



## المؤتمر الدولي الرابع

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# BECAUSE WE ONCE LIVED THERE: MAASAI CULTURE AS AN ARGUMENTATIVE RESOURCE IN THE SERENGETI

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## ABSTRACT:

The pragma-dialectical study of strategic maneuvering in parliamentary contexts has been advanced by Frans van Eemeren and Bart Garssen's analysis of the EU, and Dima Mohammed's analysis of British minister's questioning period, and Manfred Kienpointner's assessment of Turkish deliberation. Similarly David Zarefsky has examined the role of strategic maneuvering in the American political milieu. However, few pragma-dialecticians have turned their attention to parliamentary deliberation in new democracies with postcolonial legacies. Such argumentative activity types share many similarities with European models, yet also have intentional differences that reflect local custom and history. This study analyzes the possibilities for strategic maneuvering in the Tanzanian Parliament. Focusing on the arguments, questions, and speeches of three members, President Kikwete, Minister Maige, and MP Telele, I seek to understand how strategic maneuvers, specifically the use of condensation symbols and the locus of the irreparable, are featured in a new nation's arguments oriented toward reconciling its colonial past with a multi-ethnic future. Such analysis opens new directions for pragma-dialectical research by emphasizing the unique problems and possibilities in post-colonial contexts.

## Keywords:

Argumentation, condensation symbol, locus of the irreparable, parliament, pragma-dialectics, post-colonial, strategic maneuver, Tanzania.

## INTRODUCTION

This study analyzes Argumentation in the Tanzanian Parliament, drawing from the pragma-dialectical concept of strategic maneuvering to inform the inquiry. Focusing on the arguments, questions, and speeches of three members, President Kikwete, Minister Maige, and MP Telele, I seek to understand how strategic maneuvers, specifically, the use of condensation symbols and the locus of the irreparable, are used in a new nation seeking to reconcile its colonial past with a multi-ethnic future. Such analysis opens new directions for pragma-dialectical research by emphasizing the unique problems and possibilities in post-colonial contexts.

Strategic maneuvers, moments in deliberation when tension between dialectical and rhetorical aims is calibrated, can only be understood within the specific context of an argumentative event (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2006). To pinpoint the context surrounding any given deliberation, it is necessary to identify the prevailing activity type and the derivative norms of discussion associated with that specific type. Such specificity is required as argumentative norms are not the same in each setting or timeframe. Arguments can then be compared with others made in the same context, but not with those from differing contexts (van Eemeren, Grootendorst, & Henkemans, 2002; van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2000).

The identification of an activity type allows for analysis of the institutional aspect of argumentation, leading to empirically adequate accounts of argumentative practice (Mohammed, 2008). Such accounts are possible because, by situating analysis within an activity type, the analyst is able to address specific exchanges in their institutional context, lending unique insight to the features, opportunities, and constraints of those specific discourses. The analysis in this essay focuses on the Tanzanian Parliament, specifically on the Prime Minister's questioning period and floor speeches. After discussing the specifics of this activity type, I address the way that the first rule of pragma-dialectics, the freedom rule, has been used by President Kikwete to limit MP Telele's ability to advance standpoints supporting Maasai pastoralists. I will pay attention to the ways that President Kikwete strategically maneuvers, exploring whether his use of *ad misericordiam* fallacies, which are used to silence Maasai visual and verbal arguments, constitutes sound argumentation or crosses the line into strategic derailment of a critical discussion. This analysis draws from scholarship on the EU (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2009), British (Mohammed, 2008) and Turkish (Kienpointner, 2009) parliaments. This body of scholarship, specifically Kienpointner's 2009 essay "Plausible and Fallacious Strategies to Silence One's Opponent," has helped argument scholars to discuss the acceptable use of proper norms in parliamentary debate. Kienpointner explores how German, Austrian, and Turkish governments have regulated freedom of speech concerning targeted mass killings. In this analysis he argues that freedom of speech could be constricted if in doing so the rights of humanity were better served – and such restrictions are not made for political rather than humanitarian ends. Van Eemeren and Houtlosser, Mohammed, and Kienpointner show how norms of parliamentary debate, self-rule, and deliberation have stabilized over generations of trial, error, and condensation.

