AN EVALUATION OF THE COMMUNITY CONSERVATION SERVICE AT TARANGIRE AND LAKE MANYARA NATIONAL PARKS IN TANZANIA

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I certify that this work has not been accepted in substance for any degree, and is not concurrently submitted for any degree other than that of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) of the University of Greenwich. I also declare that this work is the result of my own investigations except where otherwise identified by references and that I have not plagiarised another's work.

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ABSTRACT

Africa adopted the Yellowstone model of 'in situ' conservation, and established systems of national parks, which excluded people from living within these 'fortress parks'. Despite the strict protection – often through paramilitary-style enforcement - national parks in Africa are faced with increasing threats from impoverished local communities whose dependence on natural resources is growing. Biodiversity conservation is widely failing because parks are becoming 'islands' of conservation; ecosystems are collapsing and there are inadequate policies and management systems in place to address these challenges.

Some countries including Tanzania have adopted community conservation (CC) approaches for the purpose of gaining the support of local communities. This study examines one of these CC approaches the outreach programme of the Community Conservation Service (CCS) of Tanzania National Parks (TANAPA) in respect of its effectiveness in engaging local people with the conservation effort, and thereby assesses its role in securing a better future for the National Parks of Tanzania. It is important to note that the focus of this study is on the communities around the national parks in question and not on biodiversity conservation 'per se'.

The case studies selected for the research comprise two national parks in northern Tanzania, namely Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks. Eight villages around their boundaries (four villages for each park) were selected for investigation.

In order to access valid and reliable research data, several data collection techniques were used. Both primary and secondary data were collected. In the first instance, a critical literature review of secondary information was conducted in order for the researcher to understand the global context on concepts and issues relating to community conservation. Secondary data was collected from TANAPA documents relating to CCS activities. The primary data was collected through Participatory Rural Appraisal techniques including focus group discussions with stakeholders in the vicinity of National Parks where 44 groups (park staff, farmers, village officials, natural resources committees, pastoralists and women) each comprising 10-12 people

were involved in the interactive interviews. In total, four hundred and eighty-four (484) respondents attended the focus group discussions. Other techniques included the use of Venn diagrams and field observations. Analysis and interpretation of focus group responses were made in the light of the author's 27 years experience within the National Parks system in Tanzania.

The results of the research presented in this thesis reveal that stakeholders generally thought that the CCS outreach programme has been successful in easing the tension between parks and people, but there are still many questions concerning its practicability. The study recommends that TANAPA ought to adopt a new approach to community conservation, to achieve much more active participation by the communities adjacent to the parks. However, since Tanzanian national parks are IUCN Category II protected areas, habitation and use of resources within them is not permitted through existing legislation. Therefore, TANAPA cannot adopt community conservation approaches such as the community-based conservation or community-based natural resources management (CBNRM) within the parks because these approaches implicitly devolve authority for natural resources to local communities.

While the national parks of Tanzania, and Africa as a whole, face greater threats and uncertainties than ever before, one thing is abundantly clear – and that is that the parks will never be viable while surrounded by hungry, poor and resentful communities. Tanzania has an obligation, in implementing this new approach, to help improve local communities' livelihoods and increase their collaboration in the protection of the natural resources on which they depend and which are the *raison d'être* of the country's national parks.

This thesis recommends to TANAPA that it should incorporate profound changes in its legislation and CCS policies to accommodate the active participation of the adjacent communities through realistic 'benefit- sharing' rather than the current 'benefit-giving' approach.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRYNONYMS

AWF	African Wildlife Foundation
CAMPFIRE	Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources
CEE	Centre for Environmental Education
CBC	Community-based Conservation
CBD	Convention on Biological Diversity
CBO	Community-based organisation
CBNRM	Community-based Natural Resources Management
CCS	Community Conservation Service
CCW	Community Conservation Warden
CM	Collaborative Management
CSP	Corporate Strategic Plan
C_4	Community Conservation Coordinating Committee
DFID	Department for International Development
DG	Director General
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
EU	European Union
FAO	United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization
FZS	Frankfurt Zoological Society
GCA	Game Controlled Area
GDP	Growth Domestic Product
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschsft fur Technische Zusammenarbeit
ICDP	Integrated Conservation and Development Projects
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
IISD	International Institute for Sustainable Development
IGPs	Income Generating Projects
IRA	Institute of Resource Assessment

IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (World Conservation Union)
JFM	Joint Forest Management
KfW	Germany Bank for Reconstruction and Development
KCRD	Katavi-Rukwa Development Project
LCA	Leadership for Conservation in Africa
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunity Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
MBOMIPA	Wise Use of Resources between Idodi and Pawaga Divisions
MNRT	Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism
MP	Member of Parliament
MRALG	Ministry of Regional Administration and Local Governments
NCAA	Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority
NCA	Ngorongoro Conservation Area
NGO	Non-government organisation
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for International Development
OPM	Outreach Programme Manager
PPP	Public Private Sector Partnerships
SAP	Strategic Action Plan
SCIP	Support for Community Initiated Projects
SCP	Selous Conservation Programme
SEACAM	Secretariat for Eastern African Coastal Area Management
SGR	Selous Game Reserve
SCDP	Serengeti Conservation and Development Project
SRCP/S	Serengeti Regional Conservation Project/Strategy
STEEP	Serengeti Tourism, Extension and Education Project
TANAPA	Tanzania National Parks
TANESCO	Tanzania Electric Supply Company

TATO	Tanzania Association of Tour Operators
TAWIRI	Tanzania Wildlife Research Institute
TCMP	Tanga Coastal Management Programme
TFAP	Tanzania Forestry Action Plan
TLCT	Tanzania Land Conservation Trust
TTB	Tanzania Tourist Board
UMNP	Udzungwa Mountains National Park
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WD	Wildlife Division
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UWA	Uganda Wildlife Authority
WHO	World Health Organization
WMAs	Wildlife Management Areas
WPC	World Parks Congress
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WSSD	World Summit on Sustainable Development
WWF	Worldwide Fund for Nature
ZimTrust	Zimbabwe Trust

CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1.1   Introduction

Increasing pressure is being imposed on Tanzania's national parks and their buffer zones, as neighbouring communities struggle to improve their livelihoods and quality of life. This thesis evaluates the Tanzania National Park's (TANAPA) Community Conservation Service (CCS) outreach programme in terms of its impacts on both conservation management and on the livelihoods of the communities around Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks in northern Tanzania. Figure 1.1 shows the national parks in Tanzania.

Figure 1.1: Tanzania National Parks network

Source: Tanzania High Commission website, United Kingdom, (2006)

1.2   Rationale of the study

To date there has not been an evidence-based, in depth study of the sustainability of national parks in Tanzania, in terms of their linkages to the livelihoods of local communities living just beyond their boundaries. This study aims to contribute to a community conservation body of knowledge (TANAPA, 1999) on the efficacy of existing park outreach programmes and the state of the linkages between local people and parks in northern Tanzania. The study also provides a basis for further research, planning and action to improve conservation and 'sustainable development' within the country. In this context, the meaning of sustainable development is based on the

definition given by the World Summit on Sustainable Development (1992) as development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

1.3 Scope of the study

The Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks in northern Tanzania were the areas selected for the research (Figure 1.2). More specifically, eight villages adjacent to the two parks were selected for a detailed qualitative study. The Community Conservation Service outreach programme started in these villages in 1994 (TANAPA, 1999). Other villages were included later as financial resources became available. The maps of these village areas are shown separately in chapter 5. The scope of the study therefore is a qualitative evaluation of the park outreach programme that has been running for the past 15 years in the selected parks and villages.

1.4 Outline of the thesis

Chapter 1 of the thesis presents the background to the study, the research questions, and methodology and techniques adopted. Chapter 2 provides a review of the history of protected areas and the ways in which local communities were excluded from the adjacent conservation areas.

Figure 1.2: The two case study national parks
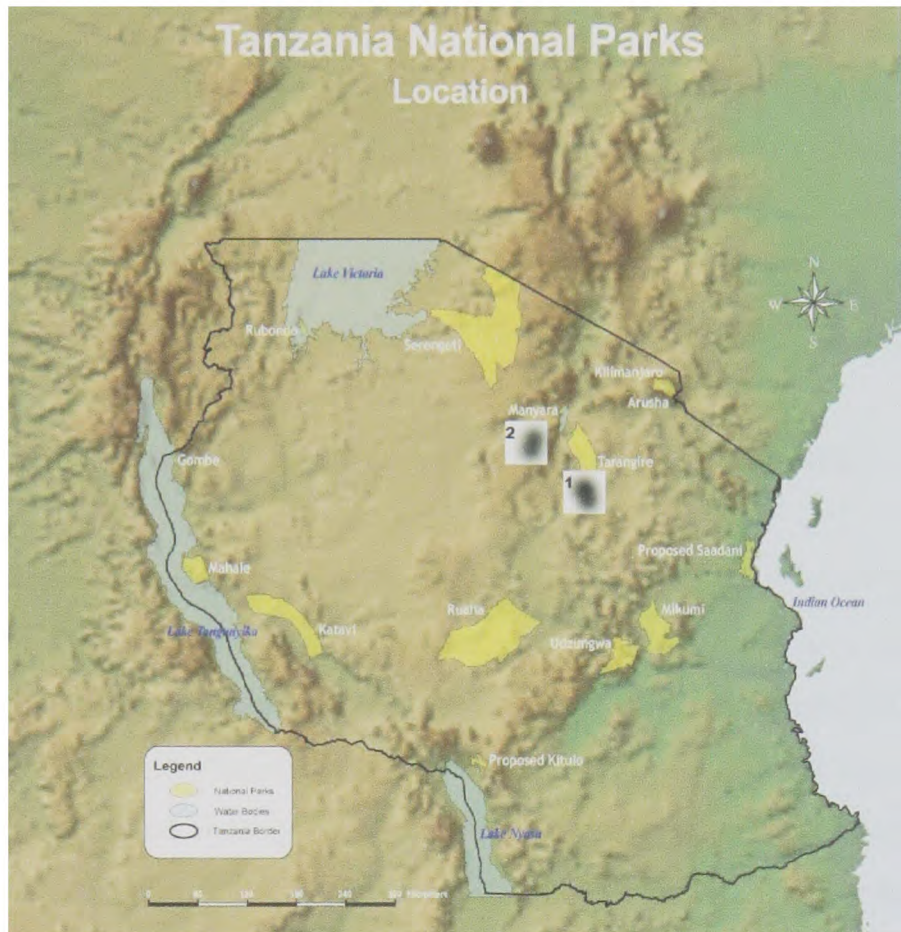
Source: TANAPA Publishing Unit, 2005

A detailed review of the literature on the history of conservation in the Tanzanian context is presented in chapter 3. The account gives a history of conservation and the protected area network; sectoral community-based conservation initiatives, and the major challenges faced today by conservation agencies and local communities. Chapter 4 describes the functions of the TANAPA CCS outreach programme and the contributions it makes to local communities. Descriptions of the case study areas (the two national parks and their adjacent villages) are given in chapter 5. Chapter 6 presents the findings of the study. Chapter 7 provides a synthesis of the research findings, based on the aims and objectives of the study. Chapter 8 presents the conclusions and recommendations that are intended specifically to enhance the capacity of TANAPA and the CCS programme, but also of relevance to conservation initiatives elsewhere in Tanzania and the wider East African region. This study will also contribute to knowledge in the wider field of conservation science in colleges and universities that are preparing future protected area managers, researchers and scientists.

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1.5   Research design and methodology

In order to assess the impacts of TANAPA's CCS programme to date   both on conservation in the national parks and on the livelihoods of neighbouring communities - the researcher drew upon his extensive professional experience, discussions with colleagues, official documentation and wider literature review, (section 1.5.1) to develop research questions that enabled these objectives to be assessed.

