

**Protected Areas, Tourism and Human Displacement in
Tanzania:
Interests and Challenges behind Ruaha National Park Expansion**



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Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this master thesis, and that I have conducted all the work with regard to this study alone. I remain responsible for all the interpretation and translation of the field data gathered during the interviews and discussion in Usangu. None of the respondents, whatsoever, is responsible for the analysis of the statement used in my thesis. Furthermore I declare that all literature and materials used in this thesis are acknowledged and references are made in the texts. This thesis has not been presented to any other examination authority.

I am aware of the legal consequences of declaration of honor.

Agnes Sirima

Abstract

Environmental conflicts and land use changes have shaped conservation and human displacement debate in Usangu plains over the last ten years. Present study examined how these factors have contributed to conservation and livelihood of local communities around the study area. Political ecology was used to examine historical land use changes and the role of different actors in influencing those changes. Conservation policies and regulations were also scrutinized to analyze their contribution and the shaping of conservation activities in Tanzania. Five villages were surveyed; Ikoga Mpya, Igomelo, Nyeregete, Mahango and Luhango. A total of 79 semi-structured interviews, 4 focus group discussion, document analysis, and field observation were used to analyze the situation in Usangu. Data were analyzed using NVIVO software. Findings reveal that, land use changes in Usangu which led to the expansion of Ruaha National Park followed similar paradigm of 'yellow stone model'. Supporting earlier political ecology findings, Ruaha National Park expansion reproduce unequal power relations, unequal cost-benefit sharing among its different actors, as well as marginalization of local communities from livelihood resources. Furthermore, it strengthens the central role of the state in managing and controlling protected areas. Present study showed that there is a need of changing the current perception of protected areas without human interference to incorporate the broader meaning of 'park without borders'. Changing the way people are perceived and involved in conservation activities is the key towards achieving best conservation results.

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Acronyms

IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
CBC	Community Based Conservation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
RNP	Ruaha National Park
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
WWF	World Wildlife Fund
DFID	UK Department for International Development
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
TTB	Tanzania Tourist Board
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
UNICEF	United National International Children’s Emergency Fund
CAWM	College of African Wildlife Management
NCA	Ngorongoro Conservation Area
GCA	Game Controlled Area
TANAPA	Tanzania National Parks
WMA	Wildlife Management Areas
CCS	Community Conservation Services
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
TAZARA	Tanzania and Zambia Railway Authority
USGCA	Utengule Swamp Game Controlled Area
SMUWC	Sustainable Management of Usangu Wetlands and Catchments

GRR	Great Ruaha River
WCA	Wildlife Conservation Act
DED	District Executive Director
GMP	General Management Plan
IBA	Important Bird Areas
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resource Management
ICDP	Integrated Conservation and Development Projects

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Protected areas and displacement

Local communities' exclusion and displacement for protected area creation has been a widely applied model to conservation policies worldwide (Colchester, 2004). National parks are one of the most prominent forms of protected areas in developing countries and large tracts of land are allocated to these areas. Other forms of protected areas are nature reserves, wildlife sanctuaries, biosphere reserve and game reserves (IUCN, 1985). The historical expansion of protected areas in Africa started with the theme of 'protecting game for thrill of chase' as practiced by most of colonial elites which deprive the subsistence means by local hunters and create tension among them (Jones, 2006). This exclusion model is commonly known as 'fortress conservation', 'fences and fines' or protectionism approach and spread with the view of regarding local communities as threat to conservation (Dwivedi, 1996; Robbins, 2004; Songorwa, 1999). This model led to creation of myriads of protected areas in the early 1900 in different countries (Ghimire, 1994). Furthermore, the growth in number of protected areas has intensified due to the increase of funding availability from different foreign nature organizations and the possibility of generating income through tourism activities which can be conducted in these areas (Ibid).

The return of protectionism approach in many developing countries led to the development of 'back to the barriers' debate, the narrative which also against the thinking of the state having the mandate to control and manage protected areas (Buscher & Dietz, 2005; Hutton, Adams, & Murombedzi, 2005). This protectionism approach continues to displace local communities for nature conservation. Displacement and relocation for conservation has been in the heart of equity and land rights discussion for indigenous people in the international human right law (Krueger, 2009). This is because in the process of relocating local communities, local systems of livelihood, production and socio-political organization have been disrupted for the interest of few individual seeking to preserve the 'environment' (Hulme & Murphree, 2001; Robbins, 2004). Displacement for conservation purposes has led to the loss of access to the traditional

land and forest resources by local communities who often bear the cost of protected area creation (Krueger, 2009).

Contemporary conservationists represent national parks as part of a common world heritage and crucial components of sustainable development (Robinson, 2004; Salafsky & Wollenberg, 2000). However, conservation policies are centered on legal regimes which increase the exclusion of rural poor interests and remove them from their land for the expansion and establishment of protected areas. The regulations of new 'commons', however, often abolish the use of existing common property rights (Neumann, 1990).

1.2 Problem statement

For a long time pastoralists and farmers communities in Tanzania have been marginalized resulting in information gap coupled with high level of illiteracy and insufficient access to formal education among them. Such low level of education make them to have low level of representation in all levels of decision-making in the country, hence susceptible to policies, many of which do not favor their mode of living (Loure, 2002). Over the last decade local communities around Usangu basin area have managed to transform large part of the wetland area to rice paddies and grazing land for their livestock. All those years nature was not given importance over their livelihood. In 2006, the eviction was held to remove pastoralist from the plains and relocate seven villages and two hamlets for the reason that they are destroying the environment, the process which followed by Ruaha National Park expansion. The expansion of the National Park left majority of local communities with little or no access to livelihood resources as the land they once utilized for agriculture and pastoralists' activities is now under the national park system. These people had been denied not only access to utilize resources in the area but shifted and completely change the land use pattern and tenure system. Pastoralist and farmers in the areas have shared land with wildlife for ages; the shift/exclusion has started just recently. Livestock and farming provided both food and cash income to these local communities. The expansion of land by the government for the sake of conservation is against local livelihood needs and Community-Based Conservation (CBC) movement and they are going back to 'fences and fines' era.

This research challenges the idealistic view of protected areas as ‘a no man’s land’ and a proper or sustainable way of conserving the environment and seeks to reveal the underlying justification for doing so. This is done by critically analyzing the history of use and management practices of the land in the area. The debate goes further into the analysis of the changes in the resource access and ownership that have resulted from the change in land use and management system. By using political ecology deeper analysis of the root causes of the problem will provide the ability to compare past and present scenarios. It will also provide the ground to connect the local level conflict to the national economy interests. Furthermore, it provides the ability to study the actions of different actors at different levels and their way of shaping environmental conflicts.

1.3 Research objectives and questions

The main objective of this research is to examine and analyze environmental problems and land use conflicts in Usangu plains and furthermore, to provide an insightful understanding of the factors that led to the relocation of local communities and later expansion of Ruaha National Park. In order to clearly understand the process, interrelation of historical, social, economic as well and the role of different actors and their influence towards the decision making process will be analyzed. The broad objective of this thesis has led to the following central research question:

What are the impacts of land use changes to local communities in Usangu area and how do they cope with the changes?

The following Sub questions were derived to enrich the main question:

1. *What is the history of land management in Usangu plains?*
2. *How was the level of local community participation in decision making process?*
3. *What kind of natural resources local communities had access to and how is it currently?*
4. *What are the changes in resource ownership associated with land use changes?*

5. *What are the views of local communities with regard to direct and indirect benefits from tourism activities compared to other land uses?*

1.4 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter provided the background information about the conservation and human displacement. It also provided the research objective and research question which guide this thesis. Chapter two will provide the theoretical framework used for this study. Detailed analysis of the theory will be provided and situated in the framework of the study context. It will also provide the description of key themes which will guide the discussion of the main findings. Chapter three provide the methodology of the research while chapter five and six provide the context of the research. In chapter four, a broader view of the Tanzania conservation practices, policies and regulations will be provided. It also provides the analysis of conservation development of the country since colonial time. Chapter five will narrow the discussion down to the case study area where the detailed profile, management structure, tourism profile and main economic activities will be provided. Chapter five will present the empirical findings of the study. Chapter six will discuss the key findings and conclude the thesis.

2.0 Political Ecology Theory

Political ecology theory is multidisciplinary approach in studying natural resource management and environmental problems. It is embedded in the complex understanding of inter-linkages and factors associated with decision making power and human interaction with the environment. It also emphasizes the importance of time and scale when dealing with environmental problems. Since its emergence as a research field in 1970s, a range of studies have been conducted focusing in developing countries environmental problems (cf. Forsyth, 2001; Stott, 1999; B. L. Turner & Robbins, 2008).

The meaning and background of the theory will be provided in this chapter. Discussion will be followed by the explanation of political ecology as the research field in the developing countries. The link to the political ecology in conservation and protected areas will also be elaborated. Critiques and challenges of political ecology will be discussed and the contribution of this research will finalize the chapter.

2.1 Meaning and background

Although the substance of politics occur in almost every eco-social problem, the dynamic interaction between political and environmental forces has lightly received the scholarly attention, Deutsch 1999 (as cited in Bryant & Bailey, 1997). One of the great contributions of political ecology “stems from its [complex nature] and its capacity to break down boundaries among multiple paradigms and disciplines” (Belsky, 2002, p. 276). As Blaikie and Brookfield (1987) pointed out, political ecology “combines the concerns of ecology and broadly defined political economy” (p. 17). Several definitions of political ecology have been provided by various writers, for example, Bryant (1992) defines political ecology as an “attempt to understand the political sources, conditions and ramifications of environmental change” (p. 13). Watts defined it as a means “to understand the complex relations between nature and society through a careful analysis of what one might call forms of access and control over resources and their implications for environmental health and sustainable livelihood” (2000: 257). Although there are several definitions, they all depict the difference in interest of various actors

on dealing with environmental problems the fact which lead to unequal cost-benefit sharing among them.

Political ecology draws its origin in early 1970's; however, it became more popular in the late 1980's with the mixture of neo-Malthusian, feminist and movement theory, with the description of power relations on the nature and direction of human-environmental relations in developing countries (Bryant & Bailey, 1997). It was first used by Erick Wolf, author of 'ownership and political ecology' in 1972 to 'signify the study of how power relations mediate human-environmental relations' (Allerta Biersack, 2006, p. 3). Political ecology emerged as a challenge to apolitical ecology theorists who based their arguments on resource scarcity and development changes narratives (Robbins, 2004). Focusing on power relations, conflicts and cultural modernization under a global capitalist economy as key forces, political ecology distinguished itself from cultural ecology which focused on the structures of inequality that mediated human-nature articulations (Ibid). From then, the focus on power relation dominates the large body of post-structuralism political ecology literature (See Bryant & Bailey, 1997).

2.2 Political ecology as a field of research

Political ecology was first used by anthropologists and geographers, however, both in their understanding of environmental changes neglect the role of history as well as Malthusian theories of environmental degradation in explaining those changes (Bryant & Bailey, 1997). It emerged against the narrative provided by political economy writers on resource scarcity and development changes that the world has been facing (Robbins, 2004). These materialistic discourses and narratives separate man from nature, regarding them as a threat and source of environmental degradation (Ibid). According to Biersack (2006), these demographic explanations on environmental changes left out other contributing factors to environmental change and its associated conflicts. The materialistic discourses as well ignore the 'significant influence of political economic forces' to the environmental changes in the third world (Robbins, 2004, p. 11). It was due to these critiques that political ecology was 'born' with the aim of understanding the causes and not the symptoms of the environmental problems, with

the central theme of unequal power relations that mediate human-environmental interaction in the developing countries today (Ibid).

As a research field focusing on environmental changes political ecology was developed with three critical areas of enquiry; “the contextual causes of environmental change, conflict over access, and the political ramifications of environmental change”(Bryant, 1992, p. 13). To understand the changes in the environment, political ecology has extensively examined the appropriate cause of social and environmental change and develops an attempt to integrate the environmental and political forces to mediate those changes (Bryant, 1992). Further attempt has been made to understand the relationship between state policies, interstate relations and global capitalism because it is from those state initiated policies priorities and practices of the state will be revealed (Ibid). The analysis of environmental changes provides clear overview of the growing impact of national and international forces on stimulating those changes. Examples are given by Bassett (1988), Cliffe and Moorsom (1979), and Peters (1984), on how state initiated policies or activities created consequences on the environment. Thus, environmental problems should not be viewed from the activities of those who living adjacent to it, but from the state initiated activities as well.

On the second critical area of political ecology on environmental discourses, Hirsch (1990) and Peluso (1992) examine the local struggle over access rights, determine the constraints and opportunities that farmers and other socially disadvantaged groups face in fight to protect their livelihood sources. Although much of the literature focuses on contemporary conflict over access, some of the writers examine the conflict over access based on historical and colonial perspectives in comparing the past and present scenarios (see Peluso, 1992, 1993; Peters, 1984). Apart from recognizing the importance of history in understanding the contemporary struggle over resource access, Peluso and Peters conclude that such conflict embodies actors from local to international level. These actors have different interests and influence over resources access. As described by Bryant (1992) the study of access over natural resources masks the complex power relations among poor villagers and powerful actors which deprive them access to those resources. However, in order to understanding resource access conflicts

one need to first understand the role that these environmental resources play in the livelihood of the poor (Chambers & Leach, 1989; Hirsch & Lohmann, 1989). Adopting the use of history in analysing the conflict over access to resources act as a useful reminder that these conflict are embedded in the history of human development and it has been shaped by social, political and ecological factors (Bryant, 1992). An appreciation of the history signifies that such conflict bring together actors with diverse political, socio and economic interests. The understanding of such diverse interests is one of integral part of this research.

Environmental changes, socio-economic impact and political processes are the central key in understanding the political ramification of environmental changes in the third world countries (Bryant, 1992). It explores the way environmental change perpetuate the socio-economic inequalities. A number of researchers have examined the emergence of environmental change in Asia, Africa and Latin America exploring the extent environmental change influences socio-economic inequalities and the political processes underlying those changes (See P. M. Blaikie, 1985; Cummings, 1995; Hecht, Anderson, & May, 1988). Although this question of socio-economic impact has been explained differently by different authors, they all emphasize the impact it has to the disadvantaged groups. Furthermore, despite the differences they all have the similar focus on 'livelihood struggle' especially to the third world environmental movements (Redclift, 1987).

The three analytical areas in deed provide the framework of investigating environmental problems and how it should be integrated in the broader context to understand the political ecology in the developing countries environmental studies. The first two critical issues will be used in this thesis to analyze the situation in Usangu plains. Usangu is the area of interest for many actors. It hosts the land suitable for agriculture, livestock keeping and now, for tourism activities. Management of these resources is coupled with the varying interest and power differential from different interest groups. There are also conflicts over access and utilization of natural resources within the communities and from external actors. External agents (donors, conservation agents) lobby the government through funding of different projects in an attempt to solve the ongoing environmental and resource use conflict in the area. Locally, the state

initiated conservation policies, rules and regulations which continue to put local communities at the margin and depriving them from accessing resources. It is from my understanding, that by using these critiques, the hidden politics within the environmental narratives and discourses will be revealed.

2.3 Establishment of political ecology in developing countries

Since its inception, political ecologist has focused much on environmental struggles in the developing Countries (Bryant, 1992). One of the motives was to study the influence of colonization to the management of natural resources in these areas. According to Bryant and Bailey (1997), the Colonial legacy in developing Countries plays a role upon which the state went about managing people and their natural resources under their jurisdiction after the colonial time. The interaction, management, use and control of the natural environment by man were, some until now, under the authority of the state. Taking into account most of the environmental conflicts in developing countries are livelihood based and majority of people are poor, political ecology theory developed focusing on these struggles (Bryant & Bailey, 1997). This focus differentiates the developing countries focus on political ecology from the rest of the world (ibid).

In contrast to Neo-Malthusian theorists who claim human to be the source of environmental degradation (See Goudie, 1993); political ecologists believed that environmental problems in developing Countries cannot be understood in isolation with the political processes and socio-economic inequalities that associate with those changes (Bryant, 1992). Three assumptions underpin their justifications; first, the cost and benefits associated with the environmental degradation are not shared equally among actors, second, this inequality reinforces or reduces existing socio-economic inequalities, and the differential cost and benefits that these actors' bear reflect unequal power relation among them (Bryant & Bailey, 1997). Therefore, suffice is to say, political ecology theory reflects what people do in their lives and how they cope with their livelihood strategies when changes happens (Robbins, 2004). The assumptions given above can help to reveal unequal power relation and complexities surrounding the environmental conflict hence contributing to better management proposition for our

environment. This is well explained by Bryant and Bailey (1997) when pointed that 'the central idea of politicized environment is the recognition that environmental problems cannot be understood in isolation from political and economic context within which they are created' (p.27).

Although political ecologists share similar perspectives with political economy, the former adopt different approaches in its application (Bryant, 1992). Bryant and Bailey(1997) provides five different approaches illustrating how the political ecology has been conducted in the field, namely; specific environmental problems, concept and discourses, regional political ecology, socio-economic characteristics and interest and actors. However these approaches are not mutually exclusive, combination of different approaches may enhance the richness of the information desired. The actor oriented approach appreciate that the environmental problems in third world countries is about the interaction of several actors over environmental resources and that each have their own way of expressing their level of power and interest over resource use and management (Bryant & Bailey, 1997). By the use of actor based approach the interaction of different actors (state, grassroots actors, NGO, and INGO) may be analyzed and their influence to the output revealed.

In contrast to structural political ecologists, post-structural ecologists put emphasis on understanding the politics embedded in the political ecology studies (Walker, 2005). Furthermore, post-structural political ecologists center their discussion in power relations and the accounts of history in analyzing the environmental problems in third world countries (See Bryant & Bailey, 1997). The broad range of political ecology writers today follows this approach. Despite the difference in context, Bassett (1988), Greenberg (2006), Peluso (1992) and Robbins (2004) use history in analyzing the problems relating to resource use. Analyzing different cases mentioned above, depict that, not only the political ecology dominate the third world countries, but it also denote its beginning as the field of research in those areas. However, there are critiques in its application as a research field.

2.4 Critiques of political ecology

Although long established, political ecology theory has been heavily criticised since its inception. Its association with the structural narratives created a great challenge for its growth in the early 1970's (Bryant & Bailey, 1997). The contemporary writers argue that political ecology is less grounded with theory as its root lies between ecologically rooted social science and the principles of political economy (Peets & Watts, 2004). Both of the argument helped to shape the theory and appreciation has to be made on the complex fields of interests that have been managed to be associated in the theory so far in solving third world environmental problem (Bryant & Bailey, 1997).

Furthermore, Moore (1993) argued that Political ecology is 'insufficiently political in nature' (p: 6). He pointed out that the analytical framework that political ecology is using left out two important factors which shape the environmental conflict in the developing countries; the struggle over access and symbolic contestation attached to those resources by local actors. This left property rights and control and access to natural resources ill-defined and not properly negotiated and explained from grass root level (Ibid). However, with the post-structural political ecologists this complexity was negotiated by incorporating into the political ecology debate the role and interest of different actors and their influence over natural resource use and management (Bryant & Bailey, 1997).

Another criticism was raised by Vayda and Walter (1999) that political ecology is having "a priori judgments, theories or biases..." about the importance or even primacy of certain kinds of political factors in their explanation of environmental changes (p. 177). This has led to missing the complexity of factors that might have been the cause of the changes (ibid) and the explanation as to how these factors have become the causes (Peets & Watts, 2004). This attempt to control one critical factor and leaving out another factor was heavily criticised by Commoner and Ehrlich (Enzensberger, 1974). Although Vayda and Walters do not neglect the importance of putting politics first in analysing the environmental problems, they acknowledge that, other factors might have contributed to the problem i.e. natural changes. Their preferred alternative way of going backward to the root of the problem from the present scenario, rejects

the priori judgements that laid forward by most of the political ecologist writers. However, what differs from the two approaches is the scope a researcher would take in analysing the problem at hand, as both ways acknowledge the contribution of history in solving the problem. The difference is on how and to what extent and which factors are going to be taken into account.

Despite all the critiques, political ecology has managed to move from the chains of causal explanations towards understanding the environmental problems through a network of complex factors and its integration with various fields (Robbins, 2004). Taking that into account, the use of political ecology theory in this study will help to understand the complex nature and hidden politics of environmental problems which are embedded in differential interests and unequal power relations in land use changes in Usangu plains.