This study highlights the context of postcolonial political deliberation where the activity types are still new and in flux. With the political milieu of nations still malleable, scholars can explore still coalescing argumentation norms, observe negotiations regarding limits to strategic maneuvering, and examine how actors specify the acceptable use of fallacies. By setting the argumentative context, it may be possible to map the production of norms and better understand the way that arguments are both produced and received. However, the fluidity of post-colonial spaces also challenges pragma-dialectical theory. Identifying an activity type and the norms of that type is critical for a pragma-dialectical analysis, but if those norms are still in flux, is analysis even possible?

To explore these questions, I focus on a point of instability in Tanzanian national identity and culture. The first president of Tanzania, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, attempted to create a Tanzanian identity from among the more than 120 distinct ethnic groups and two distinct colonies, Tanganyika and Zanzibar, which are now defined as one nation. This project was named *Ujamaa*, the Swahili word for the creation of a person through the community, or a coming together of community for mutual support and development. Tanzania's *Ujamaa* policy encouraged the use of Swahili as a common language, established free and compulsory education, and set national goals based on community development and national self-sufficiency. As a result of *Ujamaa*, most Tanzanians identify first by nation and second by ethnic group and Swahili is spoken across the nation, often without ethnic accents. One of the primary challenges to *Ujamaa* has been the resistance of pastoralists and hunter-gatherers. The Maasai, one of the largest pastoral groups in the world, have continued to identify themselves as Maasai first – and often exclusively – regardless of their Tanzanian citizenship. While some community members speak Swahili, Maa remains the lingua franca, and community members continue to stand apart by traditions, dress, language, and lifeways. Tourism to the Serengeti is one of the chief parts of Tanzania's economy and the Maasai – who once lived in the Serengeti – have become a cultural attraction. Yet, while images of traditional Maasai people are used by the Tanzanian government to bolster tourism, traditional Maasai communities are facing continual pressure to settle, abandon their herding lifestyle, and take up modernization on path with other citizens of Tanzania.

Cultural negotiation and change are occurring on many stages in Tanzania – between groups, political parties, religions, and families – and the Tanzanian parliament is tasked with the process of negotiation while maintaining the goals indicated in the Tanzanian Constitution of “continued improvement of people's lives under conditions of freedom, peace, equity and unity.” Tanzania is a multi-party, unitary presidential democratic socialist republic. The President heads both the state and government and appoints the Prime Minister who heads the unicameral, 324 member, Parliament House. The rules and conventions of the Parliament are grounded in deliberative traditions from the United Kingdom and Germany, both whom colonized Tanzania. Yet, these standards of deliberation also draw from Julius Kambarage Nyerere's teachings on African Socialism which highlight a reverence for elders, community stability, modernization, and national self-sufficiency.

Working to incorporate these multiple influences, the Tanzanian Prime Minister's Questioning Period occurs weekly and is televised on national television. The questions and answers are then available on the Parliament's website. Wang notes that this moment of deliberation is especially important as it is one of the few times when MPs are able to reach their constituents and prove that they are taking note of constituent interests. This need is perhaps higher than in other nations as no private members bills have been introduced to Parliament since 1995. Put another way, because parliamentarians know that they will not be able to introduce legislation, asking questions is their only route to participation. Yet, despite the importance of this period to both MPs and constituents, the quality of questions is often low. Wang's (2005) interviews with Tanzanian MPs indicate the following norms of deliberation:

1. Ministers responding to questions often lack information or only repeat government texts; they do not advance new standpoints or new ideas.
2. Ministers often provide unnecessarily complicated and/or vague answers that foreclose future deliberation.
3. Ministers do not take questioning time seriously; they answer to avoid further questions and are not interested in solving problems.
4. Question and answering time is used by the government to strengthen vertical accountability, not encourage deliberation.