1.5.1   Aims and objectives of CCS outreach programme

With assistance from the African Wildlife Foundation (AWF), TANAPA established the Community Conservation Service (CCS) in 1988 as a pilot outreach project in three villages namely Ololosokwan, Soitsambu and Oloipiri in Ngorongoro district, in the Serengeti National Park. The aim was to explore an approach for building good relations and sharing benefits with immediate neighbours of all the country's national parks (AWF, 1988, TANAPA CCS, 2007). In 1991, the programme expanded from Serengeti to Tarangire, Lake Manyara and Arusha National Parks (TANAPA CCS, 2007). The authority institutionalised CCS within its management in 1994 (TANAPA CCS, 1994; Bergin, 1995; Bergin, 1996; Bergin and Dembe, 1995). TANAPA headquarters established a fully fledged department with permanent staff to manage CCS, with associated sections in each national park (TANAPA CCS, 2007). The National Policy for National Parks in Tanzania states that TANAPA will have a programme of outreach (also known as "community conservation", "extension" and "ujirani mwema" in Swahili) into adjacent communities with a focus on local people and their local governments up to the district level (TANAPA, 1994). This outreach programme will be accompanied by mechanisms to ensure that benefits of conservation are shared with local communities in appropriate ways (*ibid*). The aims and objectives of CCS are as shown in Box 1.1.

Box 1.1: Aims and objectives of outreach programme

1. Improve relations between individual parks and local communities; ensure that interests of national parks with regard to natural resources conservation and community welfare are represented at all levels;
2. Facilitate the planned sharing of benefits to target communities; and
3. To assist communities to gain access to information, resources, and services which promote sustainable development
4. To conduct community conservation education programme
5. To develop professional and collaborative linkages with all community conservation stakeholders
6. To strengthen the local institution capacity (Community based Organizations) to address conservation issues.

Source: TANAPA CCS, 1994 and 2000

The revision of the national strategic action plan in Arusha National Park conducted in 2000, added objectives 4 to 6 (TANAPA CCS, 2000). The focus of the research is to assess these aims and objectives and to evaluate the effectiveness of the park's outreach programme for the past 15 years in conservation efforts and benefits to local and indigenous communities who live with wildlife.

Given the absence of any CCS baseline data, the researcher used his own experience gained over more than 25 years, together with a literature review and discussions with colleagues, to enrich the background information. The research will not dwell on the conservation of biodiversity such as increases in numbers and diversity of species but rather on the sociological implications of conservation policy and practice.

The ultimate aim of this research is to improve community-based conservation in Tanzania by evaluating the efficacy of the CCS outreach programme over the past 15 years. The study further aims to provide an evidence base for improved future conservation and development of community conservation activities in communities adjacent to national parks in Tanzania, and lastly to contribute to the current global debate on the effectiveness of benefit-sharing schemes in the buffer zones of national parks.

1.5.2 Research question

The overall research question posed in this study is: *"Has CCS improved both the conservation status of national parks and the livelihood conditions of the human*

communities living adjacent to these parks?"

The answer to this question depends, in turn, on the answers to the following more specific questions:

With regards to conservation in the national parks

a) *What has been the CCS impact on national park policies?*

The study aims to assess the impact of the CCS outreach programme on the implementation of national parks policies relating to local communities living adjacent to parks.

b) *Has the relationship between communities and wildlife officers improved over the past 15 years?*

The study aims to assess the improvement of relations between the park staff and the stakeholder groups, as a result of the implementation of the CCS outreach programme.

c) *Have collaborative links with community conservation officers been developed?*

The study aims to assess how the community conservation officers collaborate and link with park staff and the adjacent communities.

With regards to development of the communities

a) *What is the level of community participation in the CCS activities?*

The study aims to evaluate the level of participation among the adjacent communities in the CCS work, including whether it is passive or active (Arnstein, 1971; Kiss, 1990; Namara 2006).

b) *Who are the beneficiaries of the CCS in the communities, and which stakeholder groups receive which benefits?*

The study aims to assess how the communities benefit from CCS and identifies which benefits the different stakeholder groups share and in that case, which groups receive more benefits than other groups.

c) Do communities link the developments in the community to conservation?

The study aims to assess how communities link the developments in the community to conservation

d) Have communities gained information, resources, and services through the CCS?

The study aims to evaluate whether the communities have received adequate information about the park (in the form of newsletters, posters, and calendars), resources (materials, funds) and services (transport. extension and social services) from CCS and if they are useful to them.

e) Have local communities gained informal knowledge through direct experience about conservation issues?

The study aims to assess whether local communities' awareness and knowledge of conservation issues has increased through conservation education as conducted by or facilitated by CCS in schools, colleges and villages.

f) Have local institutions increased their institutional capacity to address conservation?

The study aims to assess whether CCS has assisted local institutions (village government, and Community Based Organizations (CBOs)) to get necessary capacity to address conservation of the biodiversity and environmental protection.

1.6   Study design

The design for the study is presented in Figure 1.3.

Figure 1.3: Study design
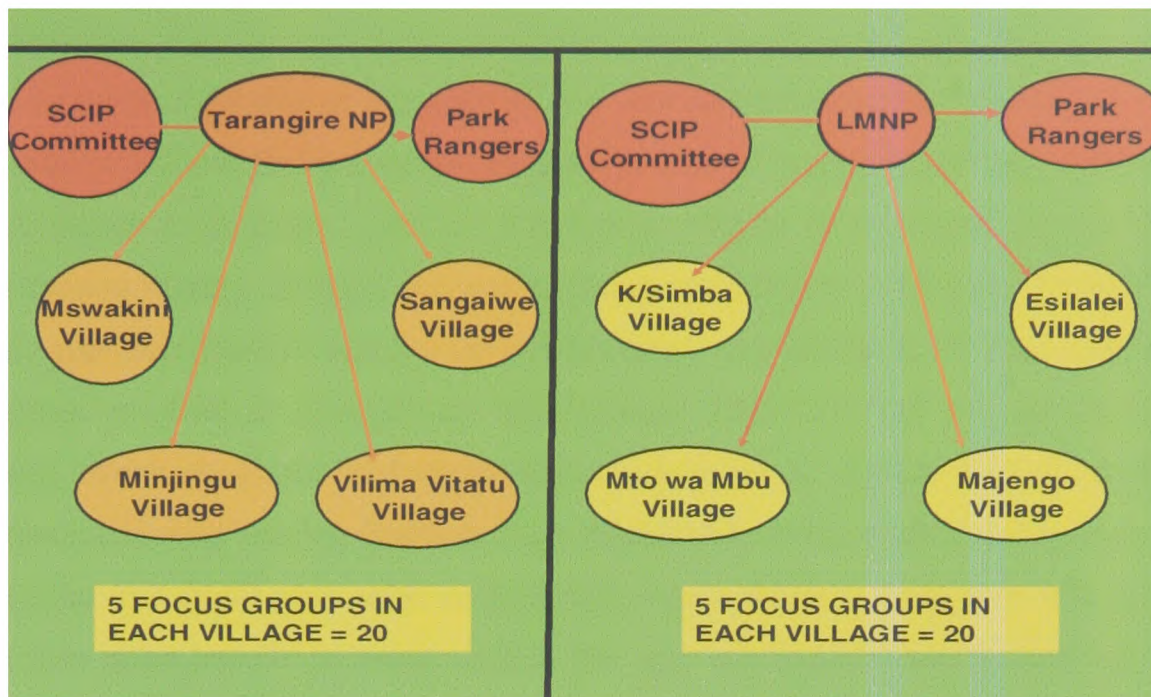
1.6.1 Sample

Two parks and eight surrounding villages, four for each park, were selected in order to conduct an in-depth qualitative study (section 1.4). Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks were selected because they were among the first to be identified during the expansion of the CCS programme to all parks after the pilot study in the Serengeti National Park (section 1.5.1; personal experience). The selected villages have records of either having been the source of poachers or having harboured poachers from distant villages; as such, they have had poor relations with the parks (personal experience). The selected focus groups have had interactions with CCS and also have had direct conflicts with wildlife in terms of their functions and occupations. CCS started in these parks in 1994 and still operates in these villages that are comprised of various ethnic groups with different occupations and geographical locations (*ibid*). At the time of this study, these villages had collaborated and received CCS support for more than 15 years (Table 4.1 and 4.2).

In order to access valid and reliable data concerning the research questions, several data collection techniques were used. These consisted of primary and secondary data.

1.6.2 Primary data

Primary data was collected using the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) approach that includes a family of approaches and methods designed to emphasize local knowledge and enable local people to make their own appraisal, analysis, and plans. PRA is not a technique '*per se*' but uses a variety of techniques to facilitate information sharing, analysis, and action among stakeholders (Chambers, 1994). PRA is an approach mostly used by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other agencies involved in international development. PRA involved the use of focus groups, Venn diagrams and observation techniques to collect data from local communities with varying characteristics (Chambers, 1994). PRA has developed in particular for application with communities where literacy levels are low and it therefore relies heavily on visual means. The approach included use of drawings and diagrams. Furthermore, the approach relied on collective thinking and helped people to analyse their own knowledge. It was useful for gathering local knowledge, because it provided people with the opportunity to interpret issues in their own way (*ibid*). The techniques of PRA used to collect primary data are further described in the following sub sections.

Focus group discussions

Focus groups are a form of qualitative research, in which groups of people are asked about their attitudes towards a certain product or programme. The questions are asked in an interactive group setting and participants are free to talk with other group members and express their feelings and experiences about the subject matter (Marshall and Rossman, 1999). This group interaction enables participants to share experiences and ideas and allows their knowledge, attitudes, and behaviour to be explored. Focus groups have a high apparent validity. In addition, they are low in cost, and the researcher achieves results relatively quickly. Adopting this approach enabled the researcher to engage a greater number of participants than might have been the case using more individual approaches. Furthermore, it was the interaction between the different types of people, in their various roles, which brought out the most useful information (Goldenkoff, 2004).

In summary, focus groups uniquely exposed and accentuated both the similarities and the differences between individuals. By seeing how these different types of people

interacted, a completeness of information that could not be achieved in other ways was realized (Goldenkoff, 2004). Focus groups allowed the flexibility to "go with the flow" to uncover hidden information. However, focus groups have disadvantages as well (Goldenkoff, 2004). In particular, the researcher requires a degree of experience to facilitate and manage such group discussions effectively and the data collected is usually complex and requires care and precision to analyse accurately (*ibid*).

The focus group discussions began with introductions and the researcher explained the purpose, ground rules, and duration (usually was between 45 and 90 minutes) and conveyed the expectation that everyone should contribute, all contributions would be valued and remain confidential, and that the session would be tape-recorded. The researcher asked members of the focus group to introduce themselves by first names only. Some incentives were also provided to participants. The researcher, as an experienced facilitator, encouraged lively discussions for each question posed (refer to focus group guides in Appendix IA and IB). The researcher took notes of all-important information during the discussions. Audiotape recording of discussions was made during the discussions. A summary of each discussion was given at the end of every meeting for corrections and additions. The transcripts were prepared for each focus group immediately after completion of the discussion.

Focus groups were held with community members and parks employees. As such, the focus group discussions used two guides. One focus group guide was specifically for park employees. The questions that guided the discussions are attached as Appendix IA and the stakeholders' guide with questions for community members is attached as Appendix IB. A total of four hundred and eighty four (484) respondents attended the focus group discussions.

Discussions were held with two 'Support for Community Initiated Projects' committee or SCIP committee focus groups (one in each park), which in essence comprised of members of the park management. This committee is chaired by the Chief Park Warden in Charge of the park. The Community Conservation Warden (CCW) is the secretary of this committee. Discussions were also held with two park rangers focus groups (one in each park) as they have the most contact with the adjacent communities because of their involvement in anti-poaching and controlling

problem animals. Groups comprised of between 10 -12 staff. Eventually, discussions were held with five focus groups in each of the four communities making 40 groups for the two parks. Groups comprised of 10-12 people. The focus groups identified included stakeholders that interact with the park and the CCS. The community focus groups consisted of village government officials, natural resource committees, women groups, pastoralists and farmers. The discussions in focus groups were conducted in Swahili, which is understood and spoken by most Tanzanians. No field assistants were used during the exercise.

Venn diagrams

In this research, the Venn diagram technique was used (see Appendix III). This technique relied on the use of circles indicating interactions between different stakeholders. The Venn diagram was used to identify who directly works or collaborates with the CCS in the communities (Figure 6.2 and Appendix III). This information helped to determine which groups received more benefits, resources, and services than other groups in the community.

Observations

The researcher visited the parks and a number of community projects that were supported by the parks through the CCS. The general environment of the respective villages was observed. Observations were made in areas where human and wildlife have conflicts and community developments. The observations focused on crop raiding, supported projects, social services and land use practices.