2.5 Political ecology in protected areas

Since its inception as a research field in the developing Countries, political ecology research occupied the largest part of protected area debate (Zimmerer & Bassett, 2003a). With the move from structural account to post structural account, many researchers criticize the logic behind the western concept of protected areas, also referred to yellow stone model, fences and fines approach or fortress conservation (Beirnat, 1989; Hutton, et al., 2005; Jones, 2006; Neumann, 2003; Robbins, 2006). They criticize the idea that biological diversity can only be conserved in the absence of human influence (except for research and limited tourism activities). Although this narrative has been widely criticized and challenged by various writers, protected areas still remain as the dominant form of conservation areas in many parts of the world.

The impact that protected areas creates on local people has been widely discussed in the literature by various authors (See Brockington, 2002, 2004; Brockington & Igoe, 2006; Ghimire, 1994; Schmidt-Soltau & Brockington, 2004) and this brought up a debate against the fortress conservation and the fences and fines narratives. In general these areas generates tension between “local and global agendas for sustainable development” (Zimmerer & Bassett, 2003b).

While the local communities identify themselves to have developed in harmony with nature for centuries, their actions are criticized by national and global environmental practitioners over their destructive behavior (Brockington, 2002; Heatherington, 2006; Moore, 1993; Robbins, 2006). This has led to exclusion of the local communities for national park expansion to save the environment of these area (cf. Brockington & Igoe, 2006). With the lack of basic needs such as food and shelter, the logical question is whether the third world countries should continue to create protected areas at the expense of local community's immediate needs (Ghimire, 1994). Being in the grassroots positions, often the local communities are in deprived position and are overpowered with the national government, international conservation agencies and donors who determine the conservation policies and regulations. Hence communities' tension against park establishment or expansion is logical.

Protected areas are often associated with tourism development. International conservation agencies and the national government policies emphasize the development of tourism activities in these areas with the hope of economic gains which will benefit the government as well as the communities (cf. URT, 2007). However, the role of national park in support of local livelihood processes of those living adjacent has often been neglected and plans have been always on how to cut down the human interferences in these areas (Ghimire, 1994). These practices not only ignore the customary rights (Fairhead & Leach, 1995; Nepal & Weber, 1995) but also increase the individual and societal livelihood susceptibility by denying them access to resources for their survival (Naughton-Treves, 1997).

Despite the fact that the debate on protected areas has been widely discussed in the literature, most of the literature is focused on the environmental and socio-economic benefits that these areas could provide. They do not focus on the underlying causes of the problem neither the impact (socially, economically, and psychologically) that expansion and establishment of these areas has on the lives of local communities that once depend upon.

2.6 Definition of key concepts

Following the brief analysis of the theory, four themes; participation/scale, power, role of the state and access were selected as central themes guiding the analysis of the findings in this study. These four themes will be elaborated in this section and will guide the analysis of findings.

Participation concept is widely discussed in the literature and different typologies of participation are given (See Agarwal, 2001; Barrow & Murphree, 2001; Mannigel, 2008). However, in political ecology, little has been discussed with regard to participation of the local communities; rather the focus was on the debate of scale (M. D. Turner, 1999). Although the debate on scale has been widely discussed in political economy literature, very little has attracted the attention of political ecologists (Brown & Purcell, 2005). The focus of scale has been on the level of local versus global scale on environmental conflict, with less focus on the different scales within the local level itself (cf. Bryant & Bailey, 1997; Zimmerer & Bassett, 2003c). Ignoring the importance of scale in analyzing the political struggle at the local level may leave out some of the important factors to understand the difference between local and national scale. Various scholars have hunted to fix the predominant scale at which decisions are made and emphasize that, involving different actors at all levels should be central in understanding the human environmental relationships (Brown & Purcell, 2005). The purpose of this study is not on the process of land use changes in Usangu, rather to understand the social processes that shape the changes. Processes such as decision making authority, state power, changing discourse all play a role in the process. Each of these factors (alone or in combination) has played a role and is scaled differently by various actors in the struggle to advance their agenda. In order to put more focus, more emphasize was drawn in how participation was handled in decision making over the land use changes has been scaled through the political struggle. Participation is considered as the crucial factor in nature conservation. Effective participation requires that people are engaged in decision making collectively as a village or community not as an individual (Agarwal, 2001). Although participation seems to be easy to promote and hold the popular belief of achieving the desired

end, in local circumstances the unequal distribution of power between local communities and other interest groups make it more complex to practice.

The concept of participation is closely interlinked with the concept of power. In fact, the structure of power which governs the management decision of protected area creation and expansion has to be seen in the context of power relation in order to be analyzed effectively. As Raik et al., puts it 'The concept of power is central in understanding the processes and structures associated with decentralization of natural resource governance' (Raik, Wilson, & Decker, 2008, p. 730). An unequal power relation between different actors is one of the key facets in understanding the human-environment problem (Bryant & Bailey, 1997). Cox (1987), Escobar (1995), Foucault (1977), Luke (2005) , and Robbins (2004) provide a broad range of literature on political, economic and cultural dimension of power. However, political ecologists understood power "in relation to the ability of an actor to control their own interaction with the environment and interaction of others with the environment"(Bryant & Bailey, 1997, p. 39). The most common example is the state control over access to environmental resources (e.g. land, forest, national parks) by creating rules and regulations determining resources exploitation by certain users (Bryant & Bailey, 1997). The debate of power is often associated to the issue of access to and ownership of resources (Robbins, 2006). Most of the time, the aim is to centralize the economic benefits associated with the exploitation of resources exclusively to one actor (Bryant & Bailey, 1997). Furthermore, it is also associated with unequal cost and benefits sharing among actors, and often the grassroots actors are marginalized and are exposed to sporadic changes associated with the denial of access to resources (Ibid). According to Schmink & Wood (1987) power emphasize the interplay of winning the battle of ideas over another actor by putting the actions of later as 'common good' i.e. the destructive pastoralist activities in Usangu plains compared to environmentally friendly actions of the states. To justify their action over other actors, often the state claim to be acting on public interest on rescuing the degrading environment (cf. Peets & Watts, 2004). Usangu plains represent an ideal case, showing how power is manifested among different level actors (state vs. local communities) in management of resources.

Closely linked to the debate of power is the issue and states role in nature conservation and the legal process associated with. During the colonial time, the colonial government used to control the exploitation and utilization of natural resources. This has been adopted in many developing countries without review during post-colonial period (See Bryant & Bailey, 1997). In most areas (Tanzania for example), the state still retain the highest power in the establishment and management of the protected areas to date. State policies determine the priorities of the government and play a greater role in the interaction between human and the environment (Bryant, 1992). Along with the influence of the state in protected areas management is the role of International Non-Governmental Organizations (like DFID, SIDA) and conservation organizations (such as WWF, IUCN) on policy formulation at the national level in relation to nature conservation so as it may conform to their guidelines and areas of interests. In general, state policies are not developed out of political and economic interests of others; it reflects the ongoing struggle between different actors seeking to influence policy formulation (Bryant, 1992). Most of the time, their interests neither favor conservation priorities of the state nor the needs of the local communities who most of the time bear the outcome cost. As this thesis shows, there is influence of several actors in the decision making relating to protected areas establishment and management. It also depicts the central role of the state in management of protected areas.

Denial access to resources by the local communities as a result of protected areas creation is often linked with the debate of power and the role of the state. The exclusion of local communities from their traditional land has been widely debated in the literature and is associated with the powerlessness of the local communities versus the state decision making power (Raik, et al., 2008). The central argument put forward for excluding the local communities is the environmental effects associated with the collective management of the resources in these areas. According to Redcliff (1987), the collective management render no one responsible for the outcome of collective action, hence justifying the state intervention on management of these resources. However, Robbins (2004) pointed out that 'given the opportunity to negotiate and given proper structure of rules, degradation was by no means the inevitable result of collectively (p. 45). In Usangu plains, for example, access to resources

(especially related to land) shows a complex management system. It provides an understanding of the complex ownership and access policies which determine individual capacity to claim rights to resources. Furthermore it display the contradiction between the management of resources held and owned communally using customary rights and the influence of law reforms which abolish the use of customary rights. It also depicts the role of the state in management of resources for 'public interest' (See URT, 1997). The notion that the government is acting for the public interest is not clearly defined in the land policy and often lives the grassroots actors who normally depend on these resources at marginal state.

2.7 Contribution of this research

The analysis of literature shows that, although political ecology has been widely applied in research studies in the developing countries; little attention has been paid on its contribution to understand the conflicts associated with tourism activities as well as the effect of protected areas expansion. Most of the application has been provided to understand the politics and environmental conflicts associated with protected areas establishment and expansion (Brockington, 2002; Brockington & Igoe, 2006; West & Brockington, 2006; West, Igoe, & Brockington, 2006) without understanding the complex nature of the whole process and the role of different actors in justifying the need for change.

This particular study intend to provide the detailed analysis of the expansion process of Ruaha National Park and the complex relation of actors and their interests, and policies associated in the process. It will go beyond the understanding the environmental conflicts by providing the local level struggle in coping with those changes.

3.0 Research Design and Research Method

Main goal of the research is to investigate the environmental problems and land use changes in Usangu plains. It is geared toward better understanding of local communities' livelihood needs and survival strategies in the period of land use changes. The chapter will be categorized into six stages. First a short literature review focusing on political ecology and the debate of protected areas expansion will be provided. The chapter then provides a detailed discussion of the research context followed by methodology of the research. A detailed description of data collection techniques will be provided in section 3.4. The fifth part will describe the analysis used in the study followed by the self-reflection part. Self-reflection will also be provided as part of the design to acknowledge the self-influence of research and understanding others contribution in the research as well.

3.1 Literature review

Since 1970s, conservation agencies and donors have shaped the environmental agendas all over the world (Zimmerer, 2000). Nation states have increasingly responded to these global agenda by changing the legal systems to facilitate the environmental protection and establishment of protected areas. This change has direct impact on the local land use practices, and more often is associated with human displacement. Human exclusion for protected area creation has caught the attention of many writers (Andrew-Essien & Bisong, 2009; Brockington, 2002; Brockington & Igoe, 2006; Buscher & Dietz, 2005). However, few studies have examined the effect of these protected areas expansion on the livelihood of the people (Schmidt-Soltau & Brockington, 2004). This micro-level approach is critical in understanding the politics of scale in protected areas (Zimmerer, 2000).

Political ecology writers have tried to study the relation of human-environmental relation since its inception, with much more focus in the developing countries. While the focus of structural political ecologists was on the influence of global capitalism and state policies on human-environmental relation at various scale levels in developing countries (P. M. Blaikie & Brookfield, 1987), post-structuralist writers have given much attention on how political process, power and inequalities influence these relations (Bryant & Bailey, 1997; Peets & Watts, 2004).

It is therefore the aim of this study to apply political ecology to analyze the politics of land use changes in Usangu plains. Combination of both, the structural and post-structural approach will be used. This shows the strength of both streams in analyzing human-environmental relation. By using political ecology theory it will be able to realize the complex relation of actors and their negotiation in the land use changes. Figure1 summarize the conceptual model that will guide the analysis of this study.

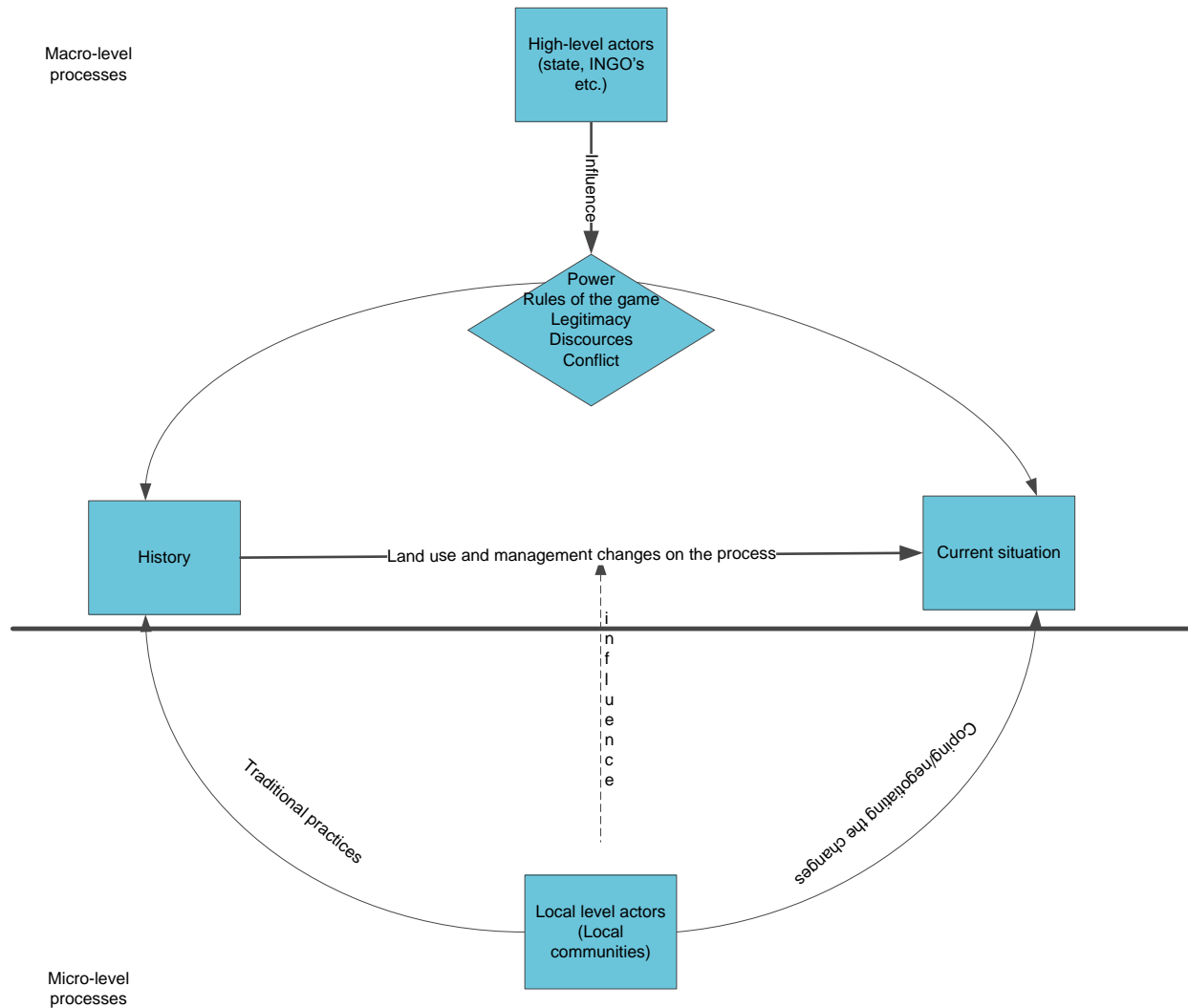


Figure 1: Analytical framework

3.2 Research context

While this research has its roots in a wide range of previous researchers work as described in the theoretical framework, it is a more complex study which tries to bring together and analyze the political ecology of conservation along with the tourism as an alternative form of land use created after protected areas have being expanded. Case study design is chosen as it gives clear “understanding of the decision as a whole, examining the process by which it is made, the participants, the consequences etc” (de Vaus, 2007, p. 220). The essence of a case study, the central tendency among all types of case study, is that it tries to illuminate a decision or set of decisions; why were taken, how they were implemented, and with what result (Schramm, 1971). Using the case study will examine and give clear understanding of not just some of the constituents of the case, but the case as a whole, to get the clear information (Yin, 2009) .

As the case study do not strive for enumerative generalizations of findings (Yin, 2009) selection of the case is equipped with provision of valid and challenging test of the theory (de Vaus, 2007). This research is exploratory case study: focusing on exploring land use changes and livelihood benefits associated with each land use system. Using an explanatory approach, the research methods is designed “to ‘explain’ a phenomenon ... to stipulate a presumed set of causal links about it, or ‘how ‘and ‘why’ something happened” (Yin, 2009, p. 141).

To achieve the desired output, multiple data collection techniques were applied. Respondents were drawn from five villages in Mbarali district. The villages were chosen based on the criteria set for data collection (The process will be explained in detail in section 3.3). The strength of the study is achieved by combining views from different stakeholders (community members, community leaders, district officials, RNP and TTB).

3.3 Research methodology

Although a lot has been done in tourism field, most tourism research was dominated by quantitative enquiry with the main aim of determining the economic contribution of tourism (Jennings, 2001). Recently, tourism research focus more on tourist perception and behavior,

social and sustainability aspects of tourism which increases the justification of qualitative approach (Ibid).

Information for this study was obtained from 79 oral interviews (from 5 villages; Igomelo, Ikoga Mpya, Mahango, Nyeregete and Luhango), four focus group discussions, documents analysis, and field observation during the period of January – February, 2010. Because there is very little published data existing concerning the operation process to evict communities for Ruaha National Park expansion, interviews with the victims, government officials as well as other residents in the area provided a critical source of information concerning the process. It also provided the insights of how local people have responded to the land use changes in their area.

The villages were selected using purposeful sampling technique based on their position in the community, economic activities, and proneness from the eviction process as well as their closeness to the National Park. Interviewees were selected using snow ball sampling for local communities and purposeful sampling for other participants (Mbarali District officials, RNP Warden and TTB Officials).

Though many tourism researchers involve triangulation, there is still a huge debate as to whether the intended meaning of the concept is clearly understood (Oppermann, 2000). Triangulation is broadly defined by Denzin (1978, p. 291) as "the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon". Triangulation was inverted in social science as a research technique describing the use of multiple approaches (Jick, 1979) and/or theories with the aim of helping the researcher to zero in on the information needed (Arskey & Knight, 1999; Singleton, Straights, & Straights, 1993). However, Oppermann (2000) argued that, without clearly having a cross-linkage between varieties of data collection methods, the use of triangulation will be similar to 'multi-methodological approach without cross validation of the result'. The main reason of introducing triangulation in this research is realization that application of single research method in the field may cause research bias (Oppermann, 2000). Hence to reduce that, combinations of data collection methods were employed to overcome the problem. The focus group discussion was used to get broader opinion and ideas from the communities and the outcome was used to structure the questions during one to one interview

sessions. Document analysis and field observation was also employed to compare what has been obtained in the field to what has been documented.

As Blaikie (1991, p. 115) pointed, 'the common theme in discussions of triangulation has been the desire to overcome problems of bias and validity. It has been argued that the deficiencies of any one method can be overcome by combining methods and thus capitalizing on their individual strengths'. However, Fielding and Fielding (1986, p. 33) recommend that, no matter how inter-linkages one may try to make, theories and methods should be combined to intensify and add breadth in our analysis but not for the purpose of attaining 'objective truth'. The same is also assumed in this research.

3.4 Data collection techniques

Primary data

Primary data was collected from the field using different techniques so as to capture all the necessary components of the issue at hand. In-depth interviews, focus group discussion and field observation were the main methods for data collection from different stakeholders. Personal drives to develop and conduct this research was not neglected, as de Vaus pointed out "all the explanations starts from the intuitions and hunches that spring from individuals ideas..." (2007, p. 23). My positionality will be provided in section 3.6. The main target population was the local communities' formerly residing in Usangu wetland area and who utilized the land for their livelihood activities before eviction. In addition, other communities who utilized the land for livelihood activities but not residing in the area were also consulted. Government official from the district council, Tanzania National Park and Tanzania Tourist Board were also interviewed to get more insight and information.

Different methods were chosen to collect primary data because the combination of different approaches increased the confidence and strengthen the completeness of the study. Having more than one method helped to uncover new issues that might lead to the development or modification of existing theories and it also enhanced data interpretability (Arskey & Knight, 1999). However, the process was time consuming and might have spoiled the meaning of data

if not carefully handled. The use of four different methods helped to uncover issues related to land use changes from different stakeholders and added to the credibility of the research.

Secondary data

Both primary and secondary data were collected in this research. According to Maxwell (2005) the use of existing literature provide a better understanding of what the researcher is looking at, make one aware of particular issues, and of new phenomena. Literature findings was used as a secondary data source to compliment what was collected in the field. Analysis from reports, letters as well as the wildlife policy and conservation act of United Republic of Tanzania was consulted. Journal articles, books, and minutes from different meetings and proceedings were also utilized. Collected information provided basis of understanding land use issues form different areas as examples and in particular Usangu case.

Interviews

Semi structured interviews was the most conducive method for gathering information from people in all five villages. In-depth semi structured interviews were conducted to RNP staff, District council officials, Local communities and local village leaders, to get their insight on land use changes in Usangu wetland area and the whole process of decision making. The interviews with district officials and RNP warden provided broader insights about the role of the government policies and power in protected areas expansion and tourism development plans.