These standards are radically different from those found by Mohammed in her study of the British PM's questioning time. As Mohammad indicates, "the more argumentative exchanges comply with the norm of critical testing, as a means to scrutinize the performance of the government, the more the government is subject to scrutiny, and the better it is held to account" (Mohammed, 2008, p. 380). Yet, in the case of Tanzania, it seems that government performance is not held to scrutiny and as such MPs are not able to hold Ministers accountable for their actions.

The following case study, I investigate two types of strategic maneuvers that have been used in the Tanzanian Parliament, the condensation of symbols and the locus of the irreparable. Anchoring the argumentative analysis and the specific activity type in question generates unique insights regarding Tanzanian political officials' strategic maneuvering. Yet, as we shall see, the deploying of pragma-dialectical methods in this case presents serious complications that warrant extended reflection. In creating this analysis, I found that when using the context of Tanzanian parliament, the strategic maneuvers used by President Kikwete are both rhetorically effective and dialectically reasonable. This judgment is determined by the activity type of Tanzanian deliberation which sets a very low bar for Presidential and Minister accountability. However, using those situated norms also creates a problem as it does not allow for a principled critique of arguments that are made by MPs during the questioning periods.

The resulting analysis is unique as few argument analysts have attempted to use the pragma-dialectical framework in a non-western, post-colonial context. Further, while much analysis has addressed the way that Maasai communities have protested, or the way that the Government of Tanzania operates, no studies to date have addressed the arguments made by and between these interlocutors.

## CASE STUDY

This case study addresses the use of argumentative markers in local and national deliberation concerning Land Rights and History of the Ngorongoro District. I am specifically concerned with the way Maasai speakers use community history and culture to support their standpoints to defend their access the Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA).

The NCA was granted to the Maasai as part of a concession for leaving the Serengeti. Beginning in 1950, the British colonial government brokered a deal with the Maasai community. This deal ensured that the world's largest fortress nature reserves, the Maasai Mara reserve in Kenya and Serengeti in Tanzania, would be linked by a trans-border region that allowed crossings for migrating wildlife herds. The construction of these reserves, which are prefaced on the theory that nature is best preserved when no humans are allowed habitation, required the eviction of between 10,000 and 50,000 Maasai and their herds of cattle. Elders representing the community agreed to the departure in exchange for continued and unimpeded access to land in Ngorongoro Conservation Area, which is adjacent to the Serengeti, and also a traditional grazing land.

Speaking at the completion of these agreements on 14 October 1958 the British Governor of the Legislative Council said, "On all grounds of equity and good faith no government could contemplate excluding the Maasai from the whole of the great game areas...the policy was altered to establishing the Park in the plains to the west, leaving the conservation of the Ngorongoro area to be built around the interests of its inhabitants" (Bellini, 2008, p. 8). Later, speaking to the Maasai Federal Council on 27 August 1959 the British Governor of Tanganyika explained the government's intentions for the Ngorongoro, including a decision-making criteria in the event of human/wildlife conflicts. He said, "the government intends to protect the game animals in the area, but should there be any conflict between the interests of the game and the human inhabitants, those of the latter must take precedent" (Bellini, 2008, p. 8). Although Tanganyika gained independence from England in 1961 and formed the nation Tanzania, this agreement was interpreted as still valid by the Maasai who were allowed to re-enter the Serengeti, and by the Tanzanian government who did not evict the Maasai from the NCA. However, as the following case study will indicate, the Maasai have in recent years experienced difficulty claiming the rights assured by this agreement.

## MAASAI MP: TELELE, KAIKA SANING'O

Mr. Telele represents the Ngorongoro District, a position that he has held since 2005 and will keep until at least 2015. He is a member of *Chama cha Mapinduzi* – the ruling political party in Tanzania. Before this position he was the Regional Administration District Commissioner, employed by the Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority, the president's office, a Secondary School Teacher, and a Social Welfare Officer. He holds advanced degrees in Foreign Relations and Political Economy. MP Telele frequently speaks about the Loliondo District, asking for schools, office materials, security training, and electrical supply. He has highlighted the problem of communication in the region; that many community members

cannot access Tanzanian media and as such receive their news from the Kenyan Broadcasting Corporation (Telele, 2012b). The Loliondo District borders the NCA and has become an attractive location for international tour companies that wish to establish private hunting and game parks. Attempts to buy this land have led to increased conflicts between Maasai communities living in Loliondo, corporations seeking to make land agreements, and the national government.

### CONDENSATION SYMBOL

While MP Telele is Maasai, he rarely references his own ethnic affiliation, or that of his constituents. Between 2010 and 2012, Telele gave 67 speeches, comments, and questions in the House of Parliament. From those 67 unique utterances, he has only named the Maasai eight times. Of these eight utterances, five refer to ethnic conflicts between the Maasai and Sonjo. The other three references are the focus of this analysis as they address the Maasai access to land in NCA. Rather than speak of the “Maasai”, MP Telele displays a preference for “the people.” This rhetorical change is evidence of a strategic maneuver classified by Zarefsky as a condensation of symbols (Zarefsky, 2009). In an attempt to accommodate the diversity of his audience (other MPs, the national viewer, and his constituency), MP Telele condenses the experiences, cultures, and identity of the Maasai using the Swahili mass noun, *wanachi* (the people) when addressing the needs of his constituency.

For example,

*“Mheshimiwa Naibu Spika, Sheria ya Mamlaka ya Hifadhi ya Ngorongoro ipitiwe upya ili sheria hiyo iweke na itamke bayana kuwa **wananchi** waishio katika Tarafa ya Ngorongoro ambayo pia ni hifadhi mseto (multiple land use), wana haki juu ya ardhi yao.”* (Telele, 2012a)

*“Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Law of the Ngorongoro Conservation Authority has been reviewed, and according to that law, **the people** living in the Ngorongoro Division, which is also a multiple land use conservation reserve, have rights over their land.”* (My own translation, emphasis added).

and

*“Wenyeji wale wametolewa kutoka Serengeti na kupewa Ngorongoro Highlands na wakoloni na kuambiwa kwamba hakuna tena mtu atakayewagusa hapa ni maskani yenu, kaeni kwa amani milele yote. Sasa ninaona kama mwakilishi wa **wananchi** hili suala la kuendeleza wenyeji ni jukumu la kisheria.”* (Telele, 2011)

*“Inhabitants have been expelled from the Serengeti and Ngorongoro Highlands, land [that had been] given [to the locals] by colonists, and are being told that there is no longer [a land] that is the home that they can live in at in peace for all eternity. Now I see myself as a representative of **the people**, representing a local legal obligation.”* (My own translation, emphasis added.)

This maneuver achieves MP Telele’s goal of adhering to the norms of multiple audiences, and advancing his position that the Maasai are people on a par with

others living in Tanzania, MP Telele humanizes the Maasai. This step is critical as the Maasai have faced a history of discrimination through socialist standards of development that rank pastoralism on a scale lower than farmers or urban dwellers. Rhetoric resulting from this philosophy implies that the Maasai are less than human or should be developed before they fully participate in community decision-making. By referring to the Maasai as “the people,” MP Telele attempts to position the Maasai as equal participants and stakeholders in national deliberations.

At first glance, MP Telele’s maneuver seems to be on par with similar arguments in the EU parliament. The Polish parliamentarian, examined by van Eemeren and Garssen, negotiates his dualistic position between Europe and his home country by using condensation symbols of farmers rather than specifically speaking of farmers in Poland. This strategic maneuver was successful because the Polish representative was able to preserve his national farming interests while making those interests seem similar to those of farmers in other EU nations (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2009). Similarly, MP Telele works to meet the demands of both the national parliament and his community. However, the effectiveness of MP Telele’s strategic maneuver can be evaluated when juxtaposed to responses given to him during the PM’s questioning period.

In 2008 MP Telele posed a question to the Deputy Ministry of Tourism and Natural Resources. Here MP Telele spoke of Maasai residents of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area as “inhabitants.” This followed his method of using condensation symbols to identify his constituency. However, in his reply, Minister Maige rejects MP Telele’s condensation symbol, “inhabitants,” and instead chooses to describe the Maasai as “natives living in the park” (Telele & Maige, 2008). Minister Maige’s strategic maneuver echoes MP Telele’s, the Maasai are addressed by a condensed symbol that frames understanding of the political dynamics in terms favorable to the speaker. However, the difference is apparent as Maige rejects Telele’s condensation symbol of Maasai as inhabitants or people, and instead uses the term “natives.” “Natives” is a term loaded in developmental discourse, and the use of this condensation symbol re-positioned the Maasai in a socialist hierarchy of development which denies them equal participation until they are fully developed.

The effect of Minister Maige’s condensation symbol is apparent in his longer statement. MP Telele had asked why the citizens of the NCA were at such a different level of development than the foreign-owned tourism camps. He suggests that this might be because the Maasai were not allowed the same rights to build as foreign investors. Minister Maige responds, “the natives living in the park have been given the same rights as the other investors in the whole issue of building lodges camps to provide better service to tourists” (Telele & Maige, 2008). The surface level of the discourse seems favorable for the Maasai, Minister Maige indicates that the natives (Maasai) have the same rights as foreigners. Yet, what Minister Maige has not indicated is that the Maasai have the same rights as other *citizens*, or that the Maasai have rights granted to them in the 1958 agreement. Instead, Minister Maige has strategically maneuvered to place the Maasai as a community separate from that of Tanzanian citizens.

Here we see a differentiation in the use of strategic maneuvers by MPs. The Polish representative was able to achieve both his rhetorical and dialectical goals by citing examples beyond his own ethnicity and nationality. However, MP Telele, when using a similar strategy, achieves neither his rhetorical or dialectical goals. Instead, MP Telele is addressing a situation that explicitly requires a historical and cultural warrant (the 1958 agreement with the Maasai) to substantiate the claim (rights to land) made by himself and his constituents regarding the NCA. Yet, the argument type of the Tanzanian Parliament does not allow ethnic groups to prioritize their own history or identity ahead of the nation. As such, MP Telele is required to use a condensation symbol. Returning to the conventions of this argumentative type, Minister Maige's use of the condensation symbol, positioning the Maasai as "natives," and on-par with foreigners is both acceptable and valid. He has provided a vague answer that forecloses future deliberation while at the same time strengthening the vertical accountability of the national government.

### LOCUS OF THE IRREPARABLE

While the condensation of symbols has been used to identify the subject of deliberation, when calling for action members of the Tanzanian government have frequently employed argumentation tied to the locus of the irreparable. This strategic maneuver is one way that a diverse audience can be prompted to take a specific action (Cox, 1982; Zarefsky, 2009). To use this tool, the speaker claims that "a decision cannot be repeated or that its consequences may cause an irreplaceable loss." This locus is identified by three qualities, uniqueness, precariousness, and timeliness. In this analysis I will focus on the second, precariousness, which Cox defines as "a state of affairs which cannot intrinsically be sustained; even with our intervention, its special status cannot be preserved or its existence lengthened. 'Loss' is inevitable" (Cox, 1982).

In Tanzanian Parliamentary deliberations, it is the Maasai lifeway of pastoralism that is framed as precarious and often juxtaposed to the environment in an either-or decision making calculus. In these speeches, questions, and answers, the precariousness of the Maasai becomes the locus of the irreparable when "that which is threatened *need not be lost*, when choice is possible" (Cox, 1982). In the following two statements, President Kikwete presses for the decision to prevent damage to the environment by abandoning the Maasai's tradition of pastoralism.

President Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete demonstrated this decision making calculus on December 30, 2005:

*"We must modernize animal husbandry. We will have no alternative. We must abandon nomadic pastoralism which makes the whole country pastureland... The cattle are bony and the pastoralists are sacks of skeletons. We cannot move forward with this type of pastoralism in the twenty first century" (Ole Ndaskoi, 2011).*

Then, on February 22, 2006, President Kikwete stated:

*“I am committed to taking unpopular steps in order to protect the environment for the benefit of the nation and future generations”* (Ole Ndaskoi, 2011).

In these statements, and many others like them, President Kikwete adheres to the conventions for parliamentary deliberation by making vague statements that strengthen vertical accountability but do not encourage deliberation. Just as the governments of Austria, Germany, and Turkey have regulated freedom of speech regarding holocaust and genocide, President Kikwete is attempting to regulate the freedom of speech regarding pastoralism. He has indicated that deliberation regarding the merits of pastoralism will not continue. Keinpointner itemized the arguments in support of the German violation of the right to freedom of speech and found it acceptable so long as restriction to freedom of speech made because such speech has “been proved to be catastrophic in human history” (Keinpointner, 2009, p. 67). Using the locus of the irreparable, President Kikwete is able to advance the same argument; he is justified in restricting freedom of speech of the Maasai because if the Maasai are not restricted they will destroy the environment of Tanzania.

President Kikwete’s claim is further bolstered by his positioning of the Maasai and their herds as “the cattle are bony and the pastoralists are sacks of skeletons.” Such framing is consistent with the rhetoric of colonialists, beginning in the 1800’s who sought to settle the Maasai on the basis that they were malnourished and destroying the environment. In each of these instances a choice is provided for the audience, either allow both the Maasai to die and the environment be destroyed, or require the Maasai to settle and save the environment. As the audience is almost exclusively constructed of settled peoples, this seems like an acceptable decision criteria.

Such criteria do violate the freedom rule by prohibiting the opponent, here the Maasai, from advancing standpoints of cultural relevance or the preservation of pastoral lifeways. There is evidence that this was the intention of President Kikwete – to delegitimize all claims made by or about pastoralists – by indicating all standpoints supporting pastoralists were outdated, anti-modern, or un-Tanzanian. This vague response references many offices, but does not specifically address the question that was posed by MP Telele. Further, it does not acknowledge the cultural claims, the 1958 agreement with the Maasai, nor the specific land claim needs of the Maasai in this dispute.

Yet, in these statements, President Kikwete may have overplayed his hand, leading to a derailment of his strategic maneuver by producing the fallacy of *ad misericordian*. Walton has defined arguments as fallacious when “used to seal off the asking of critical questions that would be appropriate for properly deliberating on the question at issue when the dramatic impact of the emotional appeal is to block further questioning” (Walton, 1997, pp. 158-159). The critical element of an *ad misericordian* fallacy is that the argument itself is legitimate, but has been blown out of proportion by including a dramatic impact. Keinpointner uses the images

displayed by pro-life activists of unborn fetuses to illustrate the way that images and verbal arguments can foreclose the possibility of deliberation. Similarly, President Kikwete seems to be obscuring deliberation by using rhetoric such as “sack of skeletons” to describe the Maasai.

This could be a derailment of a strategic maneuver if President Kikwete has used such verbal descriptions to foreclose deliberation. However, here enters the problem of using the specific context of Tanzania for this analysis. Returning to the indicators of this activity type, President Kikwete is following the norms of argumentation set forward by him for his ministers. He insured vertical accountability for the government while foreclosing all deliberation. Within the specific context of the Tanzanian parliament, this is not a derailment of a strategic maneuver, but instead a successful maneuver used by President Kikwete.

## CONCLUSION

The analysis presented in this essay has used the pragma-dialectical method of determining the norms of argument in a specific argument context, and then addressing the effectiveness of arguments and strategic maneuvers produced in that activity type. When the activity type was stabilized, it was determined that it is appropriate for the Prime Minister’s questioning period to be filled with dodging, vague, or unnecessarily complex answers. MPs had little expectation of getting any result from the session, though, as they are also not able to introduce independent legislation; this was their sole opportunity to express to their constituents that they were trying to make an argument.

Using these norms of deliberation, I analyzed the exchanges between MP Telele who represents the Maasai of the Ngorongoro, Natural Resources and Tourism Minister Maige, and President Kikwete. In these exchanges it became clear that Minister Maige and President Kikwete frequently utilize strategic maneuvers to avoid pressing issues while bolstering the vertical accountability of the government. MP Telele has attempted to present similar strategic maneuvers, and may have succeeded in accessing his constituent audience, but has had little effect on the rhetoric of Parliament.

Such analysis is deeply troubling. Standards of argumentative analysis and international norms of deliberation would indicate that President Kikwete is violating the human rights of a specific group of his constituency. However, by creating an analysis of argument in context, the standards for this activity type would indicate that President Kikwete is making rhetorically and dialectically strong arguments. He is epitomizing the strategic maneuver. This places the analyst in a double bind. One horn of the dilemma requires the analyst to ignore that the Tanzanian Parliament is different from Western European Parliaments, and find that President Kikwete is violating the conventions of discussion and questioning activity types. The other horn of the dilemma steers the analyst to regard the particularities of the Tanzanian Parliament and find President Kikwete, despite the troubling ramifications of his speech, a superior arguer. Such a double bind is unproductive for both argument analysis and constructing ideal types for a critical discussion.

The analytical dilemma may be alleviated by stipulating that the Tanzanian Parliament and norms of Tanzanian deliberation are still in flux, and more time is needed before a more stable set of discussion norms could emerge and support normative argumentative judgments. The skeptic might indicate that politicians rarely provide a sincere statement, and that all activity types are in flux. And while it is true that all nations experience flux in their political systems, and not all politicians are honest or attempt to serve their constituents, we may still understand that a unique problem exists in determining the argument activity types for new nations. In Tanzania, there are members of parliament that have served from the time of independence, and members who were born to a free nation – their expectations for governance are radically different and result in constant renegotiation of political powers. While the norms of this activity type, identified at the beginning of this essay, still bind deliberation in Tanzania, using those norms may prevent us from seeing the changes and wrinkles occurring at the edges of such deliberation. Even worse, it may cause us to label speech acts such as MP Telele's as unsuccessful by using norms of an activity type that has not yet stabilized. This is a unique moment for Tanzania, and many other democratic nations. However, it also illuminates the difficulties experienced when applying pragma-dialectics to new settings.

This essay poses a critical question to pragma-dialectics. Is it acceptable for a government to strategically maneuver, using a condensation symbol and locus of the irreparable, to shift the burden of proof to the oppressed minority? Further, is it acceptable for condensation symbols to be used in establishing norms and conventions that determine national culture? If so, the government thereby loads the argument to privilege themselves. Such argumentative strategies would prohibit the Maasai from speaking on their own terms, thereby creating a political milieu where a dominant group controls the process of condensation and definitions in the activity type.

The problem is that pragma-dialectics does not yet have a method to deal with the pressures presented by minority groups or new nations, and the mobilization of activity types under pressure. These groups are presenting shifts and changes in local or national governance. The Tanzanian Parliament has only been independent for 52 years – yet, to complete a pragma-dialectical analysis, beginning with a determination of the norms and expectations of the activity types, it is necessary to indicate that actions such as ignoring minority perspectives is among the expected conventions. Then, from that perspective, all of the actions described in this analysis, such as the president of a nation indicating that he will eradicate the lifeway of a specific group of citizens, are viewed as acceptable. Using the norms of the Tanzanian parliament activity type, this is a norm and the president has successfully strategically maneuvered.

But such analysis does not allow us to understand the key issues of land development, human/wildlife conflict, or the position of Maasai communities in modern democratic states. When we extend the pragma-dialectical methodology to hard cases, such as post-colonial nations, such fractures begin to appear. We can respond to these fractures by setting a boundary for pragma-dialectical

analysis, indicating that such analysis cannot be used on new activity types of under a certain number of years. Or, we can reconsider the advantages of pragma-dialectical theory, which does provide a framework to understand the strategic maneuvers used by interlocutors, while pressing the process of contextualizing argument within a supposedly stable context.

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