1.6.3   Secondary data

Secondary data was collected from TANAPA documents relating to CCS activities, the number of poachers arrested inside and outside the park, the frequency of problem animal incidents, and visitor statistics and revenues. This information was mainly used to verify data obtained from the focus groups. A summary of the research questions, codes and data collection techniques used is given in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1: Research questions and samples

With regards to	Sub-questions	Sample
Conservation in the national parks:	a) What has been the CCS impact on National Park Policies?	Parks, four park staff focus groups, community focus groups
	b) Has the relationship between communities and wildlife officers improved?	Parks, villages where CCS operates, community and staff focus groups
	c) Have collaborative links with community conservation officers been developed?	Parks, villages where CCS operates, community and staff focus groups
Development of the communities:	a) What is the level of participation of the CCS amongst the adjacent communities?	Parks, villages where CCS operates, stakeholder and staff focus groups
	b) Who are the beneficiaries of the CCS in the communities, and which stakeholders groups receive which benefits?	Parks, villages where CCS operates, community and staff focus groups
	c) Do communities link the developments in the community to conservation?	Parks, villages where CCS operates, community and staff focus groups
	d) Have communities gained more information, resources, and services (need to identify the nature of these) through the CCS?	Parks, villages where CCS operates, community and staff focus groups
	e) Have local communities been educated concerning conservation issues (or have they gained awareness and knowledge)?	Parks, villages where CCS operates, community and staff focus groups
	f) Have local institutions increased their institutional capacity to address conservation?	Parks, villages where CCS operates, community and staff focus groups

1.7   Data analysis

This section describes the overview on qualitative data analysis based on the grounded theory, indicators used and the limitations of the methodology.

1.7.1   Overview

The focus group questions served as a provisional starting list of a priori codes, which assisted in the analysis of the data based on grounded theory as discussed by Glaser (1998). The focus group approach has the advantage of providing an opportunity for

participants to be directly involved in data collection. In qualitative evaluation, data collection and data analysis are not temporally discrete stages, so as soon as the first pieces of data are collected, the evaluator or researcher can begin the process of making sense of the information (National Science Foundation, 2006). Qualitative evaluation is easily divided into discrete stages. Moreover, the different processes involved in qualitative analysis also overlap in time (*ibid*). Qualitative analysis is fundamentally an iterative set of processes. Therefore at the simplest level, the qualitative analysis for this study included the examination of the assembled relevant data (clusters of comments from focus groups) to determine how they answer the research questions.

1.7.2 Data analysis and qualitative techniques

The analysis of data was based on the literature on qualitative techniques such as intellectual craftsmanship; intellectual competence, memoing, interpretation, and coding (Glaser, 1998; Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2004; Walliman, 2005; and Charmaz, 2005). A version of triangulation known as "critical multiplism" was also used (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2004); where different approaches were used to cross-examine the results. During the analysis, themes were identified by reading each line, sentence and paragraph line by line and extracting/indexing the contents as described by Punch (2000). Coding was also applied to establish labels or tags that were necessary to allocate units of meaning to collected data (Walliman, 2005), hence forming typologies to facilitate copious data in the form of notes, observations, transcripts and documents.

Memoing or writing memos as a process of developing short but analytical descriptions based on ideas of the researcher when responding to data and development of codes and pattern codes was also applied (*ibid*). Therefore, links to data and records were easily made and the researcher generated intuitions and ideas. Based on theories by Walliman (2005), verification and extrapolation of data was used to establish the required meaning. The analysis of data for this study used a combination of these approaches.

1.7.3 Indicators used in the study

Vlaenderen, (2006) described a code as the label for a category in which various indicators fit together. The code 'colour ' can include the indicators blue, yellow, green and red. Specifically in grounded theory, an indicator is described as a part in the text (word or part of a sentence) which was used to develop codes (*ibid*). Therefore, indicators developed for identified themes in this study are presented in Tables 6.1 and 6.2 in Chapter six.

1.7.4 Limitations of the methodology

The methodology faced four limitations. First, a lack of detailed literature on the park outreach programme and, therefore, an absence of baseline data. This necessitated the use of the researcher's extensive experience on the ground and the opinions of colleagues such as the Chief Park Wardens and other park personnel (section 1.6.1), in addition to those reports and research materials that were available. Second, the park outreach programme was greatly influenced by local politics and it was therefore not easy to evaluate some of the benefits as they were not directly related to the aims and objectives of the programme and the diverse needs of the local communities. Third, the assessment of people's attitudes towards the park outreach programme was difficult to undertake as their understanding and knowledge of the programme varied greatly. Fourth, funds for research work were a limiting factor, meaning that only two parks out of the 15 that exist in Tanzania could be studied.

The researcher used the internet and had to visit the university library in the United Kingdom to address some of these constraints. In Tanzania, prior arrangements with village governments and park officials were crucial to the study, cooperation was obtained, and eventually it worked out well. The local communities actively participated in the live discussions to supply the missing information.

In order for the reader to fully appreciate the local context of this study and to understand the broad issues that also lie behind the results of the research, it is necessary in the first instance to explain the global context and the conceptual debates surrounding community conservation approaches; chapter two addresses these.

CHAPTER TWO: GLOBAL OVERVIEW

2.1 Background information

Historically, many conservation areas around the world were established through the efforts and dedication of individuals. An example in Africa is the work of Professor Grzimek of the Frankfurt Zoological Society (FZS) who is known for his lifetime's commitment to the establishment of the Serengeti National Park in Tanzania, now a World Heritage Site (Adam and McShane, 1996). This situation has given rise to three schools of thought: First, that of the 'purist' ecologists who believe in 'conservation of species and habitats at all costs' and that strict protection against human activity is the only way forward; second, the 'social' conservationists who recognise an inextricable link between development and conservation and who see humans as a constituent part of a global ecosystem in which the well being of one part is dependent on that of the other parts; this perspective implies the need for integrated conservation and development; third, the development at all costs school in which developers and perhaps some governments/politicians ignore humankind's impact on the natural world as they pursue their own ends. There is a call now to bring together conservationists, businessmen and governments to work together towards conservation-led social and economic development in Africa (LCA, 2007). Possibly the debate will be based on the practicability of the private sector managing government protected areas (personal experience).

Throughout this thesis, "local communities" are defined as small scale human groupings, socially bound by a common cultural identity, living within defined spatial boundaries, interacting on a personal rather than bureaucratic basis and having an economic interest in the common pool interests of the area in which they exist (personal experience). Similarly, the term "indigenous people" in this study describes any ethnic group which inhabits the geographic region with which they have the earliest historical connection (Ndasikoi, 2001). The perception of indigenous and local communities is that they belong to areas currently under protected areas and are fighting for access and user rights to these places (Ndasikoi, 2001).

The Tanzanian Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT) (1998a) describes community-based conservation as a process by which the government empowers the local communities in the management of community wildlife areas for purposes of enhancing biodiversity conservation and improving their livelihoods. Conservationists adopted the concept of "community-friendly" conservation at the 1982 World Parks Congress, which called for increased support for communities through education programmes, revenue-sharing schemes, participation in the management of protected areas, and the creation of appropriate development schemes around the protected areas (Barrow and Fabricius, 2002). In 1985 the World Wildlife Fund launched its Wildlife and Human Needs Programme, in an attempt to combine conservation and development. Barrow and Fabricius (2002) point out that the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) was the first international conservation convention to demonstrate this move towards people-centred conservation. Two out of three of its principles (the fair and equitable sharing of benefits and sustainable use) imply that people are central to conservation. Thus, the community conservation approach to protected area management has become a logical one to achieve conservation goals (Namara, 2006; Namara and Infield, 1997; IIED, 1994).

Community conservation includes education and awareness programmes and creates a sense among communities that they are important stakeholders (*ibid*). A major aspect of community conservation has been the extension of benefits to local communities as an incentive for them to assume responsibilities. Furthermore, this approach is expected to reduce the animosity between local communities and protected area authorities and to increase local communities' stake in protected resources, thus increasing their support for conservation (Namara, 2006). The community conservation approach further endeavours to "link local communities to the protected areas, to share with them not only the benefits, but also the responsibilities of wildlife management" (Namara, 2006:41).

In many developing countries, wildlife is an important form of national capital, and may contribute greatly to poverty alleviation through tourism (Hulme and Murphree, 2000). Nevertheless, some serious questions have to be considered: how can this be possible if the environmental and development agenda for these countries is decided somewhere else? Arguably, it is conceivably "possible" that wildlife can contribute to

poverty alleviation if a development agenda is decided elsewhere. However, the question remains, is it desirable and will it be as objective and effective that way?

Fabricius *et al.*, (2000), describes ecotourism as responsible tourism that promotes the protection of the environment and contributes to improved livelihoods of people. This type of tourism is based on the principle that there should be minimal impact on ecological attributes *(ibid)*. For many observers, it has become evident that ecotourism as practised in Africa for example, is not necessarily oriented towards the benefit of local people (Fabricius *et al.*, (2000). By the time the fifth World Parks Congress was held in Durban, South Africa in 2003, the wildlife-people debate had become a central theme for discussion (Philips, 2004). The title of the conference: "Benefits beyond boundaries" indicated clearly that emphasis was now being given to the potential role of protected areas in providing social and economic, as well as environmental benefits to a wider society. The theme was also intended to acknowledge that protected areas do not exist in vacuums and therefore, incorporated issues that looked outside of traditional boundaries (DeRose, 2004). One of the most striking features of the Congress was the presence of over 120 representatives from indigenous and local communities worldwide (Brosius, 2004; DeRose, 2004).

According to the Centre for Environmental Education (2003), discussions at the congress aimed to influence the government policy-makers in many countries to strengthen conservation and to integrate a meaningful community focus and participation into conservation. This is a great challenge for conservation agencies all over the world as local and indigenous communities are explicitly uniting and voicing their basic concerns, and expect to be recognized as right holders of natural resources rather than mere stakeholders (IISD, 2003).

The Durban conference came up with a ten point agenda for action to address the issues raised at the congress. These action points include building public support; making protected areas a central part of poverty reduction strategies; improving regional and national conservation policies and increasing the importance of protected areas in national and regional development planning. Others include the strengthening of technical capacity and financial support for management of protected areas at the national level; improving management of existing protected areas; improving

representation and coverage of biodiversity in protected areas; targeting threatened species and their habitats; and promoting landscape approaches to protected area establishment and management and fostering international recognition for African protected areas (WPC, 2003). All these actions are relevant to the people-wildlife debate in Tanzania, and more attention is being paid to the socio-political and economic issues that underline human-wildlife conflicts in the region.

2.2   Status of protected areas

Since the wildlife-people debate pivots around the protected areas, it is imperative that their status and influence in rural development is also known. For the sake of clarity, the present status of protected areas is explained here with reference to the widely adopted international system of classification drawn up by the World Conservation Union (IUCN).

2.2.1   IUCN categories of protected areas

IUCN defines a protected area as "an area of land and/or sea especially dedicated to the protection and maintenance of biological diversity, and of natural and associated cultural resources, and managed through legal or other effective means" (Chape *et al.*, 2003). These protected areas are assigned IUCN categories as shown in Box 2.1.

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Box 2.1: Definitions of the IUCN protected areas management categories

Category Ia: Strict Nature Reserve - protected area managed mainly for science
Areas of land and/or sea possessing some outstanding or representative ecosystems, geological or physiological features, and/or species, available primarily for scientific research and/or environmental monitoring

Category Ib: Wilderness Area - protected area managed mainly for wilderness protection
Large areas of unmodified or slightly modified land, and/or sea, retaining their natural character and influence, without permanent or significant habitation, which are protected and managed to preserve their natural condition

Category II: National Park - protected areas managed mainly for ecosystem conservation and recreation
Natural area of land and/or sea, designated to (a) protect the ecological integrity of one or more ecosystems for present and future generations, (b) exclude exploitation or occupation inimical to the purposes of designation of the area and (c) provide a foundation for spiritual, scientific, educational, recreational and visitor opportunities, all of which must be environmentally and culturally compatible.