Interviews were chosen because they provide better understanding, opinions, values, attitudes, feeling and the things that people have in common (Arskey & Knight, 1999) . As Patton (1990, p. 278) describes the “purpose of the interview is to find out what is the person’s mind..., to access to the perspective of the person being interviewed..., to find out from them things that we cannot directly observe”. Likewise interview was the most source of information in case study research (Yin, 2009). Particularly, semi structured interview was used in this research as it gives room for additional information to be uncovered. All the interviews were tape recorded. Tape recording offered the benefit of preserving the original information from all

interviewed participants and it ensured easy reference of data in case something was not clear in the script.

Focus Group Discussion

Focus group discussion generated a wide range of experiences and opinions from participants which contributed to an understanding of the complex power relation and decision making process during the eviction process. Focus group discussion was also employed to Cooperative society, village leaders and other community members. A total of four focus group discussions were conducted. The key informants were probed to provide information of time line event of land use changes in the area and the process of shifting the land management system. Livelihood benefits were also discussed. The focus groups were conducted in informal settings, two were conducted at the restaurant and two were conducted at village office. A number of participants from each discussion range from five to eight members.

Other techniques

I used field observation to corroborate interviews and focus group discussions and determine the degree to which attitudes and ideas expressed during interviews were reflected in the daily activities of the people living in the area.

I also used data from the district council to obtain information about the local economic activities, population characteristics and land use changes of the area to estimate the change in previous years which were compared with the local resident's estimation of change in those parameters. Finally, I examined media coverage of the environmental degradation and expansion process from the beginning to the end, to gain a sense of how the process was publicized.

3.5 Data analysis and interpretation

The analysis of this research focused on the identification of the relationships between theory and the data collected. Data from recorded source were transcribed and imported to NVivo for analysis. As Motsyn (1985, p. 140) pointed "there is no formula to aid the researcher in

interpretation of qualitative research data amongst the most essential [qualities is] to be able to stand back from the problem and get a new perspective; work with contradictions; explore new relationships; turn the problem around, perhaps even upside down; understand basic motivations and apply ‘what is the meaning of this?’. It was therefore planned in this research to use NVivo, software for qualitative data analysis as it gives the researcher opportunity to uncover the complex phenomenon hidden in the data. Codes were developed to represent recurring themes in the findings. These helped to uncover complex phenomenon hidden in qualitative data. Using NVivo for data analysis helped to speed up and systematize the coding process and provided a more complex but standard way of looking at the relationships of the information. It also helped to develop more conceptual and theoretical thinking of the data (Welsh, 2002). Having the ‘memo’ tool, NVivo helped to build up theory from the data collected. NVivo aided the organization of data efficiently, created ability to link, annotate and create relationships between data (Bringer, Johnston, & Brackenridge, 2004).

However, the use of qualitative software for data analysis was claimed to distant researcher from their data, making the qualitative data being analysed in a quantitative way and it increased the homogeneity of the data (Barry, 1998). NVivo could not replace researcher’s role, the codes, themes and memos were not automatically generated. It only supported researchers own intellectual capacity and guide the process of analysis (Kelle, Prein, & Bird, 1995). Arguably, the wide range of choices available in NVivo returns the control of analysis to the researcher (Bringer, et al., 2004). Generally, NVivo was very useful tool in my data analysis and it helped to link views of different participants in a systematic way.

3.6 Reflexivity

Acknowledging that researcher has the direct and indirect influence towards the information that one is going to get, it is good to take a step back and analyze my own positionality in this study. Ateljevic, Harris, Wilson & Collins (2005) describe reflexivity as looking and reflecting inward upon ourselves as researchers and outward upon those that we research. It is a process of getting entangled in different forces and constraints. To provide the insights of my personal experience, I will reflect upon my experience during data collection in Tanzania.

Studying the land use conflict especially the one associated with protected areas expansion was very difficult than one might think. It brought back sad memories and bitterness to those who were involved in the process. This was because Tanzania, in the period of the past ten years has coupled with the national park expansion fever, which left majority of local communities deprived from local livelihood sources. The process has got attention of several actors; media, politicians, the government, donors, conservation agencies, NGO's and communities. It was a complete challenge for me to work in such kind of environment where tension still prevails among various actors.

Being a Tanzanian and a woman, doing research in rural areas was an advantage and a challenge at the same time. It was an advantage in the sense that, I could easily get support and attention from the villages. By using Swahili language, it was easy to communicate with participants without any problem as most of people in the area have low education level. Being a woman, I gained a lot of trust from communities and most were willing to participate in the process. In all the villages that I visited treatment was the same. However, the challenge was their perception towards me as a researcher and the outcome of my study. They complained to have been receiving a lot of researchers, with piles of papers to fill in, without receiving back the response or progress of what happened with the information they gave them. But after a while they understood and they were able to participate in the study. I was the local outsider in the study area but most of the residents were willing to participate in the study.

My gaze as a researcher might have been influenced by previous studies in wildlife management and MLE which increased my focus on law, natural resources conflicts and communities. Research topic was focused on analyzing the tourism development in Tanzania which more of it is nature based. This gave me the spirit to study the link of ongoing conflicts of protected areas expansion and tourism development in the country.

Another important aspect was the range of participants who were highly giving their views and experiences about the topic. Interviews were targeted to local communities who were affected in one way or another with the expansion process. Information of socio-economic activities in those areas was also gathered during the interviews.

During the time working on this thesis, I have learnt new theoretical knowledge which has deepened my understanding of conservation issues in Tanzania. I am very satisfied with the choice of the topic. I feel happy for the very successful field work, because all of the targeted groups of local communities were willing to provide information which was treated as a useful data in this study.

4.0 Conservation History in Tanzania

This chapter will provide a broad introduction of the research context starting from the country level and narrow down to the research area where this study was conducted. Through the use of political ecology as an analytical tool, it is necessary to look back to the conservation history, land use changes, conservation policies and the country's economy (Tanzania) as this might provide a broader understanding of the case, Usangu.

4.1 Tanzania

4.1.2 A short history

Tanzania state is formed from the former colony of Tanganyika, on the mainland and the former Protectorate of Zanzibar. During the scramble for colonies in Africa many of the European powers intensified in Africa during 1980's. Tanganyika was one of the German East Africa territories in 1885. After the First World War, the British took over the colony under the League of Nations mandate and later as a UN trust territory. By that time Tanganyika had very few political units to fight for their rights. In 1954 Julius Nyerere, among others, he formulated the Tanganyika African Association Union (TANU) an association to fight for their independence. Tanganyika achieved its independence in 1961 and became a republic in 1962. On its side Zanzibar got independence in 1964, followed by the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar the same year. The union formed a new country known as the United Republic of Tanzania in October, 1964.

4.1.3 Geographical position

Tanzania lies south of the equator in East Africa. It is situated between latitude 6° and longitude 35° south and east respectively. It borders on the Indian Ocean to the east, and has land borders with eight countries (See figure 1). The climate is temperate on the coast and semi-temperate inland.



Figure 2: Map of Tanzania
Source: Lonely Planet (2010)

Tanzania is a country with about 945,166km² of land, larger than Kenya and Uganda when combined. It has a total population of about 42 million people (UNICEF, 2010). Administratively Tanzania has 26 regions and more than 120 ethnic groups.

4.1.4 Development and International relations

Tanzania is one of the world's poorest countries. About 14 million people live below the poverty line. Nearly 40% of Tanzania budget rely on external aid, and UK is the largest bilateral donor. Through DFID, UK has provided Tanzania with about £580 million in the last five years for supporting the countries budget (DFID, 2010). Britain is one of the leading investor and trade partner in Tanzania. For the past 11 years Britain has invested about £230million in agriculture and tourism sector in Tanzania (Ibid).

About 24% of Tanzania's land is vested in protected areas which most of them are managed and funded by foreign agencies and international non-governmental organizations who work in collaboration with the international development agencies and Tanzanian state (Levine, 2002). Conservation and development in Tanzania are closely linked since the colonial time. The

approach opted during colonial period¹ was top-down, separating wildlife areas and human settlement. The pattern was similar to what is happening today. The influence of external agencies to conservation since 18th century when International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and other International NGO's assisted Tanzania in creation of protected areas after the gain of independence in 1961 (Levine, 2002). To ensure that the conservation education reaches many Africans, African Leadership Foundation (ALF) was formed with the aim of providing training for African conservation professionals. This was later followed by the establishment of College of African Wildlife Management (CAWM), Mweka with the aim of providing conservation education to wildlife managers who were in former British colonies (Ibid). College programmes were funded by IUCN and World Wildlife Fund (WWF).

Currently there are several international agencies and conservation NGO working in protected areas in Tanzania. For example the GTZ (a Germany Organization) works in Selous game reserve and Serengeti National Park, WWF which is working in Selous game reserve, Udzungwa National Park and Ruaha National Park, African Wildlife Fund (AWF) which works in Kilimanjaro, Arusha, Serengeti and Lake Manyara National Park. All these organizations have substantial power and influence in natural resource management in Tanzania through funding of different projects and activities in and around protected areas.

4.2 Protected areas and conservation in Tanzania

The wildlife conservation in Tanzania dates back during the pre-colonial era. However, the first rules to manage wildlife were enacted during the German colonial rule in 1891 with the main effect of controlling game hunting (Baldus, 2001). It went further with the establishment of the first game reserve in 1905, the area now largely covered by the Selous game reserve. By that time, Tanganyika was famous for its variety of big games and attracted many wealthy game hunters. There were 15 reserves in Tanganyika before the First World War (Baldus, et al., 2001) mostly used for tourist hunting. The tourist hunting dates back in 1946 with the establishment of game controlled areas where professional hunters could hunt trophy animals (URT, 2007).

¹ Detailed elaboration of conservation activities during colonial time will be provided in the next section

Traditionally wildlife have been perceived to be a threat to crops and life of people on one hand and source of food through bush meat hunting and selling of wildlife products, mainly ivory on the other. The colonial rules to some extent recognized the traditional rights and incorporated some of traditional wildlife use in their laws, but with some changes. However, some of these regulations were difficult to be met by local communities such as, the introduction of license and fees and hunting with firearms (Baldus & Siegel, 2001). These initial regulations of protecting wildlife areas increase the central control of wildlife areas and its resources to the government and reduce local user/traditional rights. In addition to that, protected areas continued to be established at the expense of people.

4.2.1 Conservation during colonial time

Conservation in Tanzania has not been a priority before the arrival of Arabs and Europeans in the East African Coast. Local people hunted game animals for food; however, due to their low population number and their crude hunting techniques, they did not pose any threat to the wildlife numbers (Baldus, 2001). Furthermore taboos existed, restricting hunting of certain species or during a certain period of the year. Some of forest places were regarded as 'sacred' and human activities were prohibited in those areas apart from traditional rituals (Gregg, 2005).

The first Wildlife Ordinance dates back in 1896 during the German colonial time when the Imperial governor Hermann von Wissmann signed a decree which says:

I felt obliged to issue this Ordinance in order to conserve wildlife and to avoid that many species become extinct which can be expected for the not all that distant future, if the present conditions prevail We are obliged to think also of future generations and we should secure them the chance to find leisure and recreation in African hunting in future times. I am also planning to create Hunting Reserves in game rich areas in order that wildlife can find there refuge and recovery. In such areas hunting of game will be permitted only with the explicit prior permission of the Imperial Government. Their establishment should also serve science, in order to conserve such game species which have already become rare in East Africa (Baldus, 2001, p. 2).

Many rules and regulation continued to be formulated ever since.

Local pastoral societies suffer the loss of grazing land owing to protected areas creation. Due to their little knowledge of nomadic life of pastoralists, the Germans created reserves in areas where animal density was high and human population was low (Gregg, 2005). This prohibited the dry pasture movement for majority of pastoralists as they were now confined to a small area. Strict rules and regulation also made it difficult for local communities to access resources found in these areas. As Gregg pointed "under colonial conservation laws, the collection of fuel wood became wood theft, the hunting of animals became poaching, and pasturing cattle became grazing trespass"(Gregg, 2005, p. 7) .

Hunting was controlled by the hunting Act of 1911 which stipulated levels and classes of protection by different animal species. It also gave power to the government to close some of the areas to hunting if they had an impression that these areas were under pressure of overhunting (Baldus, 2001). The income generated from these hunting activities was channeled back to these conservation areas through 'retention scheme'² (Ibid). Until 1911 fifteen protected areas were declared 'hunting reserves' and the management was left under the supervision of the local chiefs (Gregg, 2005).

Even after the German colonial time was over, the British retained large part of the conservation laws and gazetted all protected areas that the Germany had created (Gregg, 2005). The British government used the top-down approach in conserving wildlife. Despite the mandate given by United Nations to British in 1946 to 'frame laws relating to the holding or transfer of land and natural resources, to take into account native laws and customs, and to respect the rights and safeguard the interest of both present and future native population' the Britain ignored the customary rights of the natives and expelled local people when creating the reserves (Ibid).

In 1951, the first National Park, Serengeti National Park was created incorporating the Ngorongoro conservation area and Maasai were still living there. In 1954, the National Park ordinance was amended restricting people rights inside the park and restricting cultivation, and

² Retention scheme allows the Reserve to retain 50% of income generated from hunting activities for its management and administration activities.

providing power to the governor to prohibit other activities in the park. In 1959 Serengeti was declared a National Park with no human settlement (Gregg, 2005) separated from NCA where Maasai were left to settle. Their discrimination continues even after being relocated to NCA. In 1974 Maasai were forced to evacuate the two crater areas within the NCA with the claim that they are destroying wildlife and landscape, followed by the ban of agriculture activities the following year (Mowforth & Munt, 2007).

After independence there were three National Parks, Ngorongoro conservation area and six game reserves in Tanzania (Baldus, et al., 2001). During that time protected areas were guided by the famous Arusha Manifesto³ until 1998 where the first wildlife policy of Tanzania was released. The government still have the objective of creating and expanding more protected areas to ensure the protection of biological valuable areas (URT, 2007). The first wildlife policy of Tanzania inherited some of the colonial policies with no change to incorporate the customary rights that communities lost during colonial time (Levine, 2002; Neumann, 1996). Even with the new wildlife policy amendment in 2007, nothing has changed to incorporate that. Communities continue to bear the cost of protected areas creation and rarely benefit from it. Basically, wildlife related benefits are appreciated by the whole nations or few foreign investors, and not local communities, who bear the cost of its creation (Kidegesho, 2008a).

4.2.2 Conservation after independence

After independence, conservation in Tanzania continued to reflect the colonial and political circumstances facing the country. Local participation has been restricted since the colonial period (Gregg, 2005) and it still persist.

To a large extent Tanzania retained the colonial conservation system, adopting the top-down approach in management of its natural resources. According to Gregg (2005) this is because the government wanted to retain the large share of tourism revenues to themselves. After the independence the government has not extensively altered National Parks and wildlife laws, forced relocations continue, wildlife personnel are still trained using western conservation

³ Will be elaborated in section 4.4

practices, and the international conservation organizations still play a major role in creation and management of protected areas.

Tanzania has passed many laws and regulation for management and conservation of natural resources since independence. This include, the Wildlife Conservation Act (1974) and amended in 2009, Ngorongoro Conservation Ordinance (1959), The Natural Resource Ordinance (1952), the Tanzania Wildlife Corporation Establishment Order (1974), and the Forest Ordinance (1957). The wildlife conservation act (2007) serve as the primary law in the management of natural resources in Tanzania. In all the laws local communities are not clearly regarded as stakeholders hence not fully involved in conservation activities. The idea is commonly referred as 'fences and fines' where people are strictly separated from protected areas and regarded as source of resource destruction.

Currently, Tanzania has expanded its protected area network and about 24 % of its total land surface is devoted to protected areas such as National Parks (NP), Game Reserves (GR), Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA) and Game Controlled Areas (GCA), (see figure 2). Out of 24% protected area network, 4.3% is covered with 15 National Parks, 0.88% Ngorongoro conservation area, 12.98% covered by 34 game reserves and 5.54% with 38 game controlled areas. 17% of the protected areas no human settlement is allowed (NP and GR) while 6.4% include areas where people co-exist with wild animals (GCA and NCA)(URT, 2007).

Although studies show that conservation areas have high number of biodiversity, conservation problems remains, and most of protected areas work under very high cost. According to Baldus et al., (2001, p. 1) conservation areas especially in African countries work at very high social, opportunity and defensive cost as it is 'conservation against people' .

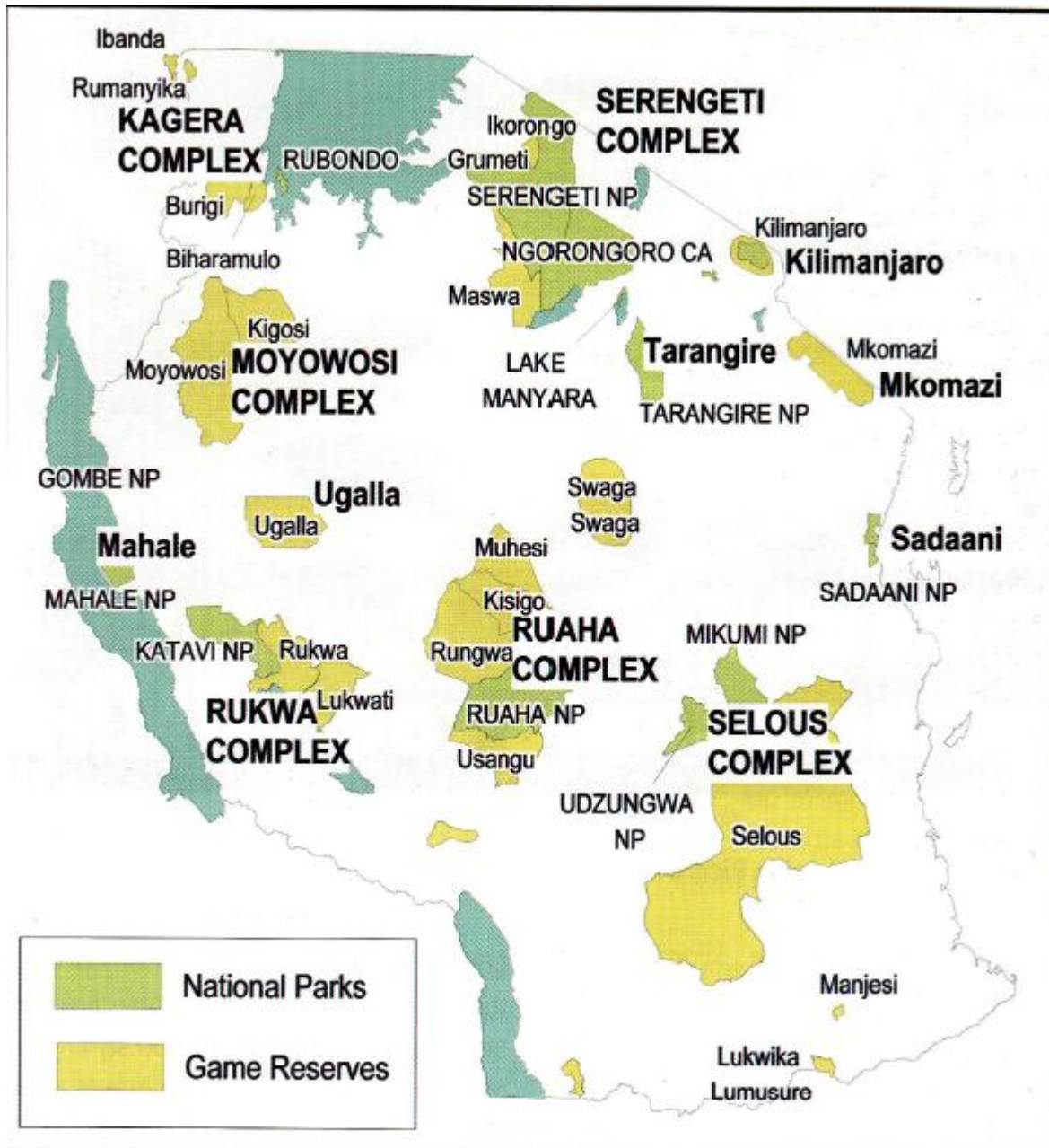


Figure 3: Map of Tanzania showing protected areas
 Source: Tanzania Wildlife (2007)

4.3 Role of different actors in wildlife management

The management structure of wildlife conservation areas in Tanzania is large, ambiguous and bureaucratic (Gregg, 2005). It is divided into three governing bodies; Tanzania National Parks (TANAPA), the Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority (NCAA) and the Wildlife Division (WD) under the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT). The MNRT has ultimate

authority over conservation activities in Tanzania. TANAPA and NCAA are independent parastatals managing the Tanzania National Parks and Ngorongoro Conservation Area respectively. MNRT manage all other wildlife areas apart from National Parks and Ngorongoro conservation area, including game reserves and game controlled areas. MNRT works in collaboration with regional and district government to achieve its goals. It is also responsible in administering and overseeing the hunting block allocation and regulation of licensing of hunting permits.

TANAPA is responsible for administering activities that are conducted in National Parks. In 1989 the government wanted TANAPA to develop its own sources of fund to manage the National Park system by cutting all the subsidies. The main source of fund to TANAPA comes from the user fees that are charged from visitors. Donors contribute to about 20-30% of TANAPA's budget (Gregg, 2005). There are quite a number of rules and regulations that govern the conservation in regards to National Park use, hunting, forest and wildlife conservation, tourism and other natural resource management in Tanzania. This has made TANAPA to develop its own regulations and policies that govern management of resources in National Parks. These laws are often confusing and make it even harder to understand the limit of its application in management of natural resources.

Other actors in management of natural resources in Tanzania include Central government, local governments, and the public as well as other stakeholders. The central governments' role is to provide clear policy and regulatory framework and on wildlife management in Tanzania. It also manages the core wildlife areas and oversees the sector development. The central government also make sure that all essential stakeholders participate in the implementation of the policy (URT, 2007).

According to the Wildlife policy, the role of the local government is to implement the policy. The district councils have to provide extension service and lead other agencies in implementation of wildlife policy within their jurisdiction by formulating and enforcing by-laws, providing technical support and conservation education to villages as well as preparing the conservation and development plans that protect wildlife (URT, 2007, p. 17).

According to Wildlife Policy, the management of wildlife will be decentralized to local government and the local communities as they are potential stakeholders in wildlife conservation (URT, 2007). The public have to support the government in management, development and sustainable utilization of wildlife resources. Local communities living on village lands can benefit from wildlife conservation by setting aside wildlife conservation areas on their land (commonly known as Wildlife Management Areas, WMA) (URT, 2007). These areas have been created in order to grant user rights to local communities by making sure that they benefit as well as taking active part in conservation activities (Wilfred, 2010).

While the role of the private sector is to support the government in conservation, development and sustainable utilization of wildlife resources through investment in wildlife sector, local and international NGO's support the government financially and technically in conservation activities. It also helped the district councils in provision of extension education to local communities with regard to conservation activities (URT, 2007).

4.4 Protected areas policies and regulations

Protected area managers need to comply with a number of national policies including but not limited to the Wildlife Policy, the Land Policy, the Tourism Policy and the Environmental Policy. Each of these policies has particular requirements for conservation, management and how to involve local people in the management of natural resources. Due to high number of conservation policies, rules and regulation, only few which are relevant to the study will be analyzed and link made to the discussion of the result. These include; the Arusha Manifesto, Wildlife Policy, Tourism Policy, Tourism Act, National Park policy and Land policy.

4.4.1 The Arusha Manifesto

During colonial time the German established rules and regulation to control wildlife in Tanganyika colony. The first wildlife policy of Tanzania was enacted in 1998. Prior to that, the Arusha manifesto was used to guide wildlife management after the independence in 1961. The Wildlife policy of 1998 was amended in 2007, with most of it retaining the old policy statements. After the Independence in 1961, the first president Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere issued the Arusha manifesto, marking the importance of wildlife in Tanzania. He said

The survival of our wildlife is a matter of grave concern to all of us in Africa. These wild creatures amid the wild places they inhabit are not only important as a resource of wonder and inspiration but are an integral part of our natural resources and our future livelihood and well-being.

In accepting the trusteeship of our wildlife we solemnly declare that we will do everything in our power to make sure that our children's grand-children will be able to enjoy this rich and precious inheritance.

The conservation of wildlife and wild places calls for specialist knowledge, trained manpower, and money, and we look to other nations to co-operate with us in this important task the success or failure of which not only affects the continent of Africa but the rest of the world as well.

The manifesto was used to guide and manage wildlife resources in Tanzania until 1998 when the first wildlife policy was enacted.

4.4.2 The wildlife policy of Tanzania (1998, 2007)

In Tanzania Wildlife belongs to the State. The State retains ownership of all wildlife in Tanzania and allocates user rights to various interest groups. The policy states 'in recognition of the importance of conservation of biological diversity to the livelihood of mankind, the state will retain the overall ownership of wildlife. Since land and water resources are owned by the state, and that wetland constitute these elements, the State will retain the overall ownership of wetlands to ensure that wetlands continue to provide goods and services to the people and the environment for sustainable development' (URT, 2007, p. 23).

The new wildlife policy provide more clear elaboration of management and conservation of wildlife as well as wetland resource, the component which was not in the old policy. More emphasis is given on sustainable utilization of wildlife and wetland resources for economic development. The new policy also recognizes local communities and district councils as individuals who bear the cost of protected area creation.

The Wildlife Policy goals include expanding conservation activities through increasing the scope of protected areas network, promoting local participation in wildlife conservation, integrating conservation and development, making certain that conservation is profitable and competes with alternate potential land uses, minimizing human-wildlife conflicts, fostering international cooperation and cooperation with neighboring countries to ensure the conservation of trans-boundary ecosystems (URT, 2007). However, most of these are well said in the policy than done on the ground. More often local participation to conservation activities is very minimal, and nothing has been done so far to make sure that tourism compete with other forms of land uses. Local communities are still deprived of their land for conservation activities for the benefit of few wealthy people as explained by communities during the interviews.

Wildlife policy also recognizes the intrinsic value of indigenous knowledge in management of natural resources and it devolves the ownership of Wildlife Management (WMA) to local people. This system shows some parallels to the colonial supervision of game reserves under the local chiefs and local game scouts. The Policy proposes the creation of WMA outside of the core protected areas. The policy emphasize that “more than 70% of Tanzanian people live in village area, where many of the village communities are dependent on wetland and wildlife resources for their livelihood. It is also evident that 6% of the land with wildlife is occupied by the village. In this regard communities’ participation in the management and conservation of wildlife and wetlands resources, and ensuring benefit therefrom is important” (URT, 2007, p. 33). Local communities, through village councils, will manage these WMAs and reap any benefit derived from activities conducted in these areas. However, in reality the process of creating WMA is not clearly known to local communities and no full ownership and control is given to them hence it is not easy to reap benefit from it (Wilfred, 2010).

The policy also emphasize that people must benefit from living adjacent to protected areas. It recognizes that a range of direct and indirect benefits can be derived from wildlife and wetland resources, and that sharing of revenues is an important aspect of conservation (URT, 2007). However, it does not give clear indication as to how these benefits can be accrued by the communities. The policy rather suggest on building better relationships between protected

areas and local communities and educating local communities about the potential value of wildlife as a strategy to ensure that local communities benefit. TANAPA for example, has the extension programme for provision of conservation education to local communities known as Community Conservation Services (CCS). The main role of CCS is to strengthen education and benefit sharing (Dembe & Bergin, n.d.). CCS in many National Parks has managed to reduce the tension that communities hold for protected areas. Generally, even with the new wildlife policy, it is still not clear how the local communities, are going to benefit from wildlife and wetland conservation.

4.4.3 Tourism policy

The first national tourism policy was adopted in 1991 to provide the overall objective and strategies necessary for sustainable tourism development in the country. In 1999 it was amended to accommodate thoughts and ideas from different stakeholders. The policy 'seeks to assist in effort to promote the economy and livelihood of the people, essentially poverty alleviation, through encouraging the development of sustainable and quality tourism that is culturally and socially acceptable, ecologically friendly, environmentally sustainable and economically viable' (URT, 1999b, p. 5).

The policy recognizes land as the major resource on which tourism activities and investment are based. It makes it mandatory that any land allocated for tourism activities must undergo Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) and that priority will be given to projects that benefits local communities and ensure environmental protection.

By recognizing that tourist activities lie within local communities' vicinities, the policy encourages the participation of local communities in tourism activities by educating them about the value of tourism, involving the community in planning, development, and management of tourism. It also emphasize on the fair share of the revenues accrued from tourism activities in these areas.

4.4.4 Tourism Act, N0. 29 of 2008

This is 'An act to provide for institutional framework, administration, regulation, registration and licensing of tourism facilities and activities; and for related matters (URT, 2008, p. 5). The

New tourism acts comprises three acts used previously, which include; Hotels Act, 1963, Tourism Agency Acts ,1969 and Tourism Board Act, 1992 (URT, 2009c).

It also gives the arrangements upon which local residents may benefits from tourism activities. In Part IV (Miscellaneous Provision) section 5 (1), the Act states ‘ The Minister may specify facilities and activities which can only be operated by Tanzanian citizens, and put in place mechanism on how tourism facilities and activities can benefit local communities surrounding the same’. Subsection two of the same section mentioned that no any person who is not Tanzania should engage in ‘serving foreign airline or travel agency, mounting climbing or trekking, tour guide and car rental services’. However, the activities mentioned in reality it is hard to be implemented by local communities. Most of these activities are practiced by medium class citizens, not necessarily coming from the area where these activities take place.

4.4.5 National Park Policy

The National Parks policy provide TANAPA mandate ‘to manage and regulate the use of areas designated as National Parks by such means and measures to preserve the country’s heritage, encompassing natural and cultural resources, both tangible and intangible resource values, including the fauna and flora, wildlife habitat, natural processes, wilderness quality and scenery therein and to provide for human benefit and enjoyment of the same such manner and such means will leave them unpaired for future generations’(TANAPA, 1994).

In order to ensure efficient way of sharing revenues with local communities, TANAPA initiated an outreach programme known as ‘Ujirani mwema’ (Also known as Community Conservation Services) in all the National Parks. The policy states that ‘the programme will be accompanied by mechanisms to ensure that the benefits of conservations are shared with local communities in appropriate ways’. As stipulated in the policy the benefit sharing may include ‘sharing of infrastructural facilities and services, cash or in-kind contributions to local projects, and assistance in setting up sustainable income generating enterprises based on no-park natural resources’. Although CCS was initiated as a way of improving relation between the park and people as well as sharing conservation benefit with the local communities, it does not allow local communities to control of or even access to these benefits (Dembe & Bergin, n.d.).

Consumptive utilization is not allowed within the park boundaries. Hunting activities whether for subsistence or sport hunting, agriculture, grazing and human settlement are not allowed within the park. Furthermore the policy emphasize that 'under no circumstances will TANAPA authorize the collection and transportation of park resources for use or consumption outside of park boundaries' (TANAPA, 1994).

4.4.6 Land policy

Before Tanzania was colonized by the German followed by British, land holding and management was based on the traditions and customs of the tribe of the respective area. The system continued even during the colonial time. However, after the abolition of chieftdom system, land tenure system changed, land remained under the family or clan tenure system.

After independence the system changed and land became the public property under the trusteeship of the president. The statutory law gives the president power to set aside land for public interest or development purposes. However, the public interest is not clearly defined in the law. It is the President's right to acquire land for public interest that has allowed Tanzania to set aside such extensive protected areas. The policy acknowledges that the compensation should be paid for any loss of land acquired for public interest. The compensation should base on the opportunity costs and include ' market value of real property, disturbance allowance, transport allowance, loss of profit or accommodation, cost of acquiring or getting the subject land and any other costs or capital expenditure incurred to the development of the subject land'(URT, 1997, 1999a).

The policy also recognizes land as the limited resource; hence proper registration is required to ensure its management. However, most land acquired by communities or villages through villagization process (operation vijiji) or under customary law is not registered. Even the land allocated for National Parks or other protected areas are not properly registered hence unnecessary encroachment occurred especially at the park borders. The policy calls for immediate registration of land acquired legally to avoid unnecessary problems. It also calls for clear demarcation of village land and specific property resources held in common.

Although the land policy advocates for security of tenure for pastoralist in pastoral land area, it prohibit nomadic system. This is because the free movement of pastoralists with their cattle brings about land ownership and land use conflict with the settled communities (URT, 1997). The policy hence, calls for proper land use and management systems among pastoral societies. However, the policy ignored the fact that pastoral mobility is crucial to the ecological sustainability of pastoral range land.

4.5 Tanzania economy

Agriculture and Tourism are one of the major economy sectors in Tanzania. Tanzania's economy relies heavily on agriculture, which accounts for nearly half of GDP and employs 80% of the workforce (Tulahi & Hingi, 2006). More than 70% of Tanzanians population engages in agriculture. Tourism ranks as the second highest foreign exchange earner after agriculture (Josaphat Kweka, 2004).

4.5.1 Agricultural activities

Agriculture is the backbone of Tanzania's economy. The agricultural economic activities comprise of crops, livestock, forestry and hunting (URT, 2009b). It contributes more than 46% to GDP and more than 60 % to foreign exchange earnings (NSGRP, 2005; Tulahi & Hingi, 2006). Tanzania has more than 44 million hectares suitable for agricultural activities, with the average of 0.2 to 2ha per household (Tulahi & Hingi, 2006). In 1967, agrarian reform through Arusha Declaration was developed with the emphasis of communal ownership of the land, with large farms taken by the government under the state ownership regime (The Arusha Declaration, 1967). Even though the Arusha declaration had good intention of communal ownership of land through villagization process, land tenure was coupled with the fear of relocation, which reduces the investment efforts and conservation initiative to those lands (Tulahi & Hingi, 2006).

Livestock is one of the major agricultural activities in Tanzania, about 60 million hectares of land is suitable for livestock keeping (Tulahi & Hingi, 2006). Livestock contributes to about 6.1% of the country's GDP (Tenga, et al., 2008). Pastoralist in Tanzania is mainly concentrated in the northern part and about 99% of livestock keeping is practiced under traditional mode of cattle keeping i.e. nomadic or semi-nomadic agro-pastoralist mode (URT, 2009b). Livestock is mainly

used for subsistence, wealth store and cash income source (Tenga et al., 2008). Moreover, the livestock products are for domestic market, small portion is exported in form of live animals, hides and skin. The study conducted in 2006 showed that, more than 90% of meat and milk produced from livestock keeping is supplied directly within the country, this reduce the importation of such products as the current supply meet the demand of the consumers (Odhiambo, 2006). Recently, the rate of livestock population increase has amplified to be as similar to the human population rate increase. Out of the 3.7 million households, 3% are pastoralists and 75% of the pastoralist activities include cattle keeping. As most of the livestock are kept under traditional mode, the government is adopting a new strategy to formalize the livestock keepers associations and organizations to ensure that they have formal legal recognition of their traditional grazing rights and incorporate them in the new land act. This will not only secure their ownership rights but also will sustain the benefits that they obtain from the activity (URT, 2009b).

Over 70% of the Tanzanian population lives in rural areas where agriculture and other non-farm related activities act as their main occupation. Apart from providing food, agriculture also serves as a source of raw materials to our local agro-processing industries which in turn provide employment opportunities to substantial number of people. Due to its support to large number of people and its large contribution to the country's economy, it is often referred to as the 'back- bone' of the economy. This was also expressed by the Minister of agriculture during his interview with the media saying 'it is very difficult to talk about economy in Tanzania without talking about agriculture' (Tanzania Invest, 2009).

In 2008, agricultural economic activities grew by 4.6 per cent compared to 4.0 per cent in 2007 (URT, 2009a). Despite the fact that most of those engaged in agriculture remain poor, this does not overrule the fact that agriculture contributes a considerable contribution to GDP, export earnings, employment and raw materials to our industries. Due to the fact majority of people live in rural areas where agriculture is practiced, and more than 80% of Tanzanian population depend on it, therefore agriculture can be a useful tool for fighting against poverty.

4.5.2 Tourism activities

The trend in tourism industry growth and performance in Tanzania has shown that the industry plays a major role in the country's economy since 1990's (Tenga, et al., 2008). Currently, tourism in Tanzania relies on wildlife resources as the prime source of attraction (Sachedina, 2006; Skof, 2008). It is estimated that 90% of tourism depend on wildlife, and tourism is the fastest growing sector of the economy (MNRT, 2010). Tanzania is renowned for its spectacular natural areas such as Serengeti, Kilimanjaro, Ngorongoro Crater and Zanzibar Island and over 120 tribes which offer a good cultural attraction (Josephat Kweka, Morrissey, & Blake, 2003). Yet, despite this unique beauty, Tanzania tourism sector remain relatively untapped, receiving less visitors compare to its neighboring country, Kenya (Tanzania Invest, 2009).

Tourism activities in Tanzania dates back during the colonial time where it was mainly centered its activities for sport hunting. During 1960's the socialist government decided to form the tourism industry foundations with the few state hotels (Salazar, 2009). At that time, tourism activities in Tanzania were promoted through Kenya, which had more refined tourism industry and most of the tourist activities in Tanzania were based in the northern tourist circuit. Due to the socialist ideology that Tanzania had during 1961- 1985, there was very little tourism development in Tanzania. After adopting a free market economy in late 1980's, the investment in protected areas was promoted and development of tourism started (Salazar, 2009).

Tourism attractions in Tanzania are often categorized into three groups; the natural - which is the principal tourist attraction including the National Parks, game reserves, coast and marine parks, cultural-which include archaeological and historical sites and man-made including the museums, arts and crafts (Tanzania Invest, 2009). Tourism in Tanzania earns potential income through game viewing, photographing safaris and game hunting. In 2008 earnings from wildlife increased to TZS 18.4 billion from 7.6 billion in 2007 (URT, 2009a). Tourism contributes to about 16% to GDP and about 25% for the total export earning with direct employment opportunities about 198,557 jobs (Sachedina, 2006; Skof, 2008). Moreover, tourism also contributes largely to socio-economic situations of local communities, especially in places near National Parks where mostly tourism activities take place. Much attention has been paid to community based tourism as a way of bringing economic and social benefit to local

communities to realize the tangible benefit of the land that animal population occurs (Shayo, 2007). However, the economic feasibility of the benefits derived from different forms of wildlife utilization is arguable. As explained by the Leader-Williams, Kayera, & Overton (1996), 'although the fees and taxes are charged from the private and public sector, tourist business users and owners, very little amount reach the local communities'. This made the government in August 1992 to made the policy decision of allocating 25% of hunting fees derived from wildlife utilization to local communities through their respective district councils. This fee is used by respective communities in community development activities like water, education, health, livestock and other community development activities according to their needs (Emerton, Bishop, & Thomas, 2006).

In Tanzania, wildlife-based tourism is concentrated in the northern part of the country mainly due to high infrastructure development and the fact that the most popular tourist areas such as the Serengeti plains, the Ngorongoro crater and the Kilimanjaro Mountain are located in this territory. In 2008 for instance, a total of 1,083,113 tourists visited National Park, with many tourists visited the northern circuit (see table 1). There was an increase in visitation for both domestic and international visitors compared to 2007 due to measure taken by the government in collaboration with the private sector to promote the tourism industry.

Table 1: Tourist visited National Parks in 2008

No.	National Park	Foreigners	Local	Total
1.	Arusha	39,778	43,484	83,262
2.	Gombe	1,096	325	1,421
3.	Katavi	3,161	2,250	5,411
4.	Kilimanjaro	155,275	6,954	162,229
5.	Kitulo	117	413	530
6.	Ziwa Manyara	112,687	46,477	159,164

7.	Mahale	2,888	191	3,079
8.	Mikumi	21,038	17,629	38,667
9.	Mkomazi	433	552	985
10.	Ruaha	21,832	12,355	34,187
11.	Rubondo	721	490	1,211
12.	Saadani	2,482	2,293	4,775
13.	Serengeti	225,606	218,375	443,981
14.	Tarangire	95,760	43,883	139,643
15.	Udzungwa	2,837	1,731	4,568
16.	Ngorongoro			
	Total	685,711	397,402	1,083,113

Source: URT (2009)

Tanzania government view tourism as an important industry for job creation, poverty alleviation and foreign exchange earnings. As a strategy to enhance community livelihood and alleviate poverty, tourism policy review was made in 1999 to cope with the dynamism in tourism industry. The main objective of the new tourism policy is “to assist in efforts to promote the economy and livelihood of the people, essentially poverty alleviation through encouraging the development of sustainable and quality tourism that is culturally and socially acceptable, ecologically friendly, environmentally sustainable and economically viable. It is also sought to market Tanzania as favored tourist destination for touring and adventure in a country renowned for its cultural diversity and numerous beaches” (URT, 1999b). However, the potential of the industry as the main contributor to the economy and population livelihood is yet to be revealed. The question is whether the tourism industry has the potential to compete

with other land use activities like livestock keeping and agriculture which majority of the population depends on and benefit directly from it.

4.6 Displacement and relocation in relation to protected area creation

Land in Tanzania is a public property, with three main types of ownership; reserved, village and general land under three main laws namely the Land Act No. 4 of 1999, Village Land Act No. 5 of 1999 and the Land Disputes Act No. 2 Of 2002. According to the land act of 1999, general land refers to the land public land which is not under reserve or village land, including the earth surface and the surface below the earth, and all substances other than minerals and petroleum forming part of or below the surface, things naturally growing on the land, buildings and other structures permanently affixed to land (URT, 1999a, p. 26). Village land consist of land designated as a village under the land tenure act of 1965, or an area demarcated and approved by law or any administrative authority in power before the enactment of the village land act (URT, 1999c) or any land declared to be a village under section four of the Land Act (URT, 1999a). The reserved land is referred to the land designated or set aside under the provision of conservation and planning rules and regulations (URT, 1999a).

Despite of having clear types of land management systems and laws governing those processes, still there is land conflicts due to lack of policy awareness among different land users and violation of land rights, favoring those who already having stake on land (Tulahi & Hingi, 2006).

To many people land is a valued place where ancestors are buried, a place for their livelihood survival; it is a place where they grow food, where all the settlements are, and a place for leisure. For majority of communities, land is indeed valuable capital and it is the only item they have and can ever sell if they must sell something to earn an income. Basically, most of the land area had been occupied by pastoralist and farmers for their economic activities and other traditional practices (Kamuaro, 1996). However, forced relocation incidence have increased and put the lives of farmers and pastoralists at a threat. In Tanzania particularly, the pastoralist and agriculturalist have been pushed out of their richest grazing and farming land to make room for conservation activities (Kamuaro, 1996). The process of removing pastoralists

from their land started in 1959 when the British colonial government established the Serengeti plains and relocate Maasai communities who were living in the area. In later years, National Parks were created and up until now more National Parks are continue to be created and expanded in size using the same mode of relocating people.

Land loss has been a fundamental theme in East Africa over the last century (Brockington, 2002). In Tanzania it has been a prominent feature especially in the rural areas (Ibid). Historically, the relocation of people has been linked to colonialism in the name of nature conservation strategies, by creating National Parks and game reserves mostly by pressure and ideas from first world conservationists and scientists, blaming the local communities as the destructors of nature, failing to recognize that most of these locals have been staying surrounded with nature and the wildlife for centuries (Mowforth & Munt, 2007). To Deihl, it seems 'ironic...that one of the first step in establishing a National Park is to rid the region of its original caretakers' (Deihl, 1985, p. 37).

Protected areas in Tanzania have been created with nature conservation purposes restricting utilization of resources by local communities living near those areas. Surprisingly as local communities have been excluded, the tourists are granted access to these areas, investors are allowed to build in lodges and other facilities catering for tourists. It is clear from table 2 that much exclusion and displacement of local communities was done for protected area creation in order to conserve wildlife.

Table 2: Timeline displacement of people

Year	Event
Early 1939 to 1945	Maasai who used to Live in Serengeti were shifted to NCA
1960	Establishment of Maasai Mara National Park in Kenya to join Serengeti, blocking the movements of Maasai
1974	People were removed from two craters inside the Ngorongoro conservation area
1975	Cultivation inside NCA was prohibits
1976	Maasai were prohibited to enter oldupai George
1980	Bush collection by Maasai were prohibited
1985	Establishment of structural adjustment policy which prohibit pastoralist use of land for their livestock and given to commercial agricultural investment, mining companies and wildlife conservation expansion in Simanjiro area
1987	Anti-cultivation practices around NCA was operated
1988	Eviction of pastoralist from Mkomazi game reserve
1994	Eviction of people from Saadani National Park
2000	Forceful eviction of peasant from Ikorongo/Grumet game reserve
2006	Forceful eviction of pastoralists and relocation of local communities from Usangu plains, followed by Ruaha National Park expansion

Source: Adopted and modified from (Mowforth & Munt, 2007; Sachedina, 2006)

The timeline series depict eviction of local communities to let the creation of protected areas, and in most cases, without their consent, resulting in an endless tension between local communities and the protected areas authority.

4.7 Conclusion

As the previous evaluation of conservation history of Tanzania has shown, most of it was adopted from the 'western' perspectives of protected areas. The Yellow stone model which was used in United States for creating National Parks in 1870's was adopted and used in Tanzania since the colonial period. Although colonialism ends after independence, Tanzania still retains most of the German and British conservation methods. The series of communities' relocation and displacement is recorded from the colonial time to date. It is surprising to see similar actions are happening regardless of the need to change perception of pristine nature of wilderness and the assumption that human and nature are not compatible.

Attempts have been made by the government to change the policies and regulations governing protected area management, however, there are still remains of old conservation practices. This made Shauri (1999) to question if the 'new' wildlife policy is 'an old wine in the new bottle'. This is because even with the amendment of the 1998 wildlife policy in 2007, little has done to incorporate the criticisms which were raised before. Although the new wildlife policy recognizes the potential of communities in wildlife management hence a call for the creation of WMA's where local communities will manage and reap benefit from it; it is not clear yet from the policy how local communities are going to benefit and it does not give full ownership to local communities in management of these areas.

As most of tourism activities in Tanzania are wildlife based, and are conducted in National Parks, for communities to benefit an extra effort is needed as the primary goal of creating these areas is for nature conservation, tourism comes second.

5.0 Mbarali District and Usangu Plains

5.1 Mbarali district

Mbarali District council is one of the eight councils in Mbeya Region. It was established on 7th July, 2000 by the Local government Act No. 8 of 1982 and amended by Act No. 6 of 1999 and received a certificate of registration on 5th June, 2003 (Mbarali District Council, 2009). The district is easily accessible by road or railway. It is situated along the Dar-Mbeya highway and the Tanzania Zambia Railway (TAZARA). See figure 3.

The district lies between 7° and 9° south of the equator between longitude 33.8° and 35° east of the Greenwich Meridian. The district altitude varies between 1000 to 1800 meters above the sea level (Mbarali District Council, 2009).

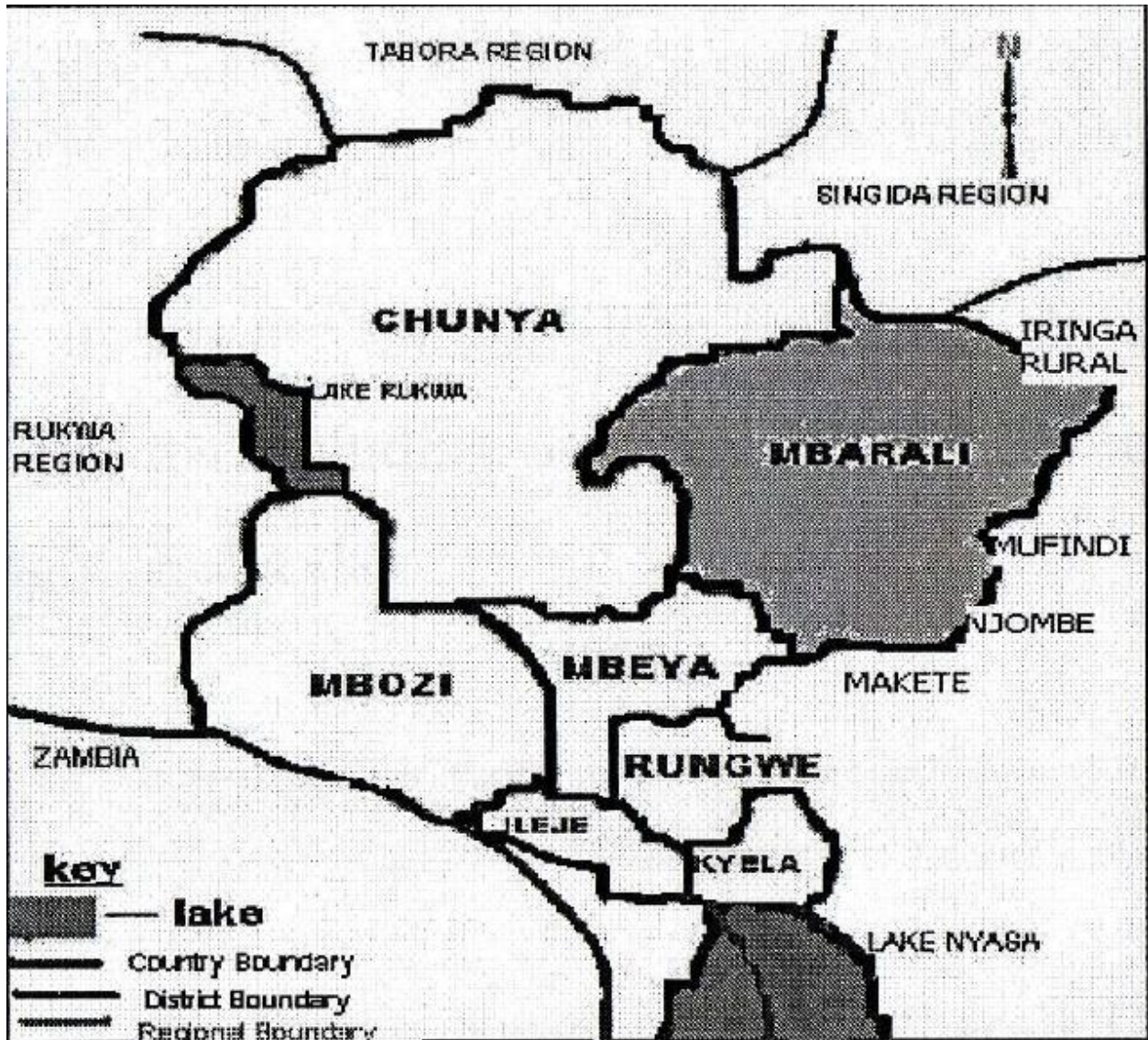


Figure 4: Map showing the Location of Mbarali district
 Source: District Profile, 2009

Major ethnic groups found in the area are the Sangu, Hehe and Bena. There are other small ethnic groups like Sukuma, Wanji, Barbeiq, Maasai, Kinga, Nyakuysa, Baluchi and Gogo in the area (Mbarali District Council, 2009). Before the expansion of Ruaha National Park the district had a total land area of 15,560km² (Ibid). Half of the total land area is covered by forest and savanna woodlands while the rest is covered by flood plains mainly used for paddy production and wetland which was used for grazing (Mbarali District Council, 2009). However, after the expansion of Ruaha National Park, the remaining district area is about 5,000km² (Ibid). According to 2002 census Mbarali district has a population of 234,101 people with a growth

rate of 2.8%. The population is still growing with very little areas for livelihood activities as most part of the land used for grazing and farming is now under the National Park.

Due to the bureaucratic nature of the Tanzania government, the district receives and implements orders from the central government. Even with collection of revenues and taxes from their own premises (like fisheries, wildlife and bee keeping activities), the district has to report to the central government and will receive the share in return for development activities in the district. This has raised the feeling that, the local government has no voice on what should or should not be done in their premises. This is also depicted in the operation that was conducted, the district official claim to have done what they were told to do; it was not in their power to decide (cf. URT, 2007 on the role of local government).

5.2 District economy profile

5.2.1 Agriculture activities

The district economy depends largely on agricultural activities (Mbarali District Council, 2009). It is widely known for having large rice farms owned by the government, cooperatives or by individuals. About 83% of its population is engaged in agriculture (Mbarali District Council, 2009). Other activities like fishing and livestock keeping are conducted as well. Fuel wood is the main source of energy in the district. It is used for commercial as well as for household purposes. Firewood has been used for cooking and for bricks burning (Mbarali District Council, 2009).

5.2.2 Tourism industry status in the district

Currently there is no any tourism activity in the area. However, due to the expansion of Ruaha National Park which took about 10,000km² of the district land, hopes are held for this newly introduced activity in the area. The district has identified several investment opportunities for the tourism business in the area such as tourism support activities in the area, boat safaris in Usangu wetlands, cultural tourism, hunting tourism in the proposed WMA's and eco-tourism activities as the district is also having the historical sites like human foot print and chiefdoms premises (Mbarali District Council, 2009).

However, throughout the interview with communities, it was obvious that tourism business will not serve their needs due to several reasons. First, they have been introduced to agricultural activities for ages. Communities claimed to have seen their forefathers farming and benefit from it. It is the activity which gives them sufficient food and income to manage their lives. Second, as majority of communities in the area lack formal education, they fear their involvement in tourism business. Communities believed that the tourism industry will only serve for those who are educated and who knows what is happening on the ground. Third the benefit of tourism will not reach directly to them, as agriculture and livestock do. Their account are partially true, due to the fact that, tourism activities in Tanzania are most held and controlled by medium and wealthy people in the society and less likely by the local communities where these activities are conducted.

5.2.3 Fishing status in the district

The district has several rivers that pass through the Usangu plains and flowing into the Great Ruaha River. Most of these rivers are potential for irrigation scheme in the area. The potential area used for fishing was Ihefu wetland which is now annexed to Ruaha National Park (Mbarali District Council, 2009). According to National Park policy, consumptive utilization is not allowed inside the park boundaries, hence fishing activities is banned. Currently fishing is done at a very small scale in constructed ponds and in open areas where river passes.

5.3 Usangu plains

Usangu plains are located in south western part of Tanzania. It lies within the administrative boundaries of Mbarali district. They are situated above the TAZARA railway line (see figure 4). Usangu plains consist of eastern and western wetlands. The wetlands cover about 2000km² of the plain (Mtahiko, et al., 2006). The wetlands are important biodiversity area and a refuge and breeding ground for migratory birds. Usangu plain is core for the rice producing in Tanzania (Ibid).

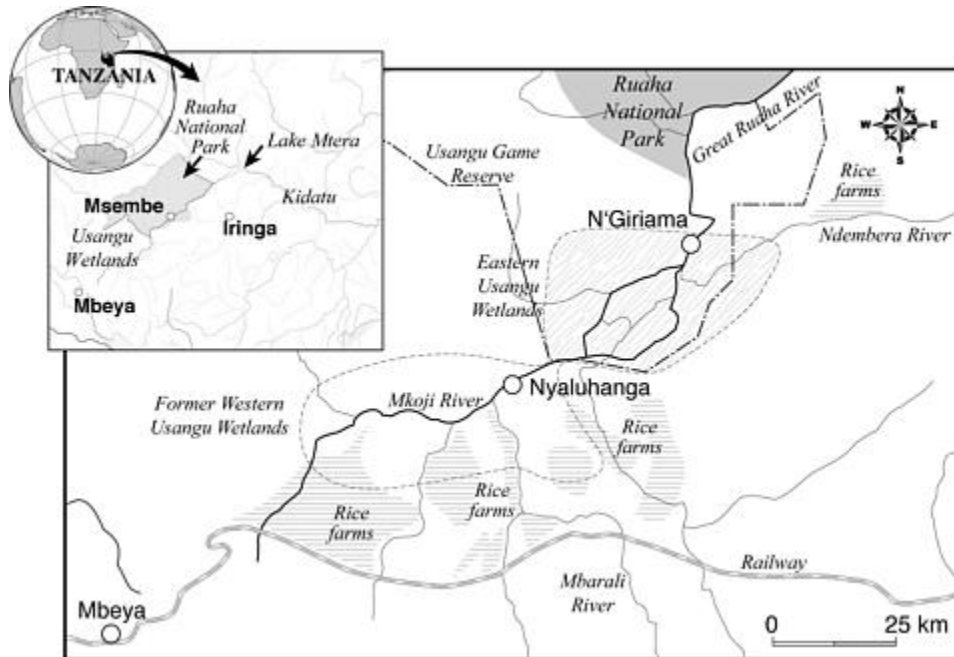


Figure 5: Map of Usangu plains showing the drainage pattern, the traditional ritual place (N'Giriama), and the Great Ruaha River and rice farms

Source: Mtahiko et al (2006)

5.3.1 History

In the 1950s, there were fewer people in Usangu plains, mainly WaSangu. The economy of the indigenous Sangu depends on livestock keeping with a small area for rain fed and irrigated agriculture (Walsh, 2008b). The natural vegetation of the area was largely untouched and the central grassland area (Ihefu catchment included) was flooded every year. In early 1950's there was drought in the northern part of the country, the fact which led to many pastoralist moving from one area to another searching for good pasture land. In the late 1953 a group of Maasai with about 7000 cattle entered Usangu plains and allowed to settle (Charnley, 1997). Later in 1960's second group of people including the Sukuma and others arrived and also settled with their cattle in the area. Today there are more than ten ethnic groups in the area (Mbarali District Council, 2009).

Although the presence of other ethnic groups in the area resulted in some local political conflicts, it was not of significant interest to the nation until in 1990's when the drying up of the great Ruaha River started, due to their seasonal shift in search for good grazing land (Walsh, 2008b). The ecosystem started to change and there was less annual flooding every year for consecutive years. The large number of wild animals has been displaced by both people and

cattle. Due to this alarmed degradation, the government decided to take steps to ensure the survival and regeneration of the area. One of these steps was to immediately evict from Usangu game reserve and nearby areas all the pastoralists for the good of the environment in the area.

5.3.2 Expansion process

The expansion process was widely known in Tanzania. However, the explicit of the information on how the process was handled and the relocation process itself is hard to find. Few studies conducted to envisage the relocation and displacement effect of the operation to pastorals societies (e.g. HAKIARDHI, 2007). The process itself was highly challenged by the media and other activists who were protecting the rights of local communities.

Livestock keeping in Usangu area has been the economy pillar for the traditional Sangu. The claims that the pastoralists were the source of degradation hence the low water flow in the Great Ruaha River was heavily backed up with the government plan to evict these livestock keepers so that the ecosystem of Usangu can be restored. However, there was no scientific justification on how the pastoralists' activities contributed to the low water levels downstream and environmental degradation at the catchment areas prior to the allegations. The process of eviction was violently held as complained by communities and it was top-down implemented with very little involvement of local communities.

The traditional rights over access and utilization of resource by local communities was terminated by the shift of proprietorship and resource user rights from local communities to the state (Kidegesho, 2008b). The operation to evict pastoralists and relocate communities has not only changed the livelihood activities for majority of local communities, but also reduced the administrative area for the district at large.

5.4 Ruaha National Park

Ruaha National Park "Dream of Africa" was the second largest National Park after Serengeti, covering an area of 10,300square kilometers. Currently the Ruaha National Park comprises Usangu game reserve and Ihefu wetland, part of the Usangu basin. The major reason for its

expansion was to secure the Usangu basin as the main catchment areas for Mtera and Kidatu power houses for hydroelectric system in the country (TANAPA, 2008). The annexation of Usangu basin has doubled the size of Ruaha National Park and converts it to be the largest National Park in Tanzania, the second largest wildlife protection area in Africa, after Kafue National Park in Zambia (TANAPA, 2008). Ruaha derived its name from the Great Ruaha River which flows along its stream border creating spectacular gorges (Ibid). Located in central Tanzania, 128km (80miles) west of Iringa town, Ruaha National Park now covers an area of 20,226 square kilometers (TANAPA, 2008).

Ruaha National Park, like other National Parks is a protected area where consumptive utilization of resources within the park boundaries is prohibited. Working under TANAPA guidelines and policies, the park should generate sufficient income to run on its own (at present not all the parks can afford that), and ensure good relation with its neighbors through the Community Conservation Services Programme. Located in the southern circuit tourist zone, RNP has not attracted many tourists to exploit fully its desirable potential. Similarly, due to its recent expansion, it still has conflicts with local communities bordering the park and no any tourism activities have conducted so far. Hence its contribution to the livelihood of communities of Mbarali district is yet to be revealed. Other reasons contributed as well such as, the poor accessibility of the newly expanded area, lack of clearly defined tourist activities to be conducted and other tourism related investment catering for tourists.

5.5 Conclusion

Usangu plain is well known for agriculture and livestock keeping activities. There are potential for tourism activities in the area, however infrastructure facilities is a problem. Geographical terrain in the area makes some of its part inaccessible especially during the rainy season. The biggest challenge also based to the fact that majority of communities in the area rely heavily on agricultural activities and do not see other land use could bring benefits them.

Tourism is a new activity in the area. Since its annexation to Ruaha National Park, there is no any tourism activity that was held in the area. Similarly locals do not know what tourism is and

how they can benefit from it. There is also less investment in relation to tourism activities in the area.

6.0 Land Use Changes in Mbarali District

This chapter present and discuss the findings on history of land use changes and management in Usangu plains and gives the detailed description of the research findings. The findings were integrated with the history of the Usangu plain to get the clear and concise line of land use and management in the area. The discussion of the findings will start on the level of community participation on the operation process to evict pastoralists and other local communities, followed by the description of the loss of access to, and ownership of resources that community had before the eviction. The findings will be compared with the present situation of the communities who were evicted but still leave in the nearby villages. The chapter will be winded up with the concluding remark of tourism as a form of land use and whether it can compete with other forms of land use. The analysis of the interviews and focus group discussion brought together views from local communities, local village leaders, local government leaders and TANAPA. These findings from interview and focus group discussion are strengthened and compared with the one acquired from field observation and document analysis.

In order to discuss all the issues in detail, the themes were categorised into four broad contexts namely; the historical context, level of community participation, access to resources, and competing land uses. These themes are in line with the concepts elaborated in the political ecology theory in chapter two.

6.1 Land use and management history

The history of land use and land management in Mbarali dates back to the time before the eviction was held in 2006, whereby the people of Usangu not only depended on resources available in the area for their livelihood; but owned some of these resources and attached meaning and value to them. They had a sound land use plan; where by part of their land was set aside for agriculture, grazing, ritual activities, and for residence (Charnely, 1997; Franks 2004).

When talking about Mbarali district we are referring to 15,560km² of land with the population of about 234,101 people. However, due to the expansion of Ruaha National Park in 2008, the remaining area for socio-economic activities in the district is about 5,000 km². With more than ten ethnic groups, Mbarali district is well known for rice paddy agriculture (Mbarali District Council, 2009). However, when the land use changes started about ten years ago, everything has changed and most of the people lost their ownership and access to most of their resources. This is because in Tanzania there is no compensation for land (unless for those with the land lease) as all the land belongs to the state (See URT, 1999a, 1999c). Compensated are permanent structures, trees and crops that belong to the owner of the land. The compensation can be monetary, in kind or both (URT, 1999a).

6.1.1 How has Usangu land management changed over time?

Ruaha National Park was established in 1964 with the help of a fund from New York Zoological Society (Walsh, 2006). It was first proposed by George Rushby in 1949 with the aim of protecting people from wildlife (Ibid). Ruaha National Park was upgraded from Rungwa game reserve south which was established in 1951 (Walsh, 2006). The recent expansion of Ruaha National Park was meant to incorporate Usangu game reserve into its borders. According to Walsh (2006) this is another addition to the number of protected areas and continues to support the conservation myth of “fences and fines”.

Usangu game reserve was established in 1998. It covers an area of 4148 km² (URT, 1998). Usangu game reserve was upgraded from Utengule Swamp Game Controlled Area (USGCA) which was established by the colonial government in 1953, covering an area of 500km². The establishment of Usangu game reserve started in 1995 when the Mbeya regional officer presented a proposal which was followed by Ruaha Chief Park Warden’s proposal in 1996 (Walsh, 2006). The main reason for their propositions was to protect the Usangu wetland from environmental degradation which was caused by immigrant livestock keepers. The wetland is also the water source for Mtera dam which is the source of over 60 per cent of the country’s electrical power (Walsh, 2006).

Since early 1990s water shortage started to be noticed by downstream users notably the park rangers and tourist lodge operators in Ruaha National Park (SMUWC, 1999). Although the evidence showed that the river dried up in similar pattern (one to three months consecutively) in the last thirty years, but the pattern was once in every ten years (Ibid). However, the current observation shows that water has been drying up from Mtera dam consecutively from 1992, the problem which caused a serious power rationing in the country starting the year of 1995 (Walsh, 2006). The livestock keepers were blamed to be the source of degradation and low water level downstream, due to their large number of cattle (cf. Kikula, Charnley, & Yanda, 1996). However, many studies, for example by Benjaminsen, Holden, Christian & Espen (2008), SMUWC (2001), Sulle & Neslon (2009) and Walsh (2008a) shows that low water level downstream has not been drying up due to the large number of cattle upstream, hence livestock keepers were unfairly blamed. The key reason given was the expansion of rice farms and the increase of seasonal agricultural activities which divert large amount of water for hence low flow downstream.

There are two sets of interests on justifying the reasons for the game reserve to be established in the area. First, there was a conflicting interest from the tourist hunting versus resident hunting (Walsh, 2006). The government wanted to create the game reserve so that it may earn income from commercial hunting activities. By creating the game reserve it may be able to collect revenues from hunting quota allocated to the hunting company owning the block in the area. It is also recognised that revenues from wildlife hunting provides the highest returns of all forms of wildlife utilisation in Tanzania (Siege, undated), so creating this reserve would add revenue source to the country's economy. When environmental degradation started in and around the Usangu wetland area, they apprehended on this as an ideal opportunity for pressing their justification (Walsh, 2008a).

On the second instance, there was a big outcry for environmental degradation which has been going on in the Usangu catchment area. Following the drying of Great Ruaha River in 1993, it was claimed that, the large amount of cattle in Usangu area, specifically in Ihefu wetland was the source of low water level downstream (Kikula, et al., 1996). This environmentalist

campaign earns greater support from the government and was enough to justify the eviction of pastoralist and thereafter, the establishment of the reserve. It was also used to solicit donors (e.g., DFID) to invest in the project to tackle the on-going resource use conflict in the area, particularly water (Walsh, 2006).

These two sets of interests were backed up by the recommendation from the Institute of Resource Assessment (IRA) which concluded that, the immigrant livestock keepers upstream are the source of degradation of Usangu wetland hence seasonal water shortage at the great Ruaha River (Kikula, et al., 1996). Following the approval of the proposal, Usangu game reserve was established on 24th July, 1998 with a government notice number 436A. The plan to protect Usangu continued and it gained support from the then Prime Minister Hon. Frederick Sumaye who in 2001 pledged to make sure that the Great Ruaha river is restored by 2010 (Walsh, 2008b). Both interests discussed here have been influenced by profit motive and interests of few actors. Due to the lack of transparency and concealment of other contributing factors, the environmental degradation of the catchment area have been (and still is) pressed as the major reason behind the establishment of Usangu game reserve and later its annexation to Ruaha National Park (cf. Walsh, 2008).

Late in 2005, the government announced its aim to enhance environmental protection, especially in water catchment areas (Walsh, 2008b). The plan included the protection of Usangu catchment, which is the water source of Great Ruaha River (GRR). The Great Ruaha River flows into Mtera dam, the main power station for electricity in the country. Due to unsustainable farming and livestock keeping practices conducted by majority of local people in Tanzania, the government through Vice president Office in 2006 issued a strategy *for urgent action on land degradation and water catchment areas in Tanzania*. One of the main actions was to remove the pastoralists and farmers who invaded the wetland areas and other water sources throughout the country (URT, 2006).

In November, 2006 a special operation was held to vacate pastoralists from Usangu catchment areas to Lindi and Pwani regions (Walsh, 2008b). It also involved removing from the plains any one with cattle exceeding 100 in total (Walsh, 2008a). However, the operation did not only

evict pastoralists, it also relocates seven villages (Ikoga, Msangaji, Idunda, Upagama, Sololwambo, Ukwaheli and Kiwale) and two hamlets (Tagawanu and Kapunga), which were near the park boundaries and include the area inside the national park. This special operation was conducted by Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism through its anti-poaching unit in collaboration with the local government authority, Police force, and Tanzania National Parks authority during the period of November, 2006 and January, 2007.

In 2008, upon presidential approval Usangu game reserve and the area covered by relocated villages were officially annexed to Ruaha National Park. According to the National Park Ordinance, Cap. 412 (section 3) the president can declare a National Park with the consent of the Parliament, and he may revise boundaries of the park with the consent of the parliament (URT, 1959). The Ordinance also gives Tanzania National Parks (TANAPA) full authority to control, manage, administer and maintain the national parks in Tanzania.

This decision made Ruaha National Park the largest National Park in Tanzania (TANAPA, 2008), second in Africa after Kafue National Park in Zambia. There is a proposition for further expansion of Ruaha National Park; the plan which aims to take nine more villages into the Ruaha National Park borders. It is not clear when that is going to happen and how it is going to be implemented.

6.1.2 Conclusion

This section provided the broader overview of land use changes in history of Usangu plains and the role played by different actors. Literature has shown that the land use changes the associated political aspects have started long time in Usangu. This indicates that that Usangu is an area of interest for many people; stakeholder analysis and involvement is indispensable to reach consensus on various issues related to Usangu.

Furthermore, the issue of power relation has been noted between different levels of actors. In order to clearly understand power structure, the disparities between policy and practice need to be taken into account and analysed thoroughly. To achieve that, in this study the elaboration goes beyond the case study description and analyse where the decision making power lies by consulting conservation policies and regulations (refer section 4.4).

The weakness of administration and not the legal right or procedures can be clearly seen in the establishment Usangu game reserve as well as its annexation to Ruaha National Park. This is because, even though the president is granted the power to establish the reserve, he does so based on justification presented before him (Refer WCA No. 12 of 1974 part III, section (5) subsection (1) as amended in 2009 part IV (a) section (14) subsection (1) and National Park Ordinance Cap. 412 section (3)). If local communities were not involved in the decision making on upgrading the reserve or any other plan to be taken in their premises, it is the administration fault, and the blame should not be shifted to the president as most of the interviewees were complaining.

Most of the time, the policy/decision makers as well as administrators do not take into account the livelihood of people who once lived, or are living adjacent to protected areas. Policies and Regulations (for example the wildlife policy, Wildlife Conservation Act etc.) continue to weaken the role of communities and their level of participation in the decision making regarding the creation of protected areas. None of the villages wanted the expansion of the National Park the way it was proposed. Although most of the villages agreed to the idea behind it in principal, most of them do not see if this is going to benefit them at all. None of the villages had an idea on how they are going to benefit with the national park, or how the benefit is going to be divided among the communities surrounding the park or between the village council, district council and the central government. This can also be probably due to the lack of clear cost-benefit sharing mechanisms and that is why most of the time benefits flows on one side i.e. the government.

6.2 Level of local participation and influence

In 2006, the government decided to evict the pastoralists from Usangu plain. The operation process to evict pastoralists and relocate some of the villages was explained as violent, harsh and top down by many local communities. There were different local voices noted with regard to the level of participation in the eviction process that took place in Usangu.

Findings revealed that, local communities also recognize the importance of being involved in the decision making with regard to the changes and development that are going to happen at

their place. They want to have a voice in decision making and to see that their ideas are taken in the implementation of what has been agreed.

The first group includes communities who claim not to be involved in the overall eviction. As one of the member complained during the interview;

The operation was not fair. We were just told to leave without being told how we are going to be compensated...they just came for evaluation and provide us with the cheque without our knowledge, we were not consulted

According to some of the community members, they were not fully involved in the process; they only got information on what is going to happen. As one of the interviewee comment;

We were just told to leave the place; we were not involved in the process. I am not sure, you know when the government wants something from you they will only tell you one side of the story, the positive one without telling you what are the benefits and the loss. They do not tell us that we want to relocate you; here are the benefit and losses so that we may judge and give our opinion.

However, there are local communities who claim to be involved in all the process from the beginning. During the interview one of the community members said:

Debate for park expansion started with education to reduce the number of cattle in the area, followed by park expansion education and possibilities of eviction. These were done in phases... We were involved and we had a chance to ask questions.

Despite the fact that some of the local communities complained not to have been involved in the eviction process, majority of local communities as well as district government officials said the exercise involved people at all level though their participation was very low. Their complaints were not heard due to their minority power over the government, as one of the interviewee explain,

When we complained about the eviction, we were just told not to go in the reserve with no further explanation and that it was the government decision. Are we not part of it? But because they are in the upper level there is nothing we can do.

The outcome however bitter forced those who claimed to be involved as well as those who did not out of the place. Regardless of their differences all communities knew that they were leaving the area for Ruaha National Park expansion.

6.2.1 Promises made before the operation

Local communities complained about the promises made to them before the eviction process. Communities felt that the government did not fulfill the promise and some blamed TANAPA for not fulfilling what they have agreed before the process. Furthermore, communities also complain about the unsuitable living conditions in the areas that they are living now. Some of the interviewee for example commented;

In that place there was enough grazing land, and we had farms. They told us to leave the place for wildlife reserve and they told us we were going to be compensated for everything like trees, houses, and we agreed....they promised to build school, give us places to cultivate and everything that we had before...including everything else that we owned.

According to majority of local's the government did not make a follow up to see how they survived after dislocation nor did they provide full infrastructural support to the places that said would be. During the interview one of the local said;

They promised to provide full infrastructural services where we are going including schools, water, roads, and hospital etc...we only found four classrooms, toilets, and a dispensary. No cattle dips, no teachers or facilities at schools, no water, no health workers.... until now there are so many pregnant children in the area, they are not going to schools, these are the things which continue to affect us. You have seen the school, are there students? Dispensary, are there doctors? We do not want to talk things in vain you have to see by yourself....Now we have started our own clinic to care for our children, we will take you there

The feeling of betrayal and abandonment might be the reason why many local communities felt they were not involved or were not part of the decision making process. The decision was already made to evict them; the question for involving locals was on how the process is going to be implemented and how they were going to be compensated on their losses. What have been agreed before to them was not implemented accordingly. Statements below showed that there was a breach of promises made between them and the government hence the feeling of infidelity and resentment among many local communities towards the government.

.....the different came during the implementation of the programme. During the process we agreed on many things but it was the opposite when they came to implement, everything was different, they cheated on us

When they came, they talked to us in a friendly way but during the implementation it was different

People were involved, but when you tell someone to leave the place and go to another area while you have not prepared the place to live, where do you think that person would stay?

To majority of communities this was not done according to what they agreed before, hence the feelings of being neglected, taking into account the prime decision to relocate them was already made against their consent. However, it is important to note the negative view of the communities because it denotes the nature of the centralised government system especially in the third world countries where most of the decisions are made from the top position (compare roles of different actors in management of natural resource in section 4.3).

According to Mbarali DED, Mulungu was one of the places set aside for communities to stay after eviction. It was also provided with all infrastructural facilities (one school, one water well and a dispensary) but most of communities did not choose to go there. He noted,

Mulungu was a place set aside for all the people to settle. Infrastructural facilities like school, local roads, and water were already put in place. About 906 plots were also set aside as residential plots for those who will choose to stay. People did not choose to go; they

stayed at nearby villages except Ikoga which choose to leave as a village. It is an individual decision to choose where to stay and government cannot force them.

Majority of local communities complained that, Mulungu is very interior and far from other villages. Furthermore, it is not logical to imagine that infrastructural facilities provided would be enough for all the people who would choose to go there. Because many local communities chose to stay at areas rather than Mulungu, it has led to the shortage of social facilities in the places they went. Health, education and water facilities are not enough to accommodate all the population.

As explained by the Mbarali DED the only village which chose to move as a village is Ikoga, however, although they have school, water well and dispensary built by TANAPA, school and dispensary are not used due to lack of equipments and professionals as well as toilet for the dispensary.

The only village which moved as a village is Ikoga, in all other villages people are scattered everywhere. This has resulted to overcrowding in the areas they have moved in. We are now planning to see how we can improve the infrastructural facilities in the areas that they are so that it may suffice the need. For Ikoga, we need to provide the professionals so that students could go back to their school. We have also started to build toilets so that the dispensary could also be used.

Although the Mbarali DED seem to be optimistic about taking Ikoga students back to school, the classes are not enough. TANAPA only built four classrooms while the normal primary school classes (in Tanzania) need to be at least seven. Currently some local communities decided to take their children to schools in nearby villages, other children's drop out from schools. Furthermore, the communities have decided to put their own initiatives in health facilities by starting the 'local clinic' so that their children's could get that facility (Plate 1), Otherwise they have to walk several kilometers to get to the nearby health center. It is almost three years now since the eviction was conducted and these services have not been provided to the communities. Most of the communities feel that the government has abandoned them and are

losing hope if at all the government care for the grassroots actors who are poor and highly need its support.



Plate 1: Local clinic at Ikoga village
Source: Field work (2010)

6.2.2 Compensation for eviction

Compensation was given to all the communities who were relocated, and to the district government for the infrastructure facilities they invested in the area. Neither the district government nor the local communities seem to be satisfied with the compensation they received. This may be due to the fact that, the evaluation process was conducted a year before the actual payment was made. Furthermore, it might be due to what is compensated according to the land policy of Tanzania. Most of the local communities used their farms for agriculture, and most of them did not have the land lease, as most of these areas were acquired traditionally. Therefore, if what compensated are permanent structures (trees, houses, and the like) most of them did not have. To many local communities farm means a lot more than the trees or housed found there in.

According to local communities they were not consulted during the evaluation process hence majority got less than what they actually deserved. The evaluators came, fill in the forms and

leave the place without talking or negotiation with the owner. This was explained by some community members as well as the district government officials during the interview as:

The eviction was not fair, the compensation was not enough. I cannot talk much but when you are relocating people you are supposed to pay them what they deserve.

The compensation we got as the council was very minimal, it cannot take back the entire infrastructure facilities we once had. TANAPA on behalf of the central government need to make a follow up of our recommendations in order to reduce overcrowding in villages.

Although some infrastructural facilities were provided to some areas where these communities were relocated they claim that to be part of their compensation. For example in Ikoga Mpya village where TANAPA built four classrooms, toilets, one water well and a dispensary, (Plate 2) some villagers thought it is part of their compensation while others claim it to be a debt that TANAPA owes them as they promised those facilities since when they were living in their previous village, the area which is now inside the national park. One interview respondent explained,

TANAPA built this school through CCS although there are two different explanations; some said it is through CCS some said it is part of our compensation. We do not know what the truth is



Plate 2: From left, School and Dispensary built by TANAPA at Ikoga Mpya

Source: Field work (2010)

Although the eviction process seems to be very painful to the majority of communities even to

those not involved in the exercise, surprisingly, some of community members, mostly the Sangu, support the government decision to remove pastoralists in the area. This might be due to ongoing conflict between the pastoralists and farmers in the area over utilization of resources. Some of the Sangu community members commented,

On the livestock side it was a disturbance, people had so many cattle to the extent that the allocated grazing area was not enough hence more conflict with farmers

The operation was good because the livestock contributed to environmental degradation, to the point that rivers were drying up and water could not reach Mtera dam for electricity production. This was disaster to the government

Before the operation was conducted, the government had two plans to rescue Usangu. The first was to classify Ihefu as a sustainable wetland management area, the plan which was funded by DANIDA and supported by Mbarali district council. The second plan was to expand park boundaries to take Ihefu within park boundaries. As it was not on communities' hands to decide which decision should be implemented, the government chose to implement the second plan of expanding park boundaries. Even at the interviews with district officials it was clear that the decision making power was vetted to the central government and the communities were rarely involved.

6.2.3 Conclusion

This section had provided the overview of how the operation to evict pastoralists and relocate local communities was handled and how the local communities were involved in the process. While the literature recognizes the inclusion of local communities in the decision making as a valuable thing, there is a debate on the degree of including the locals which range from passive participation to self-mobilization (cf. Agarwal, 2001; Barrow & Murphree, 2001; Mannigel, 2008). The idea behind involving local communities is to take on board the opinion of those who are likely to be affected by the intervention (Agarwal, 2001).

Although findings show different levels of participation by local communities while the process was the same this may be due to other factors like closeness to the areas where eviction was

held and the feeling of betrayal which made locals feel that they were not involved. Those who claimed not to be involved in the operation were the ones 'directly' affected by the eviction process, most of them being pastoralists who only removed cattle to Lindi and Pwani but themselves still residing in nearby villages. Another group involved those who were relocated from Ikoga to Ikoga mpya village, while the last group are the people from one of the village called Nyeregete. For people from Nyeregete village the reason may be obvious, because they were not part of the plan as their village was not involved in the eviction process. However, they received a number of people in their area, and this is why it was included in this study.

Communities complained only to be involved by being told what they could benefit from the park expansion and promised better life after the eviction. They were not informed of the consequences of the operation neither the ultimatum of the resources that they once used for livelihood. For the pastoralists and relocated communities, the feeling of resentment made them to claim not to be involved. This is because some of the communities claim to be involved initially, but due to the fact that what have been agreed between them and the government was not implemented the way it was supposed to, they felt that was not participation.

As it was depicted earlier that even among the community members, there were those who appreciate and give full support to the government on their decision to evict pastoralist as well as those who claim to be fully involved with the process along very well. This may be because of their differences and conflict that has been going on for a very long time. Also this may be due to the negative attitude that the Sangu had towards immigrants, especially Sukuma in their area. They regard them as reckless and source of environmental degradation due to their high number of cattle and their nomadic system of cattle keeping.

6.3 Changes in access and ownership to resources

One of the pertinent issues during my field work was the effect of eviction with regards to access, and ownership of resources by local communities. Community members claim to have affected economically from the process. They also claim that now they do not have farms, permanent houses, and the food security is low hence putting their lives at stake. As one of the community member complained:

When we were at Ikoga we had our farms, we were fishing....but after reaching here nothing is going on

Land in Tanzania is owned by the state (URT, 1999a). People are allowed to utilize the land and resource therein under given jurisdiction. Usangu game reserve was under wildlife division management and utilized for tourist hunting. Usangu plains is characterised by a history of land use changes. Communities in Usangu owned large chunks of land for agricultural activities; mostly used for rice paddy. Land use changes within the last ten years have made people to lose their land ownership; most of it was acquired traditionally and used for livelihood activities. Most of the land is taken for conservation activities with the hope of promoting tourist activities.

The land in Usangu was managed by the Sangu community under the chiefdom system, and they had the rights to deny resource access to any other communities who are not from the Sangu tribe (Charnley, 1997). When the first group of Maasai came to Usangu with their cattle in 1950's, the 'tragedy of the common' fear arose among community members and their leaders. Chief Merere, the Sangu leader of that time feared that if few Maasai settled in Usangu, others would follow; bringing more cattle hence the dry pasture shortage may occur (Ibid). Acheson (1975) and McEvoy (1988) (as cited in Charnley, 1997) suggests, even without legal recognition of communal property, exclusion of outsiders is common. However, due to lack of good social level institutions to manage and control resource use in the area, it resulted into environmental degradation.

6.3.1 Loss of grazing land

Ihefu (one of the wetland within Usangu catchment) was perceived to be open access to majority of pastoralists. One of the pastoralists, for example noted,

Ihefu was a very good grazing land; livestock were well nourished even if you had 2000 cattle's you can feed them well, you just have to choose a convenient position for you to put your tent and graze your animals.

Furthermore, pastoralist also consider Ihefu as a very good dry season refuge for cattle grazing and a good breeding ground, and it was not good for agricultural activities as other parts of plain.

We depend on Ihefu for grazing even during the dry season; the cattle will flourish well and produce many calves even if it is sheep. It was not good for farming, only for grazing

Apart from providing good pasture land, Ihefu was also a source of thatching grass for majority of communities. Local communities also used to get firewood, medicine, fish and some other useful materials from the area, and many of these resources served them as valuable livelihood sources. This was also seen by the forest officer when said:

In those areas people had access to basic resources, such as firewood, land, water, grazing land, thatching grasses

Furthermore, communities complained to have lost access to these resources in the areas they were relocated. One of the community members from Ikoga complained

...As a result we have been affected economically. In Ikoga we used to have our own farms and we were also fishing. After reaching here we do not have farms, no water, and no fishing areas. We are completely lost!

After expansion of Ruaha National Park, Ihefu wetland is no longer accessible for local communities. Because the wetland was the prime grazing land, most of the cattle keeping activities in the area are diminishing as the areas remaining are not enough and not as good as Ihefu used to be.

6.3.2 Loss of farming land

Agriculture is the main economic activity in the area. There are now up to 45,000 ha of irrigated land in the Usangu plain. However, more often lands suitable for agricultural activities have been set aside for investment opportunities or for conservation activities (Brockington, 2002). In Usangu for instance, many people complained to have lost their land they have been using for their socio-economic activities as a result of park expansion. Similar complaints were

noted with Maasai communities in northern Tanzania (cf. Nelson, Gardner, Ignoe, & Williams, 2009). During the focus group discussion with the Igomelo cooperative society members claimed,

All the potential areas for livelihood activities have been taken for conservation activities...TANAPA relocate people even those who were outside Ihefu area, they remove people from nearby villages in the areas that most have been using for agricultural activities. If you consider that more than 80% of Tanzanians are farmers, and large percent are not educated we are using a lot of energy to improve our lives. We do not have any other alternative than farming so taking us out completely destroys our lives

Agriculture is one of the leading economic sector in Tanzania (Minde, 2006) in Mbarali district for example, more than 83% of its population depends on agriculture (Mbarali District Council, 2009). Mbarali is one of the unique districts with large estate farms owned individually or in cooperation. People have seen the benefit of agriculture as they have been practicing it for ages. Taking out about 9,000 km² from the total district size of 16,000km² restrain potential areas for livelihood activities. This is noted by one district official when said:

Livelihood activities for locals have been restrained, no farms, no livestock, most of them now have casual jobs

Apart from losing their land, access to other materials such as firewood and thatching grasses became difficult. Communities are now forced to use rice paddy grasses to thatch their houses and buying firewood or charcoal for fuel. They complained '*life has been so difficult*' as they are now depending on casual jobs to get money. Life has changed abruptly and many do not hold any hope for pastoralists in the future (cf. Brockington, 2002)

Herders claimed to have lost their cattle due to lack of pasture land and exposure to diseases in Lindi and Pwani region. The eviction forced them to change their livelihood strategies to cope with the situation. Majority of pastoralists shift to agriculture with the hope of buying new cattle as they get benefit from selling the crops. One of the pastoralists for example, complained,

I do not understand Usangu history. Usangu is a nice place, the leaders are not. Previously I was famous pastoralist, I had 700 cattle's, and then they told us to leave Ihefu. They came directly to me and told me to vacate the place within 10days; it was not possible for me to leave within that time as I had to look for transport and money to take my cows. And it was not less than 1,000, 000 Tsh. (in approx. €550) to hire a car to Lindi. So I decided to take my cows to NARCO for grazing. They followed and capture all my cows from NARCO and drag them to Mambi. They beat me, while I did not even steal those cows, they were mine. They confiscated my cows for seven days. When I went to get my cows I only found 300 cows, the rest were stolen. I had to sell 100 cows to get money to transfer the rest to Lindi, and then I remained with 200 cows. In Lindi my cows started to die due to diseases and change of the environment, I had to exchange my cows with the specie that survive in the area. I am now left with 80 cows only in Lindi, from 700 I once had. This is our government which says that is fighting for the poor. I am asking the government to hear my voice and give me agricultural inputs so that I may also engage myself in agricultural activities, the cows I have now are not enough!

Although they were compensated for the land loss by the government, communities still complain because they cannot find any other land to buy, and sometimes they are so expensive beyond the compensation they got (see section 6.1 for land compensation in Tanzania).

6.3.4 The ban of fishing activities

Usangu wetland is one of the valuable freshwater sources in the country. Apart from offering other services, fishing was one of the common activities done in the area. Fishing in Usangu has been a tradition, a source of food and income to communities in the area for many centuries (Walsh, 1996). Fishing activities started to diminish when Usangu game reserve was first established in 1998. After expanding the National Park boundaries, all fishing activities stopped. This is because all potential fishing points are now inside the National Park borders. Communities complained that banning of fishing activities in the area have changed their lives. As one of the community member explain

In Ihefu we depend on fishing activities, there are big rivers where people used to go fishing. People who had permit used to fish and sell to us. Currently no one is allowed to do so, the area is under TANAPA, there is nothing going on now.

... We were fishing.....but since we arrived here there is nothing. No farms, no water, no fishing...life is very difficult

Communities complained that, fish now have become so difficult to get and sold at a very high price to the extent most of the citizens cannot afford. Those who depend entirely to fishing from major rivers have shifted to agriculture. As one of the interviewee comments, *'there is nothing going on there now, all the fishermen are now engaged themselves in agriculture'*.

The district council officials also claim to have lost income source from fishing and beekeeping activities that were done in the area. One of the local government officials said:

District income sources have been reduced. Areas that have been used for fishing and beekeeping are inside national park. We have made a proposition to the government to allow us continue with those activities but they have not responded

Although what the district official complain about is logical, the decision will remain under the jurisdiction of government if they can grant exclusive rights to Ruaha National Park to consume resources inside the park, the fact which is not the reason of its creation (refer the National Park Policy).

6.3.5 Meaning and appropriation of land

Places can hold very important meaning to the people that lived in the area for long time and developed a sense of symbolic ownership (Alexander, Giesen, & Mast, 2006). The Sangu tribe hold the same for their place. To them, Ihefu was believed to be a source of rain, and hence people were not allowed to live or do any activity in that area. The place was known as NG'riama, assumed its name from the clan which was in control of the place. NG'riama was used for ritual ceremonies, the activity which was practised for centuries by clan leaders. Yearly clan leaders and community elders would visit the places for these activities praying for the rain to come. One of the communities elder noted,

Historically the area was used for traditional rituals and people respected the area very much...the clan leader had the mandate to control all the activities such as hunting and fishing and people believed if they go against it they will be cursed

Each year leaders will join together for these practices. They used to meet few days before the actual practice for prayers and this helped them to be sure that everyone who goes there is spiritually clean. Also there was quarantine for a certain period where no one was allowed to visit or do any activity in the area in preparation for the ritual practice. The situation started to change when other tribes settled in the area. One of the community elder comment,

When Sukuma came to Usangu they did not observe that and they used to take their cattle even in the places that we, as wenyeji have never gone

These ritual practices were very important in managing and controlling resources in Usangu area. Due to their local knowledge of natural resource management, it was easier for them to take part in the management of resources willingly rather than now when the situation has changed to 'carrot and stick' approach (cf. Stathis & Jacobson, 2009).

The ritual practise has now changed after annexing the area to Ruaha National Park. Two main reasons were provided for the death of this traditional ceremony as explained by one of the elders,

Currently we are entering the places not in the manner our forefathers used to, we are now following the rules and this have destroyed our tradition. First, the place used for this practice is now owned by TANAPA this changes the 'freedom' we once had. We need permit to enter the place, the process which take several months before we could be granted a go ahead. This may happen even in times when the actual ritual ceremonies have passed. Second, the rules of getting there have changed as we are now supposed to be escorted by a park ranger who is not part of the cleansed team

Similar to the death of the ritual practice, communities also complain to have lost connection with their forefathers whose graveyards are still on the evicted places. They cannot freely visit the places without permit, which bring similar procedures as to the traditional ceremonies. One

of the interviewee for example, said,

First, you need to go at their post (Ranger post ~ca. 3 hrs drive from the village) with the letter from the village executive officer. They will then forward it to the headquarters (Ruaha HQ ~ca. 5 hrs drive from the post). You have to wait for the reply to be granted the permission. When the process is complete they will give you the letter detailing when to go there (date and time inclusive) and how many people are allowed to visit. There are some criteria's which are difficult to meet. That is only to visit the graveyards, what about the ritual place. They think we are going there to do illegal fishing or poaching that's why they made it so difficult

Majority lost hope of keeping the tradition as now it is coupled with politics and state policies and fear that in the future, the history, culture and tradition of the place will be forgotten.

6.3.6 Conclusion

This section has provided the overview of livelihood losses as well as the death of traditional rituals in Usangu plains. The denied access to resources and the change in ownership by the local communities was also clearly elaborated in this section. This has not only led to the loss of access to grazing land or fishing areas but also the loss of their social-cultural values which cannot be quantified in monetary terms. The symbolic relation that Sangu communities had for their place was very meaningful to them and shaped their daily activities and identification of norms in their tradition. According to Oliver-Smith, (1996) symbolic meaning that people attach to places can be a powerful binding force and play a greater role in identifying community identity and culture. To the Sangu Community, all this has gone due to the expansion of the Ruaha National Park.

One would want to link the environmental degradation in Usangu with Hardin's theory. The explanations given by Charnley (1997) and Kikula et. al., (1996) are some of the examples that compliment Hardin's theory. Hardin (1968) predicts that, the eventual fate of all resources used in 'common' is over exploitation or degradation because access is unrestricted. The government used this narrative to press their justification as to why local communities need to be evicted from Usangu catchment area. Backed up with the study conducted by Charnely and

Kikula, the government narrowed its focus on the cause of environmental degradation and relies on the 'tragedy of the common' debate.

Although the main argument given for environmental degradation occurred in Ihefu was excess number of livestock in the area, the land reform in Tanzania also contributed to the disruption of the communal management system (URT, 1997). Likewise, selfish act of few actors seeking to maximize their economic and political advantage contributed to the debate of environmental concern in the area (cf. Walsh, 2008).

Often the cost of creating Protected Areas is incurred by the local communities. They are often displaced from their own environment, denied access to resources and lost ownership to these resources. Despite examples from different areas that shows local community's ability to co-exist with nature, most of the time the solution is dislocation and deprivation of resources by local communities as source of environmental degradation (Brockington, 2002). Communities are deprived access to grazing land, ritual places, fishing areas and other natural resources they depend upon. And few jobs that are established by the tourism activities can not compensate for the livelihood that is lost in the process.

Grazing land has been a problem; in some of the villages the allocated grazing land can no longer sustain the livestock number available. Even though the number of livestock has been reduced in area, generally the burden is shifted to village land, where many pastoralists took their remaining cattle. The areas set aside for grazing by village, now are used for settlement by these 'new comers'. This situation put livestock and farming activities at stake. Although people have reduced the number of cattle to Lindi and Pwani regions, they are still living in the area and keep some of the cattle for their day to day needs like milk, meat, for farming activities and as income reserved in times of need. These animals are kept in the areas that they have moved in now, most in the nearby villages which had land use plan.

Apart from the fact that both pastoral and farming communities were relocated, the effect is highly felt by many of the pastoralist's communities. This is because most of the farmers had plots in the rice irrigation schemes which are cooperatively or state owned. Generally, loss of access to these materials put the lives of majority in danger, and some do not hold hope for

pastoralist's activities in future. The feeling of marginalization and loss of livelihood source creates tension among communities and park authorities (cf. Andrew-Essien & Bisong, 2009). Local communities in Usangu area felt that the expansion of the National Park put their livelihood activities at a vulnerable state. Due to this marginalisation local communities feel that the government prioritise the lives of animals over their lives. Furthermore the Kilimo kwanza resolution has been violated, if the household will not have sufficient food, the crisis will occur, and this is against government goals which put an emphasis on the importance of agriculture.

However, despite the changes findings revealed that most of the people who lost their land and access to other resources develop a coping strategy against these changes. The coping mechanism includes shifting to agricultural activities for those who were pastoralist. This can be attributed to two main reasons. First, majority of pastoralists lost their cattle during the operation to remove cattle from Usangu plains and now it is difficult to get new ones as they are sold at a very high price and majority of former pastoralists currently do not have reliable income source. Second, as majority of pastoralists choose to remove only cattle while they remained in the nearby villages, it is hard for them to keep cattle in this area due to few grazing ground left.

The second coping strategy was to engage in casual labour activities, mainly for both, former pastoralists and farmers. This is because majority of the local communities lost farming land hence in order to survive they have to do day to day jobs to earn income for living. This reinforces the arguments by Bryant and Bailey (1997), that often the marginalized actors will find a way to adopt strategies which will minimise any adverse effect from them while at the same time prevent the conflict with powerful actors.

6.4 Tourism as alternative livelihood source in Usangu

Tourism activity in Usangu area is relatively new practice. Before expansion of the National Park in 2008, local communities used to see tourists passing the village entering the National Park at a certain period of year. Local people did not know by that time, some until now what was their reason of going there and kind of activities they are going to do. Furthermore, they

do not know if those activities can bring any benefits to local communities. Information sharing regarding what is happening is very low hence most of them are not aware of the activities. This was explained by local communities during interview when said,

I know very little about tourism. I used to see tourists come to visit the place. I do not know if there is any benefit, as you know the main activity in this area is agriculture. What I know is that, tourists normally come to see animals in the parks, I cannot explain further.

I cannot talk about tourism because I do not know what it means, do not know its benefit either

For communities we are not informed about tourism activities, it is hard to explain... Although we see from reports tourism activities, for a common citizen it is hard to understand

As many other national parks, the main use of the land in protected areas is non-consumptive, tourism activities being one of them. Tourism activities often seem to have conflict with other land uses as it is associated with banned of other activities or denied access to resources that communities used to get in the area where now tourism activities are to be conducted. Communities still hold doubts if tourism can bring benefits in the area more than the usual agricultural activities. As farmers in the area explained,

It is still very difficult and I do not understand where the boundary of TANAPA ends I cannot say that I support tourism while I have never seen any benefit from it. I cannot compare it with benefits I get when farming, I cannot compare it! Tourism is for people in the upper level, how is it going to benefit a low level person like me?

Talking about tourism benefits, it was too early for communities to realise as the area was just recently (2 years ago) annexed to the National Park and no any activity has been conducted so far.

On their side, Ruaha National Park said there are so many challenges when it comes to the introducing tourism activities in the area. First, they did not have the General Management Plan (GMP) of the park hence it was difficult to define what the priorities are. Accessibility in

the area is also a challenge; most of the roads are not passable throughout the year. Moreover, there is a need to identify tourism related activities, mostly the one which will suit the terrain of the place. Likewise, the situation is not yet calm; people are still angry, boundaries issues are not yet resolved (RNP Park Warden, Personal communication, January 28, 2010).

Furthermore the Park warden narrate that, unlike Wildlife division, TANAPA does not have a revenue sharing distribution policy of allocating part of their accrued revenue back to the communities bordering the National Parks. They only support communities with development activities through Community Conservation Services (CCS). Through CCS, TANAPA supports communities' in development activities such as water, school, road or health related projects. Furthermore RNP believed that if all the planned activities in GMP are going to be conducted and the area become accessible throughout the year, that's when you can start talking about involving locals as they will see it happening in their area (Personal Communication, January 28, 2010).

6.4.1 Tourism as form of land use

The wildlife policy is facing a major challenge of making wildlife conservation activities as a form of land uses which will compete with other forms, especially in village communities (URT, 2007). Many local communities do not see tourism could provide direct benefit to them as other land uses do. It is for the public and government benefit. None of these would help them in their daily life. As one farmer commented,

Tourism can bring public benefit, but it is very difficult to bring individual benefits. To my knowledge, for example since I was born I found my father farming, I know the importance of farming and its benefits. This is why when you ask me for tourism activities, I still hold doubts. The money for tourism activities has a long process, until it reaches to the district that is when it will indirectly touch me, it is not a quick process. What if I get a problem now, I would be dead while the government has money to help me, but it cannot come directly to me. I strongly say that only agriculture can brings benefit and development to the community. But for public benefit, I agree that tourism can contribute, for example TANAPA have built schools through 'ujirani mwema'. We also extend our appreciation to the

government because now we can get electricity without any problem.

As the community is not one entity, the difference was also reflected in their opinion about tourism benefits. Some are happy to see that tourism is going to be promoted in their areas and some are completely against it and do not see its importance in their area. Communities who are happy to see tourism promoted in their areas commented,

There is a lot of potential for tourism activities, hence much benefit, and in some places TANAPA built schools so more is yet to come if tourism activities will be promoted

We will start benefiting from tourism activities when the tourists start to visit our areas. They have not started now, we have not seen the benefit, but when they start, we hope that we are going to benefit. When tourism grows, we have heard that there is a grant which we hear that remains in the district after collecting all the revenue. We have heard that sometimes they can build school for us, when they start that, then we can benefit.

This shows that some community members hold hopes for tourism growth in their area and they also know how they are going to benefit from those activities. Other local community members are totally against tourism and that it will benefit neither individuals nor the village. They claim tourism to be good only for educated people and the government who knows what is going on. One of the interviewee for example, comment,

I have not seen the outcome of tourism.... We know the government is benefiting from it but for individual person it is difficult

However, there are some of the local communities who do not know if they can benefit at all. One of the community members for example explained,

Honestly, I do not know if we can benefit from tourism activities

Majority of people in Usangu wants to see agriculture promoted in the area and not tourism. They grow up seeing their parents farming; there is nothing which can bring more benefit to them than that. Hopes were for livestock keeping activities as Usangu also provide good pasture land for cattle. However, since the operation in 2006, hopes for pastoralist activities in

the area is fading. Also, as no fishing activities are conducted, as all major rivers are inside the national park, much hope is given back to agricultural activities. Tourism to them will serve as an addition from what they are going to get from agriculture.

6.4.2 Conclusion

Tanzania is highly promoting its tourism industry and currently much effort is on the southern circuit tourist zone. As the main focus, Tanzania Tourist Board (TTB) is striving for high quality tourism that generates high income per visit with less environmental effect. Ruaha National Park is sought to be one of the ideal place to accomplish that. Unfortunately, due to the poor infrastructural facilities, Ruaha National Park has attracted very few visitors so far. There are also few tourists' facilities; hence more investment in the area is required to increase the number. Ruaha National Park is striving hard to increase tourism investment in the area so the tourism will grow and so that communities would also benefit.

Tourism provides indirect and less tangible benefits rather than individual benefits (Leader-Williams, et al., 1996). This was also the case with many communities in Usangu, when expressing their opinion on land uses benefits. To majority of communities, agriculture holds more value than tourism activities. This is because when it comes to earning income from the protected areas activities, often the local communities are at the margin. Most of the investments required in order to do business in or around the PA's requires one to have large sum of money. Second, the rules and procedures to be followed are very complex; to many communities these are hectic and time consuming processes. This is why most local communities refer tourism as a business which will benefit only the educated, wealthy class and the government. It is hard to foresee the future and conclude that tourism will be the best alternative income source to Usangu communities, and that it will offset the costs of its creation. However, if infrastructural facilities are going to be improved and communities get involved in park related activities, their negative conceptions may slowly diminish.

Findings revealed that tourism activities for the people in Usangu will contribute very little to the livelihood of local communities. Majority of local communities have benefited much from agriculture and livestock keeping for years. They have seen their fathers and forefathers

farming and keep cattle and develop in their lives out of it. Communities still hold doubts if it would be able to compete with other land uses. However, some of the community members were positive towards tourism contribution to accessibility of the area (transport and communication) and the community development projects (school, dispensary, water) but little to the contribution to the individual life standard and livelihood income. They had a feeling that tourism contributes more to general public activities as compared to individual benefit.

Furthermore the analysis shows that for the local government tourism business would add an extra income source for the district, hence it will contribute to the development activities in the area. This was also thought positively by the business people in the area. Although their business is in very small scale if not local scale, most of them hoped that if tourism activities will flourish, so do their business. However, this group comprise a very small percent in the interviews as well as community.

7.0 Discussion, Conclusion and Recommendation

This thesis aimed at examining the political ecology of land use changes and its associated environmental conflict in Usangu plains. To understand that, historical analysis of land use changes in Usangu plains was done within the course of time. This was done in order to understand the claims put to pastoralists that they are the destroyers of environment and the source of destruction at catchment areas in Usangu plains. Second was to analyze the extent to which the eviction to remove pastoralist and relocation of other local communities had affected the livelihood of communities living around the area. This research focused on five villages (Ikoga Mpya, Mahango, Nyeregete, Igomelo and Luhango) which consisted of pastoralist, agriculturalist and agro-pastoralist communities. These villages were either bordered with national park since its creation in 1964, or due to the expansion the national park borders.

This study revealed the involvement of several actors' (directly or indirectly) behind the process of eviction pastoralist and relocation some of the villages. Some of the actors supported the process while others were against. The case study also found that, loss of access and ownership to be the key element most local communities complained to have lost in the process of the land use changes. With that remark, I recognized that, it was difficult to satisfy local communities for any kind of compensation with regard to what they have lost especially for resources saved as a socio-economic source.

The following chapter will discuss the main findings of this study and also evaluate the contribution of tourism as a way towards development of conservation in protected areas.

7.1 Conservation and displacement

The findings of this research illuminate the idea that, the 'yellow stone' model still dominates the establishment of protected areas in Tanzania. Displacement and marginalisation of local communities for protected areas establishment and expansion still persist, and local communities continue to bear the burden. The government and the management authority of protected areas still retain the central position of decision making, and are the ones sought to be capable of managing the network of protected areas due to the notion that they have good

conservation practices than local communities. The expansion of Ruaha National Park completely excluded local communities of the nearby villages and from using Ihefu as a grazing land. In Usangu plains this exclusionist approach resulted into the loss of access to natural assets (grazing land, firewood, fishing ground) on which local communities depended. Similar process has been noted also by Brockington (2002; 2004) as well as Brockington and Igoe (2006) at Mkomazi game reserve.

The world has been experiencing the increase of protected areas since 1980s (Brockington, 2004). Displacement and marginalisation of local communities for protected areas conservation has dominated the politics of protected areas in the last two decades (Brockington & Igoe, 2006). These areas often exclude or evict local communities from their land, but do not often assess the social impacts associated with this displacement (Schmidt-Soltau & Brockington, 2004).

In Usangu, the cost (social and economic) that the communities incurred are yet to be set off by tourism revenues or any other compensation programme. There is no tourist investment in the area, neither any tourist activity conducted in the area since eviction. Furthermore, even if communities are going to be involved in tourism activities and revenue sharing mechanisms, there are too many people involved in the eviction and their losses are too great to be replaced by tourism revenues that are going to be generated.

The effects caused by displacement are often distributed unequally in the communities, and often the least powerful people are the ones experiencing the misfortune the most (Brockington, 2004). The failure of the local communities to resist eviction or to claim for adequate compensation for their losses, displays the power of fortress conservation and weakness of the local resistance (Brockington, 2004). The fortress conservation assumed that, trade-offs existed between conservation and development (Jones, 2006), and that communities are homogenous with similar interest of saving wildlife forgetting that all these narrative cannot be treated similar. In Usangu, the differences were clearly depicted and reasons elaborated (see section 6.3). It would not be the same even if communities are going

to be helped with development projects; the gains would not match the loss of livelihood sources that people used to have access and ownership to.

The crucial question that we need to ask ourselves is 'Are we conserving or protecting? And for whose benefit? Protection is not the only way of saving wildlife but through conservation, maybe we need to rethink what conservation is and analyse its achievements so far in our protected areas. Furthermore, nature knows no borders; it is high time we integrate the ecological and social factors in managing our resources if we are to save them for the next generation.

7.2 The role of conflicts

Although the study did not intend to focus on conflicts over natural resources in Usangu plains, it only used the resource use conflicts and analyse its contribution in shaping government decision to expand the national park.

The intensity and dimensions of conflicts over access to natural resources vary from place to place (Kajembe et al., 2003). People all over the world compete over these resources to enhance their livelihood (Kelly et al., 1997). In Usangu plains, there has been an on-going resource use conflict among its users (see Kajembe et al. 2003; Frank et al., 2004 ;). Most of these conflicts are based on ethnic background (Sukuma vs. Maasai), main economic activities (farmers vs. pastoralists) as well as between local communities and the state (subsistence vs. commercial, protection vs. conservation)

Divisions that existed within the community with regard to ethnicity and economic activities in Usangu area have shaped the way land use changes and negotiations have been handled in the area (see section 6.2 and 6.3). There has been a long history of conflicts among the Sukuma, Maasai and the indigenous Sangu over resource use. Sangu are more engaged themselves with farming activities while the Sukuma and Maasai are livestock keepers. Sangu people used to regard immigrant livestock keepers especially the Sukuma as reckless, and source of environmental degradation due to their nomadic style of cattle keeping and 'slash and burn' agricultural practices that they are engaged with. The culture of Sukuma of keeping many

cattle has been observed as one of the factors for hostility among these different ethnic groups, and also has been complained to be the source of conflicts between the farmers and herders (see section 6.2.2; see also Kajembe et al., 2003). This is why most of the Sangu communities felt relieved after eviction of pastoralists from the area.

There have been also conflicts between the local communities and the state over the use of resources in the area. This conflict is shaped in subsistence vs. commercial resource use. With the creation of the Usangu game reserve, pastoralists were deprived from grazing land, as well as denial of access to subsistence hunting by local communities. This confrontation between local communities and the government has led to a number of administration issues in Usangu plains (cf. Kajembe et al., 2003). This on-going conflict shaped the way that government (although it is one of the competing user) uses its power and act on the 'public interests' to rescue the environment. The government assumed that land and water resources in Usangu plains are 'open access resources' and the only way to effectively manage is by intervening and exercise its power by creating the reserve. However, the government overlooked the fact that Usangu wetland area had a management regime which was responsible for its supervision and control. As previously mentioned in section 6.5.3 (see also Charnely, 1997), the Sangu community under the chiefdom system managed to control the area for quite a number of years before land reform started and disrupt the customary land tenure system in Tanzania (see also the Land Policy, 1997).

7.3 Political ecology

By using political ecology theory, the complex interplay of powers and interests of different actors in shaping the way the decisions are made with regard to protected area creation and expansion have been revealed. Key themes selected, power, access, scale/participation and the role of the state provided the insight of political ecology and its application in protected areas. The following section discusses the main findings in relation to political ecology theory.

Like any other national park, in Ruaha National Park there is no local community access to fishing, firewood collection, farming or grazing. This denial of access to resources has been the source of on-going hostility between local communities and park authority, not only in Ruaha.

This is because, majority of local communities felt that they are the ones being marginalised and denied access to essential resources for their livelihood. Controlling and denying access to resources by local communities has been emphasized by protected area authorities for nature conservation purposes, and rejecting the reality that local communities have been in charge of managing these areas over the past decades. Hence categorisation of their acts as environmental threat had increased the anger towards conservation authorities who did not show appreciation to their local conservation initiatives. Due to the armed control that govern most of these areas, often local communities lost the battle and had to devise a means to survive with the limited resources left for them. Majority of local communities in Usangu who lost their farms during the expansion process are now renting plots working as casuals to earn their living. Even though there is equal access to tourism resources (which are yet to start), local communities do not know what that phrase mean and what would they do to benefit. That is why most of them refer it to a business which benefits only the wealthy and educated class.

Ruaha National Park as many other National Parks in Tanzania is state owned under the management authority of TANAPA. Generally the government have the sole decision making power with regard to management of these areas as well as in formulation of policies and regulation governing the management and resource utilization. Management and implementation of these policies are under the hands of TANAPA, local communities have no mandate. Due to unclear policy statements and regulations, as well as 'hard' procedures to be followed in tourism business (i.e. campsites, lodges, tour operators etc.) or community involvement in conservation activities (e.g. WMA establishment) most of the time local communities found themselves at the edge. This is because the state retains all the control of resources and is the one determining the rules regarding resource utilization in the area. Often distribution of costs and benefits associated with the establishment of these protected areas are overlooked. Due to the powerful act of the state, local communities have very minimal input to what the outcome should be. From Usangu case it is clearly showing that local communities are the ones bearing the high cost of national park expansion, and there is no any kind compensation or benefit which can offset that cost.

The Usangu case showed the closely link of nature conservation practiced in the country during colonial time. The Tanzanian government still retain the central role establishing, controlling and managing protected areas. It still determines the policies and regulations as well as the interaction between human and nature. Local communities in Usangu have no say when it comes to the management of Ruaha National Park. They are not involved in the determination of rules or regulations, yet they are the closest neighbourhoods to the park. The Usangu case from historical perspectives shows the influence of different actors on establishment of Usangu game reserve to the expansion of the national park. In all these instances, the will of local communities was neglected. The central role was in the hands of the state and the power it has in the acts of the public interest.

Based on this study, it is clear that political ecology not only gives the valuable insight to understand the environmental conflicts in protected areas, but also provides a valuable contribution towards the study of nature conservation and tourism. It provides a scope where issues from local level scale can be analysed and understood. It has shown that, land use changes and conflicts have started from and within (pastoralist vs. farmers; Sangu vs. Sukuma) as well as from the outside (State legislation and policies).The integration of local and national scale provides an insightful understanding of the case. Hence the integration of local scale to the regional scale must attain high emphasis in political ecology studies. Currently, many of political ecology studies neglect the role of local scale in understanding environmental conflicts, more emphasis is given to the link of national and global scale. The link of local and national scale helped to uncover hidden conflicts which shaped the environmental conflicts in Usangu plains. Neglecting the role of the local scale might have led to the wrong conclusion if the study was only in the focus of the national scale level and vice versa.

7.4 Tourism as a way forward

Protected areas are one of the assets for tourism industry. Tourism development in these areas is taken to be a good strategy to ensure conservation while at the same time generating high end revenues (Brown, 1998) which will later be channelled back to local communities surrounding these areas. The claim that tourism could compensate for the losses has not been

substantiated in research findings. Alternative income generation activities, compensation schemes or redistribution of tourism revenues do not seem to provide sustainable benefit to local communities for them to render their lives.

People in Usangu have nothing unique to sell to the tourists, most of them do not know what tourism is, hence make it even more difficult finding the starting point of promoting tourism in the area. Education is needed to make them aware about tourism, its costs and benefits, how they can be involved and its contribution to economic welfare of individuals and the society at large. Majority of people in Usangu are not ready to participate in tourism activities as it does not provide tangible benefits as compared to farming. Furthermore, local people in Usangu have demonstrated their fear with regard to the control of tourism business and distribution of revenues that is going to be generated.

National Parks in Tanzania depend 100% on tourist safaris for income, and most of the southern circuit parks have no ability to manage its own activities, they depend on subsidies from the northern circuit parks and protected areas (TANAPA, 2008). The government expanded the Ruaha National Park for conservation activities, but at the same time with the hope of promoting tourism activities in the area. Local communities in this area have a different agenda, they want agricultural activities to be expanded and improved. How can the government then harmonise conservation and livelihood in Usangu plains? It is my speculation that, if measures are not taken to harmonise the situation, it will sabotage the existence of the park. And how 'can we make a successful destination in Usangu plains? Taking into account the local differences within local communities and the conflicting interests of various actors? There is a need to analyse steps to taken so far to rescue Usangu environment. This is because all these time the government has been increasing the protection of the area without attaining the optimal solution (from Open area, GCA, GR, NP). Although it is another level of study which is not focused here, until the time when that is achieved, Usangu will remain a contested place.

7.5 Conclusion

Usangu case provides a valuable understanding of political ecology theory and its application in developing Countries. Although many studies have been conducted in these countries to

analyse the politics of protected areas none of it was done in the tourism field. The theory helps to understand the role of different actors, their interest and power struggle which shape the process of Ruaha National Park expansion. Key themes selected provided a clear understanding of the case from the political ecology theory point of view.

It is hard for communities in Usangu to benefit from tourism activities that are to be conducted at Ruaha National Park. Although it might sound very early to conclude that, a number of reasons led to that conclusion. First, majority of local communities have little knowledge on tourism activities and how they could benefit, Second, there is still very low participation between the local communities and the park authorities with regard to tourism activities, Third, laws and policies are still not clear in terms of benefit sharing and ownership of wildlife by local communities and fourth, although Tanzania adopted decentralization by devolution as a policy process, the words are still in paper but not in practice.

Although the expansion of Ruaha National Park is regarded as a success toward rescuing the Usangu wetlands and its surrounding areas, the idea neglect the fact that traditionally the Sangu had been controlling and managing the area. Furthermore, land use changes in Usangu plains coincides the debate of community conservation which advocate on involving local community in management of protected areas and letting them benefit from wildlife. The expansion of Ruaha National Park follow similar roots to what has happened to Mkomazi game reserve and this challenge the principles of Community Based Conservation. This overall indicates that, we are not learning from mistakes or we do not realise if we are at all doing them. Protected area's laws and policies embrace the 'western concept' of wildlife protected areas in absence of people, and the top down system of nature creation since colonial time. Furthermore, protected areas today cannot function in isolation from the human-modified ecosystem. The challenge should be on how to involve local communities into protected area management plans. Although there are several attempts to involve local communities e.g. ICDP, CBRNM, CBC, the voice of the local communities is still very minimal and often it does not influence the outcome.

Conservation policies are complex and difficult to be understood by local communities and most of them are not clearly known to them. First step should question how to make local people aware of policies and regulation governing natural resources. Furthermore, agriculture and pastoralists contributed significantly to not only the livelihood of the people, but to the country economy as well. Protected areas could be established in marginal areas which are not suitable for agriculture and pastoralists activities. Tourism can also play a role in contributing towards the livelihood of the locals. However, means should be established so that benefits could go directly to those who bear the costs of its source. I believe that communities and local people to a large extent can determine their own sustainable ways of controlling access to resources when they are given the proper entitlement and technology. The solution is not protected area creation or expansion but devising a means where by the environment could be protected at the same time it contributes to the sustainable livelihood of those living adjacent to it.

7.5.1 Conservation and development debate

Current concept

Protected area development has been challenged by many authors over the last couple of decades. Throughout the world, the western concept of the protected areas without human interference have been promoted and continued to be used in some of the countries as the criteria for protected areas, such as the national parks. Supporting the collective responsibility as the main cause of environmental degradation, hence the need for more protected areas to overcome the problem tends to overlook the real cause of the problem. The logical question we need to ask ourselves is if we are conserving for the sake of nature, and leave our people at loss. From history of land use changes in Usangu there are many hidden agendas, many of them in grey literature, which make the land use problem in the area even harder to understand. In this era of linking conservation to development, the main thinking should be whether to conserve Usangu for environmental sake or to incorporate it into development activities for sustainable livelihood of its people.

Need for a change

It is known that the most effective strategy to conserve biodiversity should take into account the complex needs of people as well as wildlife (Sanderson, 2001). Suffice is to say, these areas need to ensure conservation of biological species and at the same time make sure that the needs of people are provided. To achieve this more research is needed to realise the need of different species found in the area, and where human can intervene without interfering the ecological integrity of the species.

Usangu is not a unique case study; however, it provided a good lesson for various actors. The increase in land allocation for protected areas at the expense of local communities needs a second thought. This is illuminated by the fact that Tanzania, in the past ten years has undergone a tremendous period of increasing the network of protected areas which increased the incidence of local communities' displacement. Similar problem happened in Mkomazi in 1988; thousands of people and cattle were evicted giving room for Mkomazi to be upgraded to a National Park (cf. Brockington, 2002). Does this mean we are going 'back to the barriers' where human were regarded as a threat to nature? This is because by insisting on the exclusionist model, it is as good as acknowledging the failure of ICPD's and CBNRM approaches, and may be that is why it was not in the options of managing the area. Furthermore, it is high time now for the government to think of integrating wildlife conservation with other sectors like agriculture, fisheries and livestock. Taking examples from Belize and Fiji where communities in collaboration with other actors managed to conserve their resources and benefit from it.

7.7 Recommendations

The exclusionist approach for protected area creation needs a second thought; this is because the boundaries of protected areas seem not to be legitimate in the eyes of local communities. There is a need to acknowledge the livelihood of those living adjacent to protected areas or those who depend on it. Conservation developments need to be developed with the assistance of local people. Although this may seem to be a fiscal solution to the problem, but it gives the step towards better management practises which need a change in management and continuous support from different actors.

Local communities are often minimally included in decision making process, making the eventual solution less 'sustainable'. Putting that in perspective, this study has found that there is a need to change the way decision making process is handled to include more actors. Bottom-up approach is suggested because it addresses the view and opinion of key stakeholders who are often neglected and are the one bearing the cost of conservation. There is also a need to involve communities in management of protected areas. More emphasize then should be paid on (1) how the communities can sustainably manage their resources (11) how do the voice of the local communities can be heard in the decision making process and to what extent does it influence the outcome as well as their ownership to these resources (111) equitable benefit sharing mechanism should be clear and simple to understand. So far there are two ways of benefit sharing mechanisms one implemented by TANAPA and the other one implemented by WD. However, for the local communities to realize the benefits from tourism focus should be changed to include both the direct (tangible) as well as the indirect benefits (public), as it is currently perceived by local's tourism provide only the indirect benefits.

However, within the existing model of exclusion in protected area, tourism can still play a role to contribute towards improvement of local communities' livelihood and sustainable development at large. For Usangu case, a lot need to be done if tourism is to be developed in the area. Sport fishing activities could be developed as one of the tourist activity in the area. Taking into account that all the potential fishing areas are inside the national park, and no consumptive utilization is allowed then, it would be appropriate for TANAPA to think of developing sport fishing as a tourist activity. To enhance the utility of the tourists and in order to make sure that local communities are involved, the use of local boats and local guides should also be emphasized. Furthermore, as Usangu plains are one of the Important Bird Areas (IBA) in Tanzania, introducing the bird watching activity in the area would also be appropriate. There is a great need for training if any of the above activities are going to be conducted, as well as if tourism needs to be promoted in the area.

This study concludes that, there is a need to for more research to analyse and evaluate the effectiveness of protected areas in promoting conservation activities, tourism development as

well as its contribution to sustainable development, especially in developing countries.

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