza houses are intended to be temporary
Photo: Gjertrude Kringeland*

do not vest title over lands to the inhabitants. As with past land legislation, beginning with the colonial Land Ordinance of 1924, radical title remains vested in the state and in modern day Tanzania; this means the President as trustee to the nation. Also consistent with post-independence villagization policies, the village councils remain the local land administrative units. However, experience in Tanzania has shown that these institutions are woefully inadequate for the task of managing village lands and representing the interests of villagers. Village administrators and corrupt local government officials have been easily manipulated to allow the alienation of land to outsiders who take control of lands away from customary holders and others with demonstrated rights over the land.

Village titling is inadequate in the long-term since it does not recognize customary title or local management systems. This, coupled with efforts by the Tanzanian government to

dissolve customary title and discourage the holding of title by groups, leads to a precarious situation for Hadza and others whose land use is based on communal access to resources based on customary practice.

However, as a short-term measure, titling as it has been implemented can result in some level of local control, but this control presupposes an effective and efficient village council. One of the preconditions of such a council is a high level of awareness among villagers who know and are able to exercise their rights over such issues as immigration, the granting of plots of land and the levying of fines for inappropriate use of land. Unfortunately, few villages and villagers have the information or resources to allow them to take and maintain control over their lands and ultimately, in any case, these powers can be removed from them by the state. Training programs, information campaigns and other measures can have a positive impact but as we have seen with the case of the Hadzabe of Mongo Wa Mono, village titling has not slowed the alienation of their traditional lands and, in fact, non-Hadza village government officials have accelerated it.

The most fundamental of many problems encountered by Hadzabe communities is that of land and resource loss. This takes the form of outright loss of lands to commercial agricultural interests, land clearance for agricultural purposes, loss of land and water resources for pastoralist activities and the destruction of wildlife resources through poaching and commercial hunting interests. Uncontrolled tourism, mining activity and a variety of other activities such as small scale logging and honey raiding also have a cumulative negative impact on the resource base.



Elephants were once common in Yaeda Chini area but poaching has drastically reduced their numbers. Photo: Carla Castañeda

Land Registration; Land Alienation

With land demarcation in 1991 and subsequent village registration in 1994, it was feared that the Hadzabe would not be able to manage the village lands of Mongo Wa Mono for which they received a title deed (Final Cooperants Report, January 1991). It was feared that internal problems and social incompatibilities to the requirements of management structures required by the state would result in their losing control of the village and its lands. It would seem that this has now happened. In a food relief program into the area (March 1999) village and ward officials insisted that the Hadzabe are not the only members of their village; that the village of Mongo Wa Mono has a total population of 1,700 people. Recent village census activities indicate that, at best, approximately 500 of these are the original Hadzabe residents.

There is evidence to suggest that failed formal government inspired villagization and sedentarization policies have been replaced by an informal policy of encouraging people to settle on Hadza lands in order to "civilize" them by example. Hadza and non-Hadza village officials in Mongo Wa Mono allow outsiders to settle within the village boundaries in order to:

1. establish a tax base, and;
2. provide examples to Hadzabe on "how to live properly."

Recent changes in the management structure of local government have resulted in increased pressures on the collection of taxes by local government officials. Village executive officers (VEOs) now receive their salaries directly from the villages for which they work but this salary collection is contingent on the successful collection of taxes from village members. Since the Hadzabe are exempted from paying taxes, the current

VEO, who is not a Hadza, seems to see immigration as the best means by which he can continue to collect his salary, and so immigration is actively encouraged.

These taxation pressures felt by the ward officials are a direct result of pressures on Tanzanian officials to increase district income, an emerging condition of the donor community in Tanzania. While it is true that Tanzanian contributions fall far below required levels for the funding of development program, despite the application of the "development" levy on each household, the pressures to procure more taxes has a demonstrable impact on communities whose traditional economies are highly dependent on non-cash production.

Commercial or "Professional" Hunting

Commercial hunting in Yaeda Chini was effectively curtailed in 1997 by a decision of the district council but there are some pressures locally and from a businessman based in Arusha to have the area reopened for commercial hunting purposes. Beginning in 1990-1991, the interests of the Tanzania Game Trackers Ltd. have been extensive in the area. At various times through out the operation of this hunting company the Hadzabe were threatened with beatings and imprisonment if they were to hunt within the hunting block area during the "professional" commercial season (Schiller 1991). Since the commercial hunting season in Tanzania coincides with the nutritionally essential dry season hunting activities of the Hadzabe, a time at which the vegetative resources tend to be more scarce, such developments in the area were in direct competition with Hadzabe subsistence strategies.

In other areas, such as Meatu district in Shinyanga region, Hadzabe have been systematically excluded from a large area

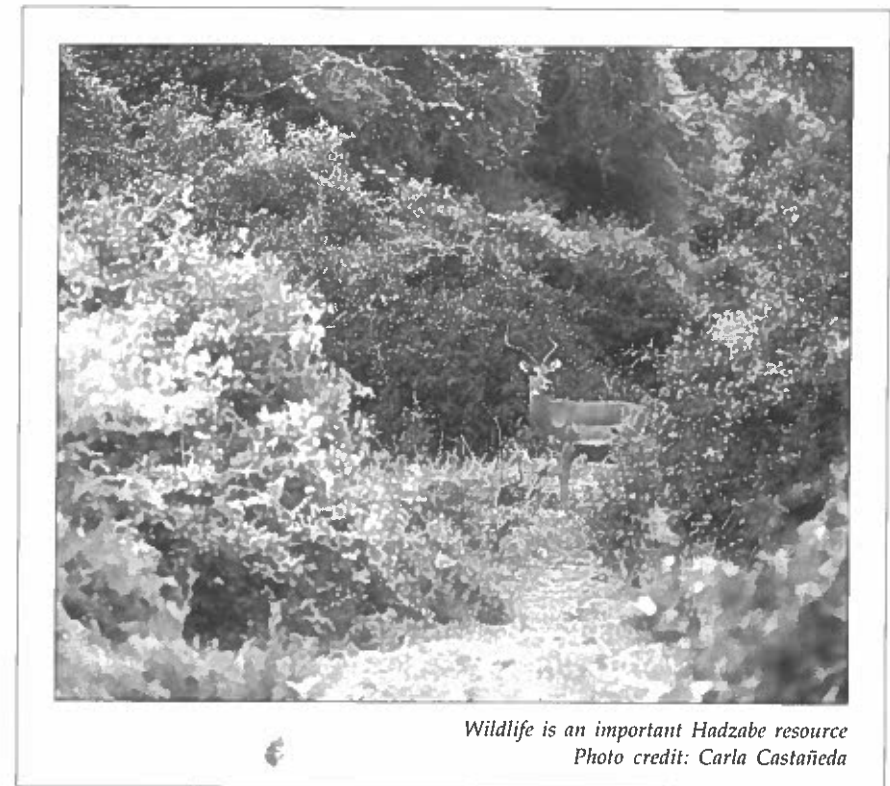
leased out to a hunting company. A few years ago several Hadzabe were found within the borders of the hunting block and arrested on the basis of their being found with bows and poisoned arrows. One Hadza elder subsequently died in custody under circumstances that have not yet been adequately explained.

The current status of Hadzabe rights to hunt is somewhat in doubt as are many legal issues surrounding land and resources in Tanzania, particularly for indigenous groups such as the Hadzabe. Under the hearings of the Presidential Commission into Land Matters, Mr. Costa Mlay, then director for Wildlife testified that:

... the wildlife conservation act of 1974 does not extinguish customary hunting tenures, but in order to hunt Hadzabe like any other person, must obtain a hunting permit from the wildlife department. (Tanzania 1994)

It is currently held that the Hadzabe have been granted such a license under the provisions which allow the Director of Game or Game Assistants to grant such as license on the behalf of the President of Tanzania. There is documentation to support the Hadzabe assertion that they have been granted special rights to hunt by Presidential license. However, provisions for the use of this license were never made (McDowell 1981).

One of the great difficulties in assessing the current legal implications of the Hadzabe right to hunt is the confusing status of Tanzanian legislation on this matter. While the Hadzabe now have legal rights to some of their traditional lands, and such title allows local management of natural resources including wildlife, many local officials still hold that wildlife is a national resource and that a Hadza needs a license in order to hunt.



*Wildlife is an important Hadzabe resource
Photo credit: Carla Castañeda*

While many powers over land management are vested in village councils and assemblies under the new legislation, hunter-gatherers as groups tend to live outside of village lands. Where they do occupy village lands they tend to live in a minority relationship with other villagers or, as in the case of Mongo Wa Mono, where a community of Hadzabe hunters and gatherers were incorporated into a village entity, they soon become minorities within their own village (Madsen 1998, Close and Schiller 1991).

Commercial Threats to Hadzabe Lands

As we have seen, it is the subsistence strategies of other communities, the inadequacies of land and other legislation

and the ideological bias of local officials that constitute the main threat to Hadzabe communities. However, another worrying aspect about the current situation is that there have been a number of rumours over the past few years of "big" plans for the Yaeda Valley. The wheat potential of the area is often referred to but what may be more likely are other more suitable cash crops such as cotton. Cotton is an important crop in neighbouring Singida district where it is grown under similarly semi-arid conditions but with questionable long-term economic and environmental impact. Now with the increasing movement of Sukuma people from Singida the eventual cultivation of this crop seems likely.

Two important factors relating to the development of economic activities in Yaeda Chini are found in the irrigation potential of Yaeda Chini village lands and road construction and maintenance. The irrigation potential of the Yaeda River, so long as not all the water is taken upriver, is high. The agriculturist population in Yaeda Chini has irrigated extensively in the past and with the current high water levels in the Yaeda river at Yaeda Chini farmers have begun improving and expanding irrigation channels which had been dormant for several years. This work, begun in the first growing season of 1999 (February-May), is largely a response to the particularly disastrous crop failures of 1996, 1997 and 1998 resulting from the alternating flood and drought conditions experienced in East Africa over this period.

These initiatives do not represent any significant move towards cash cropping although in Mbulu and elsewhere in Tanzania the staple crop of maize fulfills a dual role of subsistence for home use and cash crop for export and trade. Although irrigation for cash crops such as rice have been attempted in Yaeda Chini (Madsen 1997), these initiatives have largely failed, principally due to the combination of

transport problems, low water levels in the Yaeda River and high evaporation rates.

The low levels of water in the Yaeda River are a direct result of the upstream cultivation of garlic at Bashay, approximately 34 Km from the village of Yaeda Chini. This irrigation is highly controversial for the residents of Yaeda Chini and has been the source of conflict with Barabaig pastoralists in the 1970s when pastoralists from Yaeda raided and destroyed irrigation works at Bashay. This irrigation has been the main cause behind the disappearance of the Yaeda swamp, previously an important wetlands habitat for migrating avian and other wildlife.

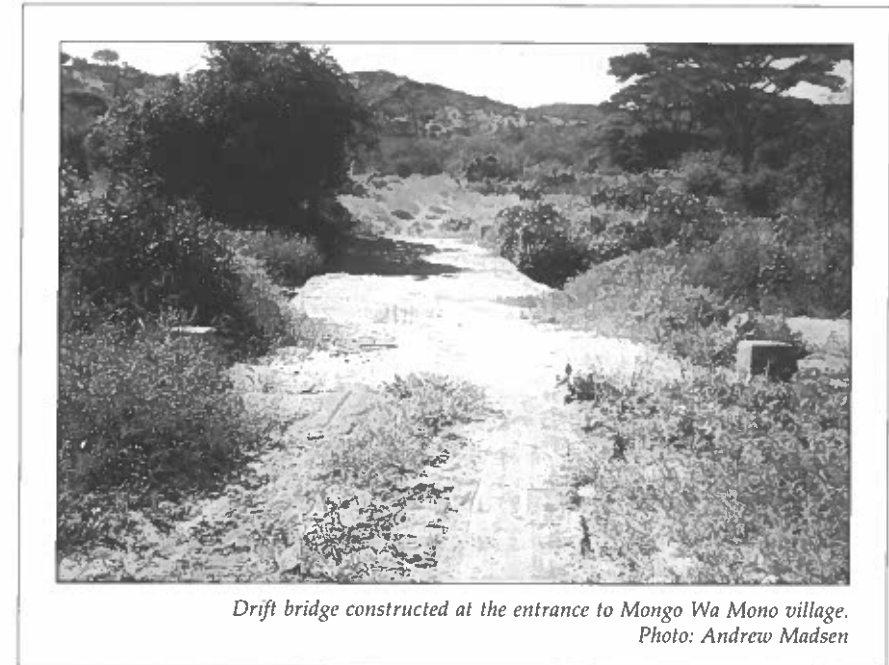
The main issue for residents of Yaeda village, however, is not that the wetlands have disappeared and resultant loss of wildlife, but that there is no water for their own irrigation plans. This is a significant political issue; the Bashay area is much more heavily populated than Yaeda Chini and so potential votes from the area carry more weight. Another factor is that there are various influential figures involved in the garlic cultivation and this crop represents a significant source of revenue for the district council.

Another area where irrigation practices are having a significant impact on wildlife habitat and thus Hadzabe interests is the cultivation of large onion fields in Mangola, at the northern end of Lake Eyasi bordering the Ngorongoro Conservation area. Unlike the situation in Yaeda these irrigated farms are economically viable, principally due to their proximity to potential markets in Arusha and beyond. This irrigation has alienated large tracts of land from the Hadzabe as well as resulting in deforestation from charcoal burning, soil erosion and other impacts from the influx of outsiders looking to benefit from the large amounts of money to be made from this production.

In all three cases, Yaeda Chini, Bashay and Mangola the irrigation is in poor state and inefficient. Water resources are scarce and the current situation is one where a few people monopolize key water resources with little or no consideration of the downstream impacts of this use. Part of the problem is Tanzanian agricultural policy which encourages irrigation; but poor technical support and no impact evaluation of proposed irrigation projects leads to a situation of misuse of an important resource which can lead to serious conflicts among different users.

Preliminary evaluations of water use in Bashay, Mangola and other areas found that there is an urgent need for "improvement of the water delivery system, development of drainage facilities, and measures to curb salinization," (Mbulu District Council 1997) of existing irrigation systems in the district. It was also advised that the expansion of irrigated croplands be suspended until present management systems are improved. However, proposals in the 1998 Mbulu district development plan for an evaluation and water management strategy for the Bashay area were defeated in the district council against the advice of district personnel and external consultants.

Recent work on the road to Yaeda at a time when all the other roads in the district were in poor condition due to the El Nino rains of late 1997 has some significance for future economic plans, official or otherwise, for the area. The conditions of the main, wet season road are a significant barrier to any initiative despite recent work on this road. The work carried out between November 1998 and April 1999 was financed by local government to the effect of 6,000,000 Tsh. (approx. \$8,500 USD) resulted in one drift bridge at the entrance of Mongo Wa Mono village lands and the removal of many rocks from the road bed. A second bridge at Yaeda Chini village is part of the plan. However, no matter how many rocks are removed from the particu-



*Drift bridge constructed at the entrance to Mongo Wa Mono village.
Photo: Andrew Madsen*

larly rough parts of the road, there are only more rocks underneath. Given the nature of the road, and poor prospects for maintenance of any improvements, large-scale commercial initiatives appear unattractive primarily due to issues of transport.

New road initiatives proposed by the World Bank could change this situation. A proposed road linking Arusha Region with Mwanza in the west would run along the southern shore of Lake Eyasi going through the centre of remaining Hadzabe lands and bring with it increased transient traffic and dramatic increases in tourism. This road would also open up the area for agricultural expansion, illegal hunting, charcoal burning and other natural resource extractive industries such as mining. The road would also serve as a connection into the nearby Yaeda Valley over the Kideru ridge bringing increased pressures onto the valley floor and surrounding countryside.

Road construction and the resultant impacts could be mitigated but they require a community that is organized and effective at dealing with the consequences of such developments. Unfortunately, Hadza seem at this time to be mostly incapable of making their needs known to development agents coming into the area, opting rather for the short-term benefits that outsiders can bring without taking into account the potential long-term impacts.

Tourism

Tourism has been steadily increasing among Hadzabe communities in recent years. This is largely due to the facts that their core areas are adjacent to some of the largest tourist attractions in East Africa, the Serengeti National Park and Ngorongoro Conservation Area and increasing interest in cultural tourism. As a result, thousands of people will go visit Hadzabe communities around the northern end of Lake Eyasi in the course of their travels around the "northern circuit" of Tanzania's national parks. A smaller number of tourists may venture further into Hadzabe lands to visit Hadzabe camps on the Kideru Ridge.

Tourism is an increasingly significant economic activity among the Hadzabe with both legitimate community based initiatives and non-legitimate initiatives that damage the community. Unfortunately there are few tour operators who actually contribute anything positive to the Hadzabe communities and this is particularly true of the kind of tourism that occurs around the area immediately bordering the Ngorongoro Conservation Area. Uncontrolled tourism has been a factor in the Hadzabe decline in this area for some years now, unscrupulous tour operators bring in far too many tourists and do not treat Hadza with any respect or equality. Hadza are paid to per-

form dances or displays that have nothing to do with Hadza life and communities.

Some tour operators have made agreements with the Hadzabe village of Mongo Wa Mono where strict guidelines are followed. The guidelines address such issues as payment for photography, required distance of tourism camps from Hadzabe camps, payments to Hadza individuals for their labour and payments to the community tourism fund. No such guidelines are respected in the Mangola area and few tour operators consider the needs of Hadza in that area.



SECTION 5

RECOMMENDATIONS

Three levels of intervention may be necessary to address the issues of the Hadzabe with simultaneous or near simultaneous implementation being required. The three main areas are:

1. International lobby and advocacy;
2. National lobby and advocacy;
3. Local programming.

The most substantial, long-term initiatives taken in the area of Hadzabe land rights have focused on Hadza issues as if these are primarily local issues. Focused programming characterized by coordination and cooperation with local government structures has had some successes, particularly in sectors such as the delivery of health and education services, infrastructural improvements and other measures consistent with local government perceptions and priorities. However, on the key issues of land and human rights for the Hadzabe this emphasis on local government approaches results in a situation of ongoing marginalization and alienation.

The reliance on local government perceptions, adherence to a poorly defined and implemented policy environment and dependence on local government officials to implement programs have a number of implications. Perhaps the most serious is the close identification by Hadza of program activities with historically intolerant institutions and policies and the replication of Hadza expectations of being passive recipients of "aid" programs, a characteristic of past governmental programs, rather than active participants in solving problems confronting their communities.

Given the current circumstances as outlined in this document and given the short-term prospects for reversing this situation, any program of action has to recognize the fact that this will be a long-term process requiring a long-term commitment to its resolution requiring flexibility and an ability to adjust to changing conditions. Increasing land pressures, declining and/or inappropriate government services and failure to treat the Hadzabe on equal terms to other Tanzanians have all contributed to making the situation problematic from a number of angles explored. There are two wide processes which must be addressed before progress can be made in the area of human rights for the Hadzabe in Tanzania.

Reversing Discriminatory Processes

At the root of the predicament facing the Hadzabe and other hunter-gatherer communities in Tanzania is that they are not accorded full rights as Tanzanian citizens due to perceptions of their inferiority. As with all other cases of discrimination found around the world, such deep-set prejudices are difficult to overcome and require long periods of time to do so. These attitudes have implications for policy development in that conventional wisdom in Tanzania holds that certain cultures are negative influences on "development" and that certain cultural traits contribute to poverty (Kaare 1998). If there is to be any progress on rights for people like the Hadzabe such colonial attitudes must be changed. It is not the culture of the Hadzabe that must change but the culture of government in Tanzania.

It has been proposed that granting hunters-gatherers a special minority status within local government may be one possible solution to this situation. However, this still leaves the problem of representation from the Hadzabe community to

be overcome. Simply ensuring a seat for a Hadzabe representative on the various district councils which administer Hadza areas does not guarantee effective representation. The real challenge lies in how to involve people at the community level to ensure effective representation and not to repeat earlier negative experiences.

Reversing the Policy Environment

Compromises and negotiation characterized the process by which the Hadzabe lands were titled to the then Hadzabe-dominated village of Mongo Wa Mono. However, these compromises have not had a measurable impact in slowing or reversing immigration processes but have in fact introduced added pressures by placing large tracts of Hadzabe traditional territory under the management of new village structures controlled by recent immigrants. In fact, Hadzabe rights to resources within their village of Mongo Wa Mono are similarly not respected, as demonstrated by the increased immigration and resource extraction activities of neighbouring communities (i.e. wood cutting, honey gathering, increased mining activities, etc.). Clearly, the legal structures established by village titling and the resulting by-laws and land use planning activities have, to date, been inadequate for ensuring tenure for the Hadzabe.

Given these circumstances, future initiatives must incorporate a broader approach to fundamental issues and move away from the exclusively localized emphasis to address some of the wider processes to which Hadza are subject. While efforts to create linkages with larger regional organizations and communities experiencing similar losses (e.g. the Maasai and Barabaig pastoralists) have been made, these efforts have also had limited results, largely attributed to the low level of

organizational capacity of both the pastoralist organizations and of the Hadzabe community itself.

The Hadzabe case can represent an example of the status of governmental reforms in Tanzania. Key issues of good governance, rule of law and human rights are all bound within the Hadzabe situation. The ability of the Tanzanian state to come to terms with the situation of the Hadzabe can be viewed as indicative of the wider circumstances surrounding human rights in Tanzania, particularly the rights of other minority groups and the wider populace in general. If Hadza cannot be assured protection under the rule of law in Tanzania then who can?

Administrative, judicial and other failures on the part of the state cannot be accepted as the status quo. Measures need to be taken to assure that this group of hunter-gatherers can maintain identity and structures that they chose; this is a test for Tanzania to illustrate that the country can come to terms with such issues in a manner that is tolerant and realistic in terms of localized conditions and needs.

There are numerous actors both within and outside of Tanzania to mobilize in any effort to reverse this situation. The external aid actors are key as are various human rights and advocacy organizations. Internally, there are the fledging institutions, organizations and individuals who constitute the emerging civil society in Tanzania, and then there is the government of Tanzania and, most importantly, the Hadzabe themselves.

The attention of various donors can be directed towards the situation of the Hadzabe via a lobby and advocacy campaign that focuses on the Hadzabe as a barometer of the human rights climate in Tanzania. Such a campaign would focus on

emerging international standards in regard to indigenous peoples such as the European Union (EU) policy on indigenous peoples, World Bank Directive 4.20 and other measures which function as guidelines for donor supported "development" policies and programs in Tanzania.

Recommendation 1: Legal Action

Although the Tanzanian judiciary is still in the middle of various reforms, there is a need for documenting the situation of Hadzabe to date in order for recourse to the courts to be possible at a later stage. Test cases on Hadza rights, village composition and structures need to be made as well as establishing cooperation with Hakiardhi and other relevant Tanzanian organizations such as the Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC) in Dar es Salaam. Issues to address include:

- the establishment of the status of customary title and occupancy to village and all surrounding lands that comprise Hadzabe "traditional" territory;
- the establishment of the right of Mongo Wa Mono as a legitimate village to set membership, revise by-laws and compel government officials to implement Tanzanian law;
- the preparation of a set of legal processes and options for the Hadzabe communities taking into account their specific circumstances and capacities to engage in legal actions.

A full-scale legal process is not appropriate at this time, particularly given the current state of Hadzabe organization coupled with the poor judicial environment in Tanzania. However, appropriate processes or strategies serving to remind the government of Tanzania of its own laws and regulations and the necessity for the rule of law to apply to all Tanzanians (including the Hadzabe) must be initiated.

Recommendation 2: United Nations and other International Processes

Continued support and broadening of Hadzabe participation at the United Nations Working Group for Indigenous Populations (UNWGIP) and other international, local and regional fora must be ensured. The participation of Hadzabe in the 1999 UNWGIP annual meeting at Geneva should be followed up with continued participation of representatives from the Hadzabe communities. Important considerations for ensuring adequate representation are:

1. The provision of educational opportunities for potential Hadzabe representatives (e.g. English language training in Tanzania);
2. The provision of advisors and support staff where appropriate (e.g. for passport applications, purchasing of plane tickets, etc.);
3. The development of briefing material for Hadzabe community feed-back (e.g. translation of materials on UN processes into Kiswahili, analysis of these processes in terms of their implications for Hadzabe and other groups in Tz., e.g. Barabaig);
4. Exchange visits with other indigenous peoples' and organizations when and if appropriate.

With effective and consistent representation at the UN the Hadzabe can raise their profile both locally and internationally. One of the local benefits of this engagement will be to impress on government officials that the Hadzabe case is not merely a local issue but one with potential international implications which reflect on Tanzania.

Recommendation 3: Extending Programming to All Hadzabe Communities

There is a need to establish a consistent program involving all Hadza from all three regions. To date, most of the work surrounding Hadzabe land and other issues have occurred in Mbulu and Karatu Districts. There are other Hadzabe populations in Shinyanga Region and Singida. Activities of the Dutch Rural Development Program (DRDP) may serve as a means of linking Hadzabe issues in two of the three regions containing Hadzabe populations. Future Hadzabe delegations to the UNWGIP and other initiatives should report back to Hadzabe populations in all areas where there are Hadzabe and appropriate services such as mobile schools should be expanded to these areas. (See annex)

Recommendation 4: Briefing Development Actors

Establishing clear lines of communication and a series of briefings to donor agencies in Europe, North America and Tanzania should be undertaken. Too many donor agencies and actors are unaware of the impact of their policies and practices on people like the Hadzabe. Similarly, they seem to be unaware of the specific problems that the current policy environment in Tanzania can have on marginalized communities. Current initiatives in Tanzania around good governance and policy reform should include consideration of minority group rights as an essential aspect of the ongoing process of government reform. Links between human rights and development must be made clearer and newly established initiatives around debt forgiveness need to be broadened to make adherence to human rights a conditionality of debt relief.

Recommendation 5: Research and Documentation

Given the land losses in recent years, it is critical to document past Hadzabe land use and occupancy. Numerous academic studies have been carried out on the Hadzabe including much information on their land use and occupancy of traditional territories. These works need to be reviewed and compiled in such a way as to make a consistent and relevant documentation package. Hadza should be involved in an eventual review of this database and ongoing processes formalizing and recording their claim to lands currently occupied by immigrants. While the judicial environment in Tanzania today does not offer much hope for redress, this situation may change in the coming years. The Hadzabe must be prepared to recover some of what they have lost should the judicial environment improve to the point where court action would be meaningful.

Recommendation 6: Health and Education Services

The situation of Hadzabe communities is one where there is a great demand for services in the areas of health and education. Programs supporting hospital visitations, educational opportunities in the health field, mobile education services, secondary school scholarships and other measures are becoming increasingly popular in the community. A wide range of needs exist, but while these needs can be met by short-term programming, a longer-term component is necessary to all service delivery activities. It is critical that the Hadzabe come to view themselves as active participants in such programs, not passive recipients. (See annex)

MOBILE SERVICES FOR A MOBILE PEOPLE

A key issue for the government programs in the past has been that the Hadzabe must first be sedentarized before they can receive various government services such as health and education. The Hadzabe in general recognize the value of these services but do not necessarily wish to accept the many negative consequences of fixed villages and the general incompatibilities of settlement life with their values and priorities. In addition to this, where ever the government and other organizations have tried to establish services based on the models of settled communities with static, fixed facilities such as dispensaries, schools, etc. these facilities inevitably attract other people into the area who end up displacing the Hadzabe. Service delivery must be designed to suit the realities of Hadza lifestyles and values, and this requires:

1. the rejection of fixed structures as a means of providing services;
2. the training of Hadza individuals to provide services to their own community.

Service provision through fixed facilities such as dispensaries and school buildings are inadequate for a number of reasons, mainly the fact that Hadza are mobile people and so any fixed structures will often be out of the reach of all Hadza other than the minority that has settled permanently at one location. Any sustainable service delivery must be done through Hadza members of the community since it is these individuals who understand and appreciate the dynamics of community life among the Hadza and will be knowledgeable about how to deliver appropriate services to this community.

EDUCATION

Mobile School

Mobile education services initiated in late 1997 by the CUSO program in the Yaeda Chini area have had some promising results. By the middle of 1999 there were three full-time teachers and several part-time teachers (secondary students on holiday) operating in the area. In the effort to provide viable education services in a manner that suits the Hadzabe population such initiatives must be continued and, if possible, expanded.

Mobile education services are intended to deliver basic education to students living away from population centres. Teachers move into areas where there are Hadzabe residents to instruct young children on basic reading and writing skills as well as simple arithmetic. While the objectives of such a program are limited there is a necessity to formalize this arrangement and expand the curriculum to a full primary school level to allow students to get formal credit for their studies. This, and the eventual development of a Hadza-friendly curriculum offers an alternative to the current situation of primary residential schools such as the one in Mangola where Hadzabe children are kept from their families for most of the year, losing their traditional skills and connections with family and community.

Secondary School Scholarships

Given the shortage of secondary school educated Hadza, a scholarship program focusing on formal education in a Tanzanian school with an emphasis on practical work in the community during school holidays are necessary preconditions for the emergence of a legitimate and reliable leadership among the Hadzabe. Previous government initiatives focused on sending Hadzabe students far away from their homes to attend school which resulted in significant alienation of these individuals from their communities, a loss of traditional skills and various other problems that have limited their effectiveness as intermediaries between their community and outsiders. Part of the problem is that the attitude of educators and government officials supporting education programs view such programs as tools for assimilation, not tools for preparing Hadza to effectively represent and defend their community interests.

School sponsorship requires a nearby institution, effective monitoring of the students' needs and progress and easy access to their communities in times of crisis. In the past families have not had the opportunity to visit their children while at school nor have the students had easy access to their communities. Educators must be aware of the particular needs of Hadzabe students and the circumstances of their communities, prejudicial behaviour by other students, as experienced by the previous generation of students, cannot be tolerated.

HEALTH

Mobile Clinics

Mobile clinics are the best means by which to ensure the delivery of health services to the Hadzabe. Such clinics operating on a monthly schedule can provide key services in the area of Maternal-Child Health (MCH) as well as

inoculation programs, prescribe medication and follow-up procedures and advise patients on hospitalization and other issues. These clinics are relatively inexpensive to operate and have a lasting beneficial impact for communities receiving such services.

Hospitalization Fund

Medical services designed specifically for Hadza needs are non-existent in government institutions. Hadza have particular needs when seeking medical care which go beyond the technical delivery of health services and require the provision of an environment that is not alienating and threatening to their needs. A program providing hospital visitations for Hadza patients has a number of benefits for the community:

1. it introduces modern health care to the community;
2. it provides an opportunity for Hadza individuals to learn about health care and to provide health related services to their community;

The visitation program begun in late 1997 provided funds for hiring a Hadza attendant to assist patients visiting Haydom hospital for treatment, paid medical bills and living expenses for outpatients while in Haydom and covered travel expenses to and from home for patients.

In late 1998 the attendant became a member of the hospital staff, salary paid by the CUSO program, in order to learn about hospital procedures and general medical practises and to facilitate Hadza access to medical services. This attendant would assist Hadzabe patients with getting medical attention, testing, taking of medication and day-to-day living arrangements of both in and out patients

The key areas of health and education services for nomadic people requires a departure from general procedures and policies in place in Tanzania today. In order for such services to become relevant the various levels of government must recognize the particular needs of these communities and be willing to depart from policies and practises which have not worked in then past and to be open to new approaches to programming for these communities. The alternative to government run programs is the establishment of private programs run by the Hadzabe themselves with the assistance of outside organizations and with the cooperation of local government. While making such arrangements is time consuming and resource intensive, the area of service delivery is a key area in which Hadza individuals can gain valuable experience in the practicalities of attending to the needs of their communities and gain knowledge of the circumstances necessary for community organization and mobilization.

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