Category III: Natural Monument - protected areas managed mainly for conservation of specific features
Areas containing one or more specific natural or natural/cultural feature; which is of outstanding or unique value because of its inherent rarity, representative or aesthetic qualities, or cultural significance

Category IV: Habitat/Species Management Area - protected areas managed mainly for conservation through management intervention.
Area of land and/or sea subject to active intervention for management purposes to ensure the maintenance of habitats and/or to meet the requirements of specific species.

Category V: Protected Landscape/Seascape - protected areas managed mainly for landscape/seascape conservation and recreation.
Area of land, with coast and sea as appropriate, where the interaction of people and nature over time has produced an area of distinct character with significant aesthetic, ecological and/or cultural value, and often with high biological diversity. Safeguarding the integrity of this traditional interaction is vital to the protection, maintenance, and evolution of such an area.

Category VI: Managed Resource Protected Area - protected areas managed mainly for the sustainable use of natural ecosystems.
Area containing predominantly unmodified natural systems, managed to ensure long-term protection and maintenance of biological diversity, while providing at the same time a sustainable flow of natural products and services to meet community needs.

Source: IUCN/UNEP, 2003

While some protected areas are not included in the category system they are protected through other arrangements for example, biosphere reserves through the Man and

Biosphere programme of UNESCO and Ramsar sites through the Ramsar Convention on Wetlands. From a global perspective (Table 2.1), the greatest surface area is still in the traditional "Yellowstone model" (category II) of national parks and only a tiny portion is in the category V protected landscape designation (typical of many buffer-zone conservation areas).

The trend also shows that the designation of new areas is slowing down and different categories such as community-conserved areas are becoming important.

Table 2.1: Global number and extent of protected areas

Category	Number of sites	Proportion of total number of protected areas	Area covered (km^2)	Proportion of total area protected
Ia	4,731	4.6	1,033,888	5.5
Ib	1,302	1.3	1,015,512	5.4
II	3,881	3.8	4,413,142	23.6
III	19,833	19.4	275,432	1.5
IV	27,641	27.1	3,022,515	16.1
V	6,555	6.4	1,056,008	5.6
VI	4,123	4.0	4,377,091	23.3
No Category	34,036	33.4	3,569,820	19.0
Total	**102,102**	**100.0**	**18,763,407**	**100.0**

Source: Chape *et al.,* 2003; IUCN/UNEP, 2003

According to Kothari (2006), community conserved areas are natural and/or modified ecosystems with significant biodiversity, ecological and related cultural values, voluntarily conserved by indigenous peoples and local communities through customary laws or other effective means. Seemingly, community conserved areas are eminently suited in many ways to help meet the Millennium Development Goals, especially those related to eradicating poverty and ensuring environmental sustainability. Borrini-Feyerabend et al., (2004) points out the fact that conventional approaches to managing protected areas have often seen people and nature as separate entities. They preclude human communities from using natural resources and assume that their concerns are incompatible with conservation (*ibid*). The opportunities for the communally managed areas to continue contributing towards conservation of natural resources has generated a debate on governance issues, in particular whether customary laws and social practices can complement legislation, thus leading to

innovative forms of governance which might offer great potential to improve the management of resources inside and outside of protected areas (Brown and Kothari, 2002). Brown and Kothari (2002) further argue that innovative governance can develop where there is a strong community support for better resource management, especially in the face of external threats.

2.2.2 Tanzanian protected areas and IUCN categorization

Almost all Tanzanian protected areas are categorized under the IUCN system, resulting in the exclusion of local and indigenous peoples from living in them, except for Mafia Island Marine Park and Ngorongoro Conservation Area, which practise a multiple land use concept that has dual mandates. These two protected areas are based on IUCN category VI and lean towards category V. Game reserves are in IUCN category IV and forests reserves are in category VI. The national parks selected for this study fall into IUCN category II and buffer zones (game controlled and open areas), fall into different IUCN categories. The statistics presented in Table 2.1 above, justify the importance of protected areas.

2.3 Strengths and weaknesses of conservation paradigms in Africa

The classic approach (also variously referred to as colonial style designations, centralised and non-participatory planning, and fortress conservation) is very common in Africa and has been described as a top-down approach to conservation. It is seen as a particularly authoritarian approach which has even resulted in Park managers being regarded as "police officers". For decades, the classical approach had been widely supported by environmental movements in the west. These movements include IUCN since 1948, WWF since 1961, and UNEP since 1972 plus many more environmental NGOs known today (Ghimire, 1994). Most of the protected areas themselves were widely threatened by hostile local communities, growing populations, and development pressures at the boundaries, leading to issues such as "islandisation", encroachment, poaching, pollution, and degradation of resources (Hughes, 2000; Borner, 1985; personal observations).

A prominent example of the response to the issues described above is that of Professor Bernard Grzimek, whose campaigns to conserve wildlife in East Africa made the Serengeti plains into one of the most well known protected areas on the planet, single-mindedly excluding and forcing out the indigenous Maasai cattle herders from their ancestral lands (Kempf, 1993; Colchester, 2003). 'A national park' Grzimek argued, 'must remain a primordial wilderness to be effective. No men, not even native ones, should live inside its borders' (cited in Adams and McShane, 1996: xvi). By the 1970s, this vision of protected area management had come to dominate the conservation movement. Blaikie and Jeanrenaud (1997) point out that the classical approach 'functionally' started giving way to people-oriented conservation approaches in the early 1980s. Resistance by local people to protected areas started in the form of land conflicts where claims for ancestral land, access, and user rights were reported in several countries. The resistance frequently brought local populations into direct conflict with park administration, at times making it impossible to implement even limited conservation objectives (Ghimire and Pimbert, 1996).

Some of the weaknesses of the classical approach were due to the management style discussed above. Additionally, the management of protected areas was further ignored or overlooked in national and regional planning and the responsible departments, and their political leaders lacked the will and funding to carry out any meaningful conservation programmes (Shephard, 2004). In Tanzania, for example, more than 90% of revenues for conservation and development are generated from tourism (personal experience). Where the government requires park revenues for the benefit of national development, money is not easily ploughed back into parks for effective biodiversity management or to bring benefits back to local people who suffer the costs of conservation. Moreover, park authorities' revenues are subjected to high corporate taxes (personal observations). Under pressure from stakeholders, this situation forced conservationists to look for new strategies and the obvious one was to adopt a people-oriented approach in order to gain popular support.

In many case studies such as those made by Campell and Loibooki (2001); Ndasikoi (2001); and Olenasha (2003), the Maasai of East Africa were used as examples of the indigenous peoples that were and still are resisting the 'exclusion' approach from their ancestral lands. In another scenario, black South Africans were subjected to a range of

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harsh and discriminatory legal restrictions during the apartheid regime (Koch, 1995). For instance, they were not eligible for hunting licences, which automatically meant that they were not permitted to kill wildlife that damaged their crops, and the right to own packs of hunting dogs was severely curtailed (*ibid*). Furthermore, restrictions on fishing were imposed in parts of the country, depriving people of an important source of protein they had always freely taken in appropriate shares (Koch, 1995).

Hostile confrontations have been recorded in South Africa, Namibia, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Uganda, as well as in many west and central African countries (Ghimire and Phimbert, 1997). However, strategies have been developed to attempt to reverse the situation and make conservation goals a local and indigenous community affair. Conservationists have come to realise that the survival of the protected areas, especially the sustenance of the national parks may be questionable if they were to continue being surrounded by discontented and hungry populations. Protected areas authorities must therefore proactively participate in the debate to find the solution, both at policy and management levels.

2.4   The global debate on community conservation

According to Barrow and Fabricius (2002), the community conservation approaches have not yet been in place long enough to achieve their expected results. This is due to inherent challenges and complexities in the approaches, for example: simplistic understanding of relations within and between communities; inadequate distribution of rights and responsibilities in natural resource management; inequitable power bases; and policy rhetoric not being matched by effective practice. In a similar vein, Barrett and Arcase (1995) suggest that Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDPs) raise local expectations to unattainable levels; stimulate greater per capita demand for meat and other wildlife products; expose rural residents to new risks associated with exchange entitlements, and contribute to higher rates of local population growth in areas where they are successful. An example in this case, is the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) of Zimbabwe where this statement can be confirmed (Patel, 1998). In general, what these experts are suggesting is that development projects may have to decouple

human needs from the harvest of large mammals as the only benefit, as there are other cultural and traditional values from conservation of natural resources. Additional strand of criticism emanates from those who accept systematic approaches to conservation, the centrality of rural populations for the future of the bulk of Africa's biodiversity and linkage between conservation and development; but who also consider community conservation to be flawed in concept and implementation.

Several contemporary overviews detail specific critiques made by experts including Aggarwal (1997), Fabricius, Koch and Magome (2000), Barrow, Gichohi and Infield (2000), and Hulme and Murphree (2000). Among the criticisms made are that community conservation initiatives and projects make unwarranted assumptions about the existence and profiles of communities; encourage stratification and inequality within communities; are externally initiated and imposed; and can be co-optation mechanisms for the indirect re-establishment of state or elite control. Other criticisms include the absence of internal and external mechanisms of accountability for community conservation initiatives; high transaction costs, especially in terms of time; high facilitation input costs; the need for long start-up time; little evidence that they encourage sustainable use, or are sustainable themselves; and, lack of technical and financial capacities for natural resource management (WPC, 2003).

At the same time, Barrow and Fabricius (2002) argue that international and national policies must be revised to allow protected area categories to embrace community involvement in conservation. This, in turn, will require the devolution of meaningful authority, and ensuring that the benefits from conservation outweigh the costs to communities. Most of these issues were discussed during the World Parks Congress in Durban in September 2003 and, from an African perspective, are covered in the action agenda of the Durban consensus as discussed in section 2.1 above. The important thing here is whether the action agenda will be implemented as expected and that remains to be seen.

On another note, it is clear that poverty and conservation cannot co-exist. Adisu and Mazambani (1995) argue that poverty is a condition where people experience a continuing shortage of food, clothes, shelter, health care, and employment among other necessities in life. Poor people often experience restricted access to environmental resources, freedom, rights, and opportunities to change their situation

by themselves (*ibid*). Yet the very challenge of addressing basic human needs often leads to environmental degradation and a self-perpetuating cycle of poverty and decline (Roe, 2001). Thus poor people have a right to be heard and to participate in conservation and development initiatives in their respective countries for their well-being. Indeed, it is necessary to address the needs of the poor if effective, integrated conservation and development is to be achieved (*ibid*).

2.5   The realities and myths of community conservation

According to Murphree (2000), the world of community conservation is a fertile breeding ground for myths, which distort the clarity of our thinking and inhibit our ability to act incrementally. Community conservation was not designed as a substitute for protected area approaches such as resource protection; it was to be part of a suite of conservation approaches within national conservation strategies, applicable for particular contexts and circumstances (*ibid*). However, one of the major liabilities of community conservation is the name itself, as it incorporates one of the vaguest and most elusive concepts in social science, and one, which continues to defy precise definition (Barrow and Fabricius, 2002). Opponents of community conservation argue that with this the approach the preservation of species and ecosystems will be compromised by placing any measure of control in the hands of wildlife's greatest enemies – local people (Adams and Hulme, 2001:194). On the other hand, supporters of community conservation suggests that functionally, the approach is directed towards the collective management, use, and control of common pool resources for the benefits of all the community.

Organizationally, community conservation is directed at local levels usually below the large-scale bureaucratic units that governments have created at national or district levels (Barrow and Murphree, 2001; Adams and Hulme, 2001). Therefore, at local level, community conservation is conducted through primary relationships, is governed by normative consensus, is legitimated by a sense of collective interest, and operates over a defined jurisdiction (personal experience). Community conservation approaches promote and enable local and indigenous peoples to continue conserving and wisely using wildlife; they seek to minimise conflicts between conservation and

legitimate human settlements; educate the younger generation about their country's wildlife; promote better land use practices; and increase co-operation with other sectors within the landscape or ecosystem.

The community conservation continuum ranges from park outreach to community based conservation or community-based natural resources management (Barrow and Murphree, 2001; Murphree, 1996). Collaborative management, which is now a common approach to protected area management in Africa, lies in the middle position of the community conservation continuum (Adams and Hulme, 2001; Namara, 2006). This approach is focused upon conservation with some rural livelihood benefits on state-owned resources (Namara, 2006). The collaborative management is itself a continuum, with different models delivering various degrees of power sharing. Namara (2006) gives a range of models for collaborative management: a) Informal or semi-formal agreements between protected area authorities and other stakeholders regarding the use of specific resources; b) agreements largely based upon the discretion of the protected area authority staff on the ground; c) formal agreements with some form of stakeholder institution, but largely limited to immediate protected area boundary with communities with the aim of regulating access to protected area resources; d) complex agreements with local communities in and around the protected area; e) shared decision making on protected area management; f) multi-stakeholder protected area management institutions, with greater roles for the protected area authority compared to other stakeholders; and g) both a reduced role of the protected area authority or resources entirely managed and decisions primarily made by non-government stakeholders, with government represented.

The strength of a collaborative agreement is, according to Barrow and Murphree (2001), a function of the level of benefits derived from the resource use. The concept of benefit sharing has eluded many community conservation initiatives in Africa.

2.6   Levels of community participation

According to Reid (2000), active participation is fundamental to building an empowered community. Many community-based conservation initiatives have failed

because they have not fully engaged and empowered communities. The process of empowerment takes time, and varies widely according to local circumstances but it is an essential prerequisite for the sustainability of any projects (*ibid*). At one end of a continuum, 'participation' is perceived as passive consumer response to the receipt of information or services – effectively a one-way 'consultation' process directed at the community (Hollaway, 2001; Japanese Disability Information Resources, 2006). At the other end of the continuum, the community takes full responsibility and ownership of the outcomes of that process (*ibid*). This is reflected in Table 2.2, taken from a WHO narrative on Social mobilisation, which sets out different levels of participation derived in part from Arnstein's seminal model (Arnstein, 1971).

Table 2.2: Levels of community participation

Type of participation	Key elements
Manipulative participation	Participation is pretence - people's representatives are on official boards but have no real power.
Passive participation	People 'participate' in so far as being told what is going to happen or what has already happened. A unilateral announcement may be made by an outside agency, and people's responses are not taken into account.
Participation by consultation	People are consulted. External agencies define both problems and information gathering processes. Such a process does not concede a share in decision-making and professionals are under no obligation to consider people's views in designing interventions.
Participation by material incentives	People participate by providing resources e.g. their time or labour, in return for food, cash, or other material incentive.
Functional participation	People participate by forming groups to meet pre-determined objectives related to the project. Such involvement tends to occur after major decisions have been made.
Interactive participation	People participate in joint analysis of problems, which leads to action plans and the formation of new local groups or the strengthening of existing ones. These groups take control over local decisions, and so people have a stake in being involved.
Self-mobilisation	People participate by taking initiatives independent of external institutions to change system/situation.

Source: Table 4.1 Social Mobilisation, Advocacy, and Community Participation, a Technical Guide by World Health Organization.

However, because of the lack of clarity in the concept of participation, many people find it difficult to define the levels of achievement as they progress with the projects (Japanese Disability Information Resources, 2006). While central governments cannot and may not abdicate their responsibility for facilitating local development, decision-making in such initiatives could be devolved from national to local level, and enable local communities to play a key role in this (*ibid*).

2.7   Human activities and conservation

Before the coming of the colonialists, it is believed that African ancestors used to roam freely in the landscapes and were able to sustain themselves through a number of traditional utilization methods including fishing and gathering of edible roots, fruits, and leaves from their village communal lands (Ndasikoi, 2001). Traditionally, people used very primitive weapons and traps to kill the animals, and to collect and use other natural resources to meet the needs of the society (McPeanne, 2008; Adams, 2004; Ndasikoi, 2001; Gamassa, 1992; Child, 1995). However, changes started during the industrialization in Europe in the 19th century. Most factories in Europe required raw materials to be manufactured into marketable products. As a result, Europeans sought both a source of raw materials, as well as, a market for manufactured goods in Africa. This economic motivation played a great role in the colonization of Africa (McPeanne, 2008). Industrialisation brought about rapid advancement in transportation and communication, especially in the forms of steam navigation, railways and telegraphs (*ibid*).

Additionally, technological advancements facilitated overseas expansionism (McPeanne, 2008). These advancements also promoted agricultural economy that led to subdivision of communal lands and the settlers took arable land while some of the natives were pushed towards marginal lands (McPeanne, 2008; Child, 1995; Dembe, 1997). Even so, the settlers further claimed more land in marginal areas for purposes of exclusive ranching and wildlife preservation. In some countries like South Africa, more land was set side for mining (*ibid*). The continuous hunting by the white settlers in Africa especially after World War II had a devastating effect on wildlife as many animals were wantonly killed (Adams, 2004; Thom, 1989; Lucas, 1992). Inevitably,

the traditional way of hunting was overtaken by this development, and hunting became the prerogative of the rich and powerful, in this case none other than the colonial masters (Thom, 1989; Lewis, 1996).

Today, Africa is witnessing an ever-increasing human demand on the resources of both forest and savannah ecosystems. One of the manifestations of this trend is deforestation, which currently stands at about 1% per annum in the closed rain forest zone (Severre, 2000). It has been estimated that over half of the original wildlife habitats in Africa has already been lost to logging, charcoal burning, and conversion to agriculture and livestock grazing (Kiss, 1990). Borrini-Feyerabend (1997) suggests that it cannot be denied by anyone that most traditional societies historically coexisted with nature and freely utilized the diverse biological resources.

When the colonial governments established national parks, game and forest reserves that continued even after independence, the boundaries further separated human beings from nature and built local and indigenous people's resentments towards conservation of natural resources in Africa. The result of this isolation from nature and its resources is the environmental degradation that is now seriously threatening not only the wildlife but human beings as well. According to Hutchison (1991), environmental degradation is a plague that upsets the traditional balance between people, their habitat, and the social-economic systems by which they normally live. This situation has been disturbing the natural resource base and is promoting insecurity and strife in Africa, as is the case in Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Somalia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola, Liberia, and Sierra Leone and Uganda (Glew and Hudson, 2007; Oglethorpe, et al., 2004).

2.8   Establishment of protected areas

The establishment of protected areas especially the national parks and game reserves in Africa changed the traditional land tenure and perpetuated long-term conflict and resentment. The colonial process that was used to establish these protected areas was aimed at creating such areas for their own exclusive use, thereby separating the natives from their traditional lands, to which they had a strong attachment. The

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process commonly involved forceful evictions of the natives and made sure that all the benefits accrued to the government coffers (Adams and McShane, 1996). No benefits were returned to the alienated natives or the conservation of the protected areas. The exclusion was so serious that natives were totally excluded from the planning and management of the protected areas (Borrini-Feyerabend and Sandwith, 2003). Roe (2001) points out that the vicious circle of exclusionary approaches has also been largely maintained today, as shown in Figure 2.1 over page. The result is a long lasting distrust between protected area managers and local communities thereby fuelling traditional resentments and conflicts that are amplified by economic hardships.

Lucas (1992) further gives the historical perspective that the concepts of hunting by the elite and conserving of forests for a much wider range of values than sport hunting, were the fore-runners of today's protected areas. The existing national parks of the Yellowstone model have continued to dictate the global concept of conservation especially in developing countries (Kemf, 1993; Adams and McShane, 1996; Lucas, 1992; Anderson and Grove, 1987).

Figure 2.1: The vicious circle of exclusionary approaches
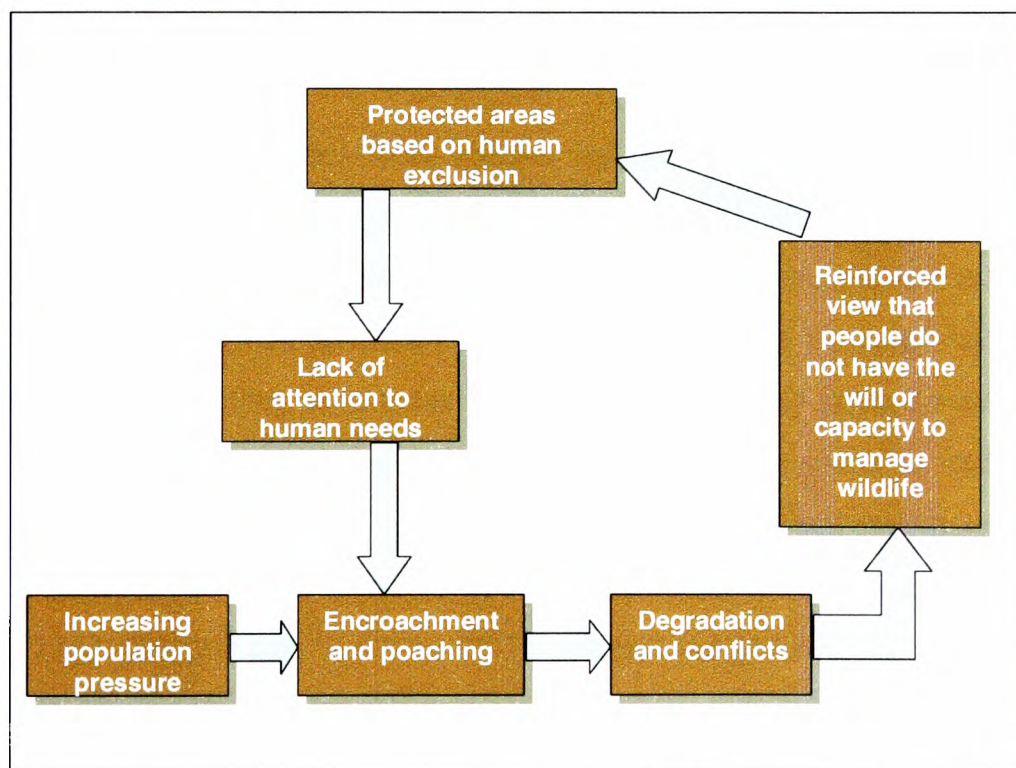
Consistent with Swanson and Barbier (1992), the initial approach, which had its roots in the western environmentalist movements and ideology of the past century and which still predominates today, saw the establishment of large and small areas of national parks as the foremost priority for African conservation. The ownership, control, and management of these preserved areas and resources were vested in the government machinery.

The main objectives of the national conservation policies were to protect these areas as part of a 'national' heritage on behalf of all citizens, by developing and reaping the potential benefits of tourism, hunting, culling, and other revenue-earning activities for government coffers. Whilst the late Professor Grzimek, the first President of Frankfurt Zoological Society (FZS) is considered as a towering figure of African conservation, he too followed the same conservation model (section 2.1). The model perpetuated the protection of large animals in Africa, and for which purpose, the exclusion of local and indigenous peoples from the national parks was a pre-requisite (Adams and McShane, 1996; Colchester, 2003). Historically, it is widely known that both the colonial and post independence wildlife laws continued to exclude the local and indigenous peoples from national parks in the interests of the protection of large animal populations and preservation of their habitat (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1997; Anderson and Grove, 1987).

Local and indigenous peoples were evicted by force to new areas, often without compensation for the loss of property, and traditional or customary land rights. Borrini-Feyerabend (1997) and Swanson and Barbier (1992), conclude that in the eyes of the local and indigenous peoples, colonial wildlife officers favoured the protection of animals over the welfare of humans living around the newly created national parks. Most of these conservation managers have continued to perceive and maintain colonial cultures that perceive indigenous peoples as posing the main threat to conservation in Africa (*ibid*). Traditional African hunters were branded as 'poachers' (Adams, 2004; Ghimire and Pimbert, 1997) and pastoral peoples, such as the Maasai, as one of the major threats to wildlife regardless of the fact that the big game so dear to conservationists had coexisted with the communities for centuries (Igoe, 2002; Adams and McShane, 1996; Borrini-Feyerabend, 1997).

The indigenous peoples of Africa, realising that they were alienated from everything concerning natural resources, developed resentments that passed from one generation to another and gave rise to continued conflicts with national parks even after independence (Kidegesho, et al., 2007; Ndasikoi, 2001; Child, 1995;). Meanwhile, national parks have continued to be perceived as the colonial 'Eden' by the European psyche, rather than as a complex and changing environment (Anderson and Groove, 1987). To most rural people in Africa, the national parks are no more than a waste of land that could be better used for agriculture and cattle grazing. They have had no incentive to conserve, but every incentive to destroy them (Ndaskoi, 2001; ZimTrust, 1996; Ghimire and Pimbert, 1997).

2.9   Paradigm shift in conservation

Over two decades, the concepts, policies and practices of wildlife conservation and management in sub-Saharan Africa began to shift towards what are now perceived as community conservation approaches (Hulme and Murphree, 1999; Barrow and Murphree, 1998; Barrow et al., 2000). However, the challenges to the dramatic shift in the mind-set have lain within the concept itself. This is clearly shown by the countries in East and Southern Africa. The focus for countries in East Africa such as Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya, has been to develop positive relationships between national parks and their neighbours. Some Southern African countries such as Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia focused on promoting sustainable wildlife utilization, through community-based natural resources management programmes (Hulme, 1999).

The first strand contends that conservation should move from being a state-centric activity to being more based in civil society, and particularly in societies at the local level, while the second encourages partnerships between government agencies and the stakeholders. At the same time, many countries in East and Southern Africa such as Kenya, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Botswana have changed their administrative structures of government conservation agencies by forming single entities through the amalgamation of different wildlife departments to improve their performance and to

attract donor funding.

Countries in Eastern and Southern Africa for example Tanzania/Kenya and South Africa/Zimbabwe/Mozambique, respectively, are already recognizing trans-boundary parks, ecosystem management or a landscape level conservation of natural resources by using policies that allow a number of stakeholders to work for a common goal (AWF, 2002; Bennett, 2003). The result of this more holistic approach is improved ecological and socio-economic development using national parks as core areas whose viability depends on the better understanding and use of surrounding landscapes and ecosystems (*ibid*). Thus, it is clear that conservation is evolving, and takes many forms, including new management skills in addition to the traditional ones, a variety of participatory approaches, new institutions and multiple/sustainable schemes (Borrini-Feyeraband, 1997).

The change of attitude of protected area agencies towards the adjacent communities and landscapes has enabled dialogue, negotiation and conflict resolution, and the distribution of conservation benefits has been openly discussed and practised. It has been noted that even though conservation is about managing natural resources, it is also true that it has profound political implications at all levels, affecting people in important and multiple ways. Notably, Swanson and Barbier (1992) record that the problems and conflicts of past conservation policies and increasing economic pressures on wild resources, led to a re-thinking (by the North) of new wildlife management strategies for Africa. The new approaches, though still criticized by some purist conservationists (Hulme, 1999), seem to be acceptable to the stakeholders. Notable examples are emerging in Africa where the on-going devolution process that gives greater responsibilities for natural resources management to local governments and communities is viewed as positive such as in Zimbabwe, Botswana, and Zambia (*ibid*).

This change has not been without criticisms, in particular of the variously adopted community conservation approaches, including the renowned Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources of Zimbabwe or CAMPFIRE, even though it had played a catalytic role in Africa's transformation towards people-oriented conservation (Patel 1998). The Integrated Conservation and Development

Projects (ICDPs) have also been criticized for failing to demonstrate convincing linkages between human well-being and improved conservation status (Well *et al.*, 1992). In Tanzania, national parks are managed according to the traditional definition of no habitation and consumptive use (Bergin, 1995; Dembe and Bergin, 1997), and adopted the park outreach approach (Dembe and Bergin, 1996). Park outreach approaches are criticised for providing benefits in the form of handouts, as they cannot permit utilization of park resources by local communities (Namara, 2006; Dembe and Bergin, 1997).

These changes have resulted in various perceptions from conservation bureaucracies in most countries such as Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Uganda, and others where they have found some community conservation approaches, a bitter pill to swallow (Hulme, 1999). The fear of this change is so apparent that it has politically stalled the implementation of the meaningful community conservation programmes. Nevertheless, this change is inevitable and the need to do so is still important for the new conservation ethic to be put into practice. Child (1995) records that people have become more aware of the importance of protected areas to their livelihoods. In some countries like Tanzania, additional land brought into the national parks estate with initiation of the local and indigenous communities and the public is a positive move (TANAPA/IRA, 2002; TANAPA, 2008). A good example is the public demand for annexation of Mount Kilimanjaro, Meru, Usangu wetlands and Marang catchment forest reserves into the Kilimanjaro, Arusha, Ruaha and Lake Manyara National Parks, respectively for effective protection due to destruction of water sources. The forests are important watershed areas but illegal harvesting has been going on at alarming rates (*ibid*).

Generally, it is viewed that from the mid 80's, the language has changed from conventional conservation jargon to the new language of an expeditionary force conquering virgin terrain; terrain whereon ecologists, wildlife managers, economists, sociologists, population demographers, businessmen, and local and indigenous peoples are brought together for the conservation of resources within a framework of integrating principles (Child, 1995; Ndaskoi, 2001). However, there is still a lot to be done to provide answers on the on going debate.

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2.9.1 Conservation paradigms: constraints and criticisms

As with all manufactured concepts and approaches, the conservation paradigms are prone to problems. For instance, even though the classical paradigm has become the new conventional wisdom, particularly in international discourse, there are still important lags in its succession from the state-led authoritarian 'classical' predecessor and is currently widely criticised in many respects (Colchester 2001; Chambers, 1993). The human rights groups are demanding recognition of the local and indigenous communities that must have a right of access and use of the natural resources. The bureaucratic system is being challenged with a more democratic system where people have a right to be heard and their issues addressed in a rational way. The top down or the 'preservationist' approach is highly questioned today.

According to Colchester (2001), national parks and other protected areas have imposed elite visions for land use, which result in the alienation of common lands to the state. This means through the conservationists' concept of wilderness, the meaning of conservation has been deliberately distorted from the cultural understanding of the local and indigenous communities. Seemingly, even the meaning of "wilderness" is confusing as it is defined as a place where man himself is a visitor who does not remain (Ndasikoi, 2001; Olenasha, 2003). This concept is highly challenged as it still follows the Yellowstone National Park model. An additional discussion by Mulholland and Eagles (2002) of African parks show that throughout Africa the fiscal arrangements for protected areas do not provide enough income for sustainable park management or for building support to local and indigenous communities. In as much as financing for protected area management is inadequate and typically depends on government grants, foreign aid and tourism, the sustainability of conservation in Africa may need re-modelling (*ibid*).

Furthermore, some experts argue that throughout Africa, grants are small and declining. At the same time, foreign aid although useful for capital construction, is rarely effective for daily conservation operating costs (Mulholland and Eagles, 2002). Another area of contention is that of fast conversion of land near protected areas for agriculture. The land that is converted is mostly natural forests and wetlands. The effect of this move, particularly in the context of global warming, is the serious lack

of water in many African countries. This situation is exacerbated by the fact that the population of Africa has increased from 118 million at the beginning of the last century to 778 million; thereby putting increased pressure on natural resources (Museveni, 2002). Protected areas find it incredibly difficult to withstand land pressures from local and indigenous peoples who are now eyeing the wetlands and forests even more. These areas are of crucial ecological importance and provide valuable human basic needs (Mulholland and Eagles, 2002). Many critics of protected area management under the classical approach see this problem for many countries, which still exclude the local and indigenous communities from contributing directly to planning and management of protected areas. In addition, where governments are responsible for all aspects of protected areas, they are generally not run on commercial basis (they claim to offer services only), resulting in further economic drain and poverty to adjacent local and indigenous communities. According to Mulholland and Eagles (2002), due to traditional and non-dynamic system of management few protected areas in Africa can support themselves.

The people-oriented conservation paradigm is closely challenged by the resurrection of the neo-liberal economic approach while contradictions and problems are also emerging from within the approach. It is realized that converting a new idea into successful conservation practice needs time and the right ingredients. The unfortunate part in this paradigm is that it is prone to political hijackings and is highly donor dependent (Patel, 1998). This approach does not make it easy to measure the value of biodiversity and the political reality of doing so remains with formidable obstacles to the realization of efficiently functioning markets for biodiversity (Blaikie and Jeanrenaud 1997). This approach is also highly criticised, because it is argued that while it is good to know the benefits and costs of biodiversity, the tendency has been that while fewer individuals (mostly businesspersons) accumulate the benefits, the local and indigenous communities continue to accumulate the environmental costs. Some studies in Zimbabwe, Tanzania and South Africa have revealed that hunting companies, tour operators and hoteliers always benefit more while local and indigenous communities often do not come even near the perceived benefits (Koch, 1995; AWF, 2000).

Policy analysts have also related this situation to the Governments' 'go slow' policy on devolving powers to local and indigenous communities to manage wildlife since it

is argued that there are no strong local institutions to effect the required changes. However, for the sake of frustrated local and indigenous communities, governments should facilitate an enabling environment for true partnerships to evolve among stakeholders in natural resources management (Dembe, 1997; Barrow *et al.*, 1998; AWF, 2000).

2.10   Strong political commitments and democratisation

Ostensibly, the commitment of most African governments to wildlife conservation cannot be doubted as the massive allocation of land for national parks speaks for itself (Anderson and Grove, 1997). Similarly, most governments have come to recognise that protected areas can play an important role in the overall pattern of national land use and economic development through tourism (McNeely, 1995). This realisation has enabled most governments to adopt necessary changes or reforms, including restructuring processes, to strengthen conservation institutions and approve policies to involve local and indigenous communities in planning and managing natural resources in their areas.

From the perspective of the donor agencies, the inclination now is to encourage governments to pass non-vital services over to the private sector. They see the major roles of central governments as to develop policies, standards, and approval of management plans for development processes of the protected areas. These governments should also continue playing a watchdog role over the performance of private contractors and non-governmental organisations entrusted to run parks on a day-to-day basis, and maintain the ultimate use of police power and the judicial system. However, McNeely (1995) cautions that whereas the transfer of responsibility to non-governmental organisations and local and indigenous communities to manage national parks may be arguably to take pressure off the central governments, the truth is that economic restructuring agreements have had an overwhelming effect on many national park systems in Africa. The researcher observed that the current public-private sector partnership arrangements may be practical if political will is provided. If such partnerships were accepted, then the management of these parks would benefit from co-funding by both the public and private sector with local communities at the

centre of benefits accumulation.

However, it seems that most investors are willing to invest in Parks for quick profits and conservation objectives become secondary to them (AWF, 2000). Most governments have expressed this fear when undertaking the World Bank and International Monetary Fund economic recovery programmes involving the natural resources sector. If residents continue to be excluded for ecological or economic reasons from enjoying the parks, then the future of these areas may be uncertain (Anderson and Grove, 1997). There is a view that, if government agencies are given sufficient financial and administrative autonomy and freedom from gross political intervention in day-to-day management, these agencies can perform their functions quite efficiently (McNeely, 1995).

2.11   Good governance and community empowerment

The pillars of good governance are responsibility, accountability and rule of law; partnerships; transparency, equity, and fairness. According to Borrini-Feyerabend (1997), compliance (or non-compliance) of social actors to the rule of law is indicative of the degree of cohesion of society as a whole, and of the level of legitimacy of governing institutions. Adequate governance depends on the legitimacy of the political system and the resulting respect shown to its institutions by the majority of people, who comply to and accept the rule of law; and the efficacy or reliability of governing institutions (*ibid*). This can be measured to some degree by the capacity of a political system to solve problems, and to achieve a consensus through compromise. It is the view of the researcher that political violence, institutional instability, and corruption promote short term, profit-motivated approaches to resource management, since shifting rules and regulations may curtail the capacity of certain sectors to gain access and rights to natural resources.

Worldwide, it has been fashionable for governments to centralize decision-making, control and the eventual enforcement of natural resource management in government agencies at national level (Child, 1995; Borrini-Feyerabend, 1997). According to experts' views, these agencies have often proven ineffective due to lack of funding,

large-scale bureaucracies and struggles for and/or defending personal power, and political influence (*ibid*). Borrini-Feyerabend (1997) provides an example of a government ranger who has to radio the head office to gain permission to kill a problem animal; where as by the time he/she gets the required permission, the problem animal had long gone. However true the example is, the fact is that decision-making processes are still largely over-centralized and bestowed on individuals rather than systems. Of course, government conservation agencies are now officially recognizing local institutions as their rightful partners to work with.

A good number of community-based organisations (CBOs) had been established since early 1990s. But most of them are facing financial and credibility problems to an even greater degree than the government agencies that preceded them especially in delivering the projects directly to the local and indigenous communities (Dembe, 1997). One of the big problems is that the communities are being increasingly required to manage resources in the absence of an appropriate policy context to enable them to do so (*ibid*).

Murphree (1991) establishes that in the CAMPFIRE programme of Zimbabwe, even where the power was decentralised to regional or district levels, the authorities at these levels did not bother to take the additional step of fully devolving power to local institutions and the private sector. Therefore, even though decentralisation and devolution are critical in setting the stage for management and governance of natural resources on a sustainable basis (Borrini – Feyeraband, 1997), it is no guarantee that it will occur as the threat of government losing its own powers might preclude transference of authority (Murphree, 1993).

2.12 Principal observations

The global overview shows that the debate on community conservation has a long way to go to be understood and accepted. The compromise between ecologists, conservationists, sociologists, developers, decision-makers, and local communities cannot be easily achieved without holistic approaches that will endeavour to balance the conservation and use efforts. The issue of meaningful partnerships is critical, as it

needs trust and commitment if conservation for sustainable development is to be achieved. Governments, which are responsible for policy, must provide the enabling environment that will promote conservation for sustainable development. The future of protected areas will depend on how effective local and indigenous communities can be empowered so that they can benefit directly from community conservation approaches. The ultimate goal of this basic activity is the establishment and harmonization of the linkages between these expected benefits and conservation of biodiversity, which is an asset in many countries to both people and nature. The world will soon realise that if smaller community conserved areas can contribute significantly to conservation of biological diversity and rural development, than the vast protected landscapes can do much more if strategically synergized.

In the African context, conservation is no longer the same field that the founders of Yellowstone National Park in the USA and the late Professor Grzimek of the Frankfurt Zoological Society and his associates in Africa, established, advocated and practised. True enough, through conceited rigidity by the famous conservationists, the protected areas still exist and continue to provide the recreational and aesthetic values to mankind. On the contrary, their role has changed so significantly to contribute to biodiversity conservation and the socio-economic development of the people who were once wholly alienated. The survival of protected areas no longer depends on their statutory boundaries and law enforcement agencies but on the landscape level conservation or ecosystem management, that recognizes the inherent relations between nature and people. The only difference from the days before industrialization is that today the world is faced with rapid population growth, land pressures, advanced technology, limited natural resources, and high consumption rates that cause potential threats to the environment.

Murphree (1991), Western and Wright (1993) suggest (metaphorically) that conservation in Africa must bring back the man with a spear. This man with a spear denotes an indigenous person who once lived as part of the landscapes and managed the natural resources by traditional means (Western and Wright, 1993; Ndasikoi, 2001). It is the views of the researcher that this is possible through establishing partnerships which combine education and community development to empower local people to address their responsibilities in the conservation of protected areas. The

researcher further contends that a key message to Africa is that ignorance, greed, and selfishness are the greatest enemies to development and must be fought at all costs in order for Africa to participate fairly in the global debate of changing policies and concepts for conservation-led socio economic development. Many parts of Africa have undoubtedly benefited through tourism development in the national parks, despite their colonial history, and there is little more to be gained through dwelling on the injustices of the past. There is, however, much to do to ensure that we adopt appropriate policies and best practice in order to ensure a better future for these critically important areas and their peoples.

Policy changes that have necessitated reforms are advocating for more roles and responsibilities by the civil society and private sector and less for governments in the business field. That means government conservation institutions have to learn how the private sector operates in order to be able to participate within the sector, on a level playing field, rather than refusing to cooperate as immediate neighbours with the upcoming local and indigenous communities. The new role of these government institutions should be outright facilitation and brokering between the villages and the private sector (Campbell and Loibooki, 2001). Local governments and other institutions have to do the same.

Critically, protected area managers must now be multi-skilled in order to operate effectively and efficiently. Local and indigenous communities are no longer the 'poachers' who used to give protected area managers sleepless nights and busy days (Dembe, 1993). They are the rightful partners and allies in conservation and development (*ibid*). Linkages have to be established to enable conservation to contribute effectively to the sustainable development of the people and the nations at large.

It is the opinion of the researcher that African governments and their local and indigenous communities know what they want at both the national and local levels, respectively. Efforts are required to promote the implementation of appropriate arrangements for community conservation and achieve realistic conservation and development goals (*ibid*). While a lot has been written about the principles of new conservation, very little is known about its achievements, despite widespread media coverage suggesting that certain initiatives, such as the CAMPFIRE programme of

Zimbabwe are blueprints for effective conservation for Africa (Hulme and Murphree, 1999). These achievements need to be tested to provide evidence-based recommendations for crucial forthcoming periods. Unfortunately, this conceptual understanding has not been adequately developed or evaluated. At some of the grassroots the beneficiaries are still intoxicated by a perceived dependency panacea that "donors and the government-will-deliver". On the other hand, the change is good, as there are some positive indicators, which are important for both conservation and development. The concept has to be understood to do away with the global confusion that is deterring effective partnership programmes in natural resource management especially in Africa.

The researcher agrees with Adams and Hulme (2001) who argue that conservation cannot be pursued by the state or 'the community' alone: they have to work together, and new institutional frameworks are likely to be needed to enable them to do so. Conservation, like development is highly political, and debate about what should be done and how are inevitable. The challenge of community conservation is to ask who should be part of that debate in particular places and at particular times.

The thesis contributes to the on going community conservation debate with experiences from the Tanzanian context of conservation and development as discussed in Chapter Three.

CHAPTER THREE: THE CONTEXT OF TANZANIAN CONSERVATION

3.1 Introduction

The largest of the three East African countries (see Figure 3.1), Tanzania has an area of 945,087 km^2 and a population of about 39.5 million people (World Development Indicators, 2006). The conservation of its natural resources is seen as a national heritage issue and a matter of national pride (URT, 2003).

Figure 3.1: East African countries –Tanzania

Source: National Bureau of Statistics, 2002, Dar es Salaam

To Tanzanians themselves, the pride runs so deep that it resembles a religious faith (Adams and McShane, 1996). This is illustrated by the fact that about 40.5% (Barrow et al; 2000) of its land surface is set aside as protected areas aimed at conserving biological diversity (Table 3.1). It is expected that the implementation of the Wildlife Policy of 1998 will see an increase in more land for conservation through establishment of Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) in the country (MNRT, 2003; Severe, 2000: MNRT, 1998a). Tanzania is experiencing an average annual population growth rate of 2.6% (URT, 2003). The increase in population has resulted in a rapid rural-urban drift, thereby decreasing the demand for natural resources from protected areas (*ibid*). According to TACAIDS (2008), the HIV& AIDS epidemic has an obvious impact on all sectors of development, not only through pressure on resources, but also through depletion of

the economically active population, especially young women and men.

Tanzania became a socialist state under the principles of "Ujamaa" (or socialism), based on the Arusha Declaration of 1967 (Nyerere, 1973). The country passed through a series of political and economic upheavals in the 1980s when the entire economy was controlled by the state, but from year 1995, the economy has become more market driven (Barrow *et al.*, 2000). The biological diversity of Tanzania, including fauna, flora and their constituent habitats and ecosystems, is among the richest in sub-Saharan Africa, and indeed in the world (IUCN, 1992; MNRT, 1995). Tanzania possesses a wide diversity of species, both in terms of richness and endemism. Tanzania is recognised globally for its natural heritage, and is classified as a 'mega-diversity' nation, along with the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire), Brazil, and Indonesia (Conservation International, 2002).

The Eastern Arc montane forests, the montane grasslands, wetlands, savannah, miombo woodlands, the great lakes, and the coastal forests, are of particular importance in terms of its critical habitats, and of the endemic species that are contained therein (Martin, 2003a). The Udzungwa Mountains form part of the Eastern arc mountains system (see Figure 3.2), which is one of the 25 global 'hotspots' for plant endemism and has been nicknamed the 'Archipelago Islands of Africa' (Martin, 2003a; UMNP, 2001).

In terms of tourism, Tanzania is globally marketed and promoted as the land of Kilimanjaro, spicy islands of Zanzibar and the Serengeti and is one of the famous nature-based tourism destinations in the world (Melamari, 1996; TTB, 2008).

Figure 3.2: Map of Eastern Arc Mountains/Forests
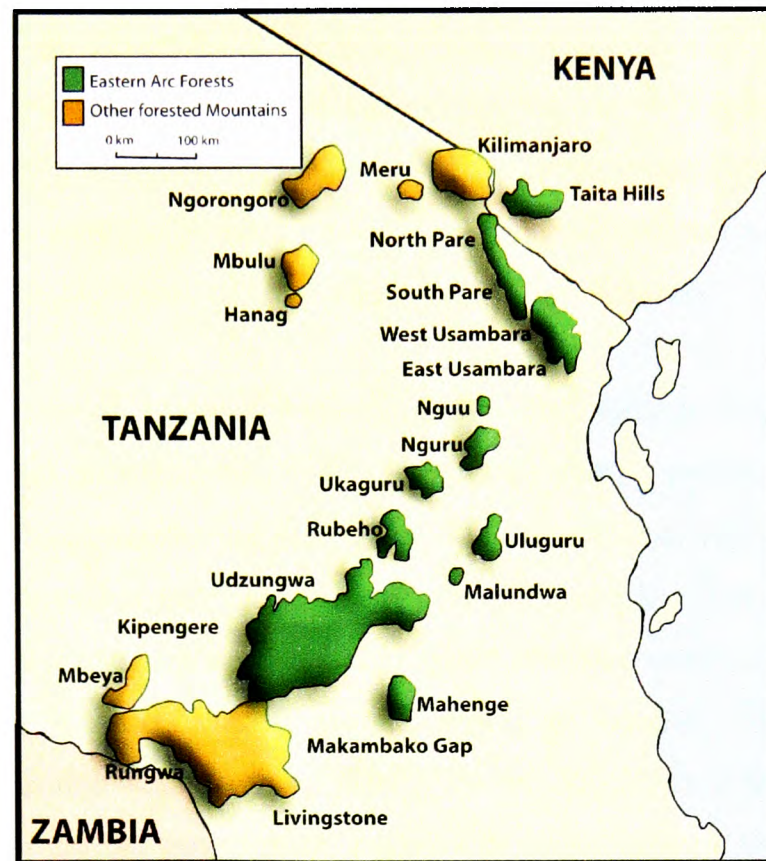
Source: Udzungwa National Park, 2005

3.2 History of conservation in Tanzania

Historically, as in many African countries, conservation has played a vital role in people's livelihoods in Tanzania, though this has varied according to land-use and custom, and has been managed through a range of customary rules and regulations (Barrow *et al.*, 2000). With its diversity of peoples and land uses, Tanzania displays an equally wide range of traditional conservation practices. For example, while some communities are known as traditional hunters; others had taboos against eating hunted meat (MNRT, 1995).

3.2.1 Conservation before and during colonial era

Records show that the establishment of protected areas in Tanzania started during the colonial era and continued after independence (IUCN, 1992). In 1905, the German colonial administration initiated the concept of conservation, where all lands whether

occupied or not were declared crown lands, and large potential areas like those of the southern highlands, the Usambaras and the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro and Mount Meru were specially set aside for German settlers. After the First World War, what was then Tanganyika became a British Protectorate that in 1921 established the Game Department with a threefold mandate: first, to protect people and crops from marauding game animals; second, to enforce hunting regulations; and, third, to preserve wildlife values through administering the game reserves.

The Game Preservation Ordinance of 1921 under the British administration laid a foundation for total protection of wildlife in the Serengeti ecosystem (Babu, 1981). In 1940, the Fauna Preservation Ordinance Cap 302 was enacted. The most historic year for wildlife conservation in Tanzania was in 1951 when the Serengeti-Ngorongoro area was declared a national park, and four game reserves were established (MNRT, 1995). Although resident Maasai were allowed to remain, progressively strict conservation measures were taken until by 1954 all cultivation was prohibited in the park. These steps by the government fuelled conflicts between themselves and the Serengeti-Ngorongoro residents and the government was forced to re-think. Eventually, the conservation restrictions were relaxed in 1956. However, the conflict attracted the interest of the international community, whose protests again forced the government to create a probe committee that was mandated to look deeply into the matter.

In its findings, the probe committee recommended that the government should split the area into two separate protected areas of Serengeti and Ngorongoro with different management objectives. Thus, the Tanganyika National Parks Ordinance (Cap 412) of 1959 was enacted and Serengeti became the first national park in this ordinance. On record, this ordinance also remains the governing substantive law on national parks in Tanzania to date, with minimal amendments made to it since 1959 (MNRT, 1995). In the same year, the Ngorongoro Conservation Area Ordinance Cap 413 came into effect and Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA) was excised from the Serengeti National Park, to be managed by an independent authority under a multiple land use approach. In 1957, various game reserves were declared as controlled areas under the Fauna Conservation Ordinance of 1957. This started the creation of a protected areas network in the rest of the country outside the northern Serengeti-Ngorongoro area.

3.2.2 Conservation after independence

At the time of independence in 1961, Tanganyika had three national parks (Serengeti, Lake Manyara, and Ngurdoto, now Arusha), six game reserves (Selous, Rungwa, Mkomazi, Mount Meru, Kilimanjaro, and Biharamulo), the Ngorongoro Conservation Area, and a large number of game controlled areas (MNRT, 1995). The Tanganyika government, with few challenges or complications compared to the present situation, accepted the colonial legacy of creating more protected areas by excluding the local and indigenous communities in national parks and game reserves. In 1974, the government adopted a Wildlife Conservation Act No. 12, which repealed the Fauna Conservation Ordinance No. 17 of 1951 (Severre, 2000).

In the same spirit, the Wildlife Conservation Act of 1974 allowed the establishment of game reserves, game controlled areas, and partial game reserves, with the exclusion of local and indigenous peoples in the game reserves (MNRT, 1995). The National parks and the Ngorongoro Conservation Area were excluded from the scope of this act as they had their own legislation, even though functionally there are interactions at the sector level. This act, with amendments, remains the substantive law on wildlife in Tanzania (*ibid*). The wildlife policy was eventually developed in 1995 but it had not been harmonized with the legislation (personal experience). The conservation movement in Tanzania cannot be completed without mentioning the Arusha manifesto, which has been the official government statement on conservation in Tanzania since independence.

The first President and Father of the Nation, the late Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere, gave the historic statement in 1961 in Arusha as it appears in Box 3.1. The second President Ali Hassan Mwinyi reiterated the government's commitment to wildlife conservation, and the zeal to implement a policy of 'conservation for the people' (IUCN, 1992).

While Tanzania's wildlife conservation philosophy remains enshrined in the Arusha manifesto, an unequivocal updating was also made by the then Minister for Lands, Natural Resources and Tourism, Hon. Getrude Mongella in 1990, who stated, as

quoted from the MNRT (2002a:1):

"In Tanzania, we refuse to develop tourism solely as a commercial enterprise. We will not sacrifice our natural beauties merely for money; we will not destroy our ecology; we will not violate our atmosphere; we will not disturb the habitat of our wild animals; we will not disfigure our virgin coastline. Our extreme poverty notwithstanding, we are determined to conserve our unique heritage for the enjoyment

"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 source of wonder and inspirations 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 grandchildren 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 cooperate 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".

Source: MNRT, 1995

of the whole of mankind".

Box 3.1: The Arusha manifesto

After independence, the government enacted a number of legal mechanisms that supported the conservation movement. For instance, the Decentralisation of Government Administration (interim provisions) Act of 1972 replaced district councils under colonial rule with district and regional development committees (MNRT. 1995). These officers henceforth had a dual allegiance and responsibilities: both to directors at regional and district levels, and to the headquarters of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism in Dar es Salaam.

The Villages, Ujamaa (Socialism) Villages, Designation, Registration, and Administration Act of 1975 allowed village councils to control village land and other resources. Nevertheless, due to restrictive policies on wildlife, village councils and their district counterparts had no direct role in species conservation. The Local Government (District Councils) Act of 1982 specified how the sale or disposal of any

village land was to be carried out. There is a concern today that these procedures have not been followed, leading to loss of wildlife habitat and extinction of some species amongst other effects (MNRT, 1995). However, the same wildlife laws have also allowed Tanzania to develop and regulate its wildlife conservation estate and resource use thus far (personal experience).

After independence, Tanzania embarked on a strong and purposeful programme of social engineering to build national identity. It seems likely that the resulting national identity partly explains the relative lack of strong opposition to national projects and assets such as national parks (Barrow *et al.*, 2000). Tanzanians are accustomed to the idea that natural resources belong to the whole country. This may also explain why Tanzania has such a large percentage of its land under national management and more is being added (personal observations). The former Minister of Natural Resources and Tourism, Hon. Zakia H. Meghji (MP) provided statistics showing that the country had only two protected areas in 1900 and closed its 20th century accounts with sixty, occupying over 40% of the country's land area (Meghji, 2000; Table 3.1). Seemingly, these impressive figures are under threat from five forces: first, growing pressure to reduce the size of existing protected areas; second, decline in biodiversity richness; third, pressure on ecological processes and natural phenomena due to population increase; fourth, unsustainable natural resources utilisation; and, fifth, poor land husbandry. All of these forces are propelled by poverty and other stress factors such as climate change (*ibid*).

Today, the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism aspires to achieve sustainable conservation of natural and cultural resources and development of responsible tourism for all as its vision. The mission of the ministry is: "To conserve natural and cultural resources sustainably and develop responsible tourism for national prosperity and benefit of mankind through development of appropriate policies and strategies; formulation of appropriate laws and guidelines; and monitoring and evaluation of implementation and enforcement of the same" (MNRT, 2002:3-4).

3.2.3 Protected area network: successes and challenges

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Tanzania recognises that the conservation of her rich and diverse wildlife resources requires both the protection of species and habitats and the wise use of these resources for the benefit of the rural people and the nation at large. The indigenous people, especially the pastoralists, hunters and honey-gatherers, who used to practise traditional management systems through customary regimes for many years, have long recognised the need for sustainable conservation. The presence of wildlife populations of various species in expansive and diversified habitats in Tanzania today is a manifestation of the efforts of the people, comprising of more than 120 ethnic groups, with different cultures and organizations, having used these resources in the past in sustainable ways (Severre, 2000).

Changing lifestyles, however, have also impacted on landscapes over time For instance, in the past the Maasai were known as nomadic pastoralists and never ate wildlife meat, but nowadays as they are increasingly becoming sedentary there are indications that they are consuming wildlife meat. In addition, due to the sedentary mode of living, the Maasai in Eastern Tarangire are also learning to cultivate the land for food and to adopt cultural practices formerly associated with other traditional groups (personal observations). In that regard, cultivation is now expanding in the Ngorongoro Conservation Area contrary to the dual mandates of the protected area (Daily News, 2003). Many tribes have changed their way of life and their new land-use patterns are fast modifying the landscapes (*ibid*).

Since early colonial times, conservation efforts in Tanzania were directed towards the establishment of the protected areas, which are thereby managed in perpetuity through legal regimes. The classical approach, however, excluded local and indigenous communities from controlling resources that were formerly under their management (MNRT, 1995). Under its present wildlife legislation, Tanzania recognizes six types of wildlife-protected areas. These include national parks, marine parks and reserves, game reserves, conservation areas, game controlled and open areas. A new type of community conserved areas known as 'Wildlife Management Areas' (WMAs) is still in its pilot phase. WMAs are defined as areas set outside protected areas (National Parks, Game Reserves, Game Controlled Areas) within village lands where the wildlife resources are managed by a local authority which has the status of an

authorized association conferred by the Wildlife Division (MNRT, 2003). This will enable local and indigenous communities to plan and manage their own areas and improve their livelihoods. In the history of conservation in Tanzania, this denotes a major step towards sustainable conservation of biodiversity and development (personal observations).

In addition, this type of area also includes forest reserves, which are allowed under the forest legislation, and which have considerable relevance to wildlife conservation in terrestrial habitats. Each type of protected area has a different conservation purpose, significance and management objectives and each allows different forms of use. Game and forest reserves can all be upgraded to a national park status at any particular time based on the national significance and consent of the local and indigenous peoples whose basic needs would be directly provided through community conservation initiatives (personal experience).

While this protected area network has achieved considerable success, it has not resulted in complete conservation of the biological resources within the network framework (personal observations). For instance, some important habitats remain outside the protected area network especially the marine resources. Whereas some of these habitats can be included in the future, a number of representative areas cannot be included in the protected area network due to patterns of human settlement and other land-uses. Examples of these areas are found in southern Tanzania where most areas are left unprotected. Others include the important wetlands and scenic landscapes (TANAPA CCS, 2000; MNRT, 2003).

Currently, there are 15 national parks, 30 game reserves, 39 game controlled areas, and 1 conservation area (NCA) covering more than 4.1%, 11%, 10%, and 0.8% of the land surface area, respectively (MNRT, 1995; Severre, 2000; personal experience). Furthermore, around 570 forest reserves overlap with protected areas devoted to wildlife conservation and cover some 15% of the land surface (MNRT, 2003; Melamari, 1996). Consequently, Tanzania has about 15.1% of her total surface area devoted to wildlife where no permanent human settlement is allowed, and 10% of her surface area where wildlife co-exists with humans. If the efforts of the forestry sector are added to those of the wildlife sector, then Tanzania has a terrestrial protected area

network that excludes human settlement, of around 30% of the country's surface area (Severre, 2000; MNRT, 1995). A summary of the protected areas network (categories, number, and areas/percentage) devoted to wildlife is given in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Tanzania - categories of protected area devoted to wildlife

Protected Area	No.	Area in sq. km	% Land Area	Human Settlement	Administrative Authority	Legal Uses of Wildlife
National Parks	15	38,428	4.1	No	TANAPA	Game viewing, walking safaris, ballooning, night game drive and canoeing
Game Reserves	29	104,013	11	No	Wildlife Division, Regions	Game viewing, traditional hunting and resource use
Game Controlled Areas	39	96,865	10	Yes	Wildlife Division, Regions	Traditional hunting and resource use, game viewing, resident hunting, cropping, problem animal control, live capture
Ngorongoro Conservation Area	1	8,300	0.5	Yes	NCAA Livestock	Game viewing, grazing
Forest Reserves	570	136,653	15	No	Forestry Division and Beekeeping	Forest produce and water catchment
Total	**654**	**384,259**	**40.5**			

Source: Adapted from MNRT, 1995 in: Barrow et al., 2000

According to Dodoji News (2000), Tanzania also has eleven marine protected areas including four in Zanzibar Island. Mafia Island Marine Park was established in 1994

and Mnazi Bay-Ruvuma Estuary Marine Park in 2000 under the new Marine Parks and Reserves Act of 1994 (*ibid*). The vision for Tanzania Marine Parks and Reserves is: "To conserve and sustainably manage the marine protected areas of mainland Tanzania, this time in partnership with neighbouring communities and other stakeholders for the benefit of the people of Tanzania and the global community" (Dodoji News, 2000:1). The same applies to the wildlife management areas that have not been gazetted. Besides having their management objectives, protected areas are clearly very important forms of land use within Tanzania, and serves as the basis for the country's nature-based tourism industry.

Ostensibly, areas like the world famous Olduvai Gorge in Ngorongoro Conservation Area and Amboni caves have the potential of being developed for tourism (personal observations). The towns of Tanga, Pangani, Bagamoyo, Kilwa, Tabora and Ujiji are historically significant for being located on an infamous slave trade route. This history is being preserved and used for tourism development in the country (MNRT, 2002). Stone town in Zanzibar is already designated as a cultural World Heritage Site and depicts the history of Arab influence in Tanzania (TTB, 2008).

Conservation in the African context is not necessarily about people living in the protected areas but rather, emphasizing that they must be centrally involved in decision making and should receive tangible benefits from these protected areas. In Tanzania, the policy under which conservation has been pursued excludes and alienates rural people from their natural resources, thereby undermining local level roles and responsibilities. It is widely recorded that customary arrangements for ownership and use of wildlife were destroyed and responsibility was placed in the hands of the distant national government (Barrow *et al.*, 2000). With the loss of local rights, local responsibility to conserve traditional areas declined. Since the reduction of budgets for conservation in Tanzania in the 1980s coincided with increasing population and land pressures, it is no wonder that severe losses of wildlife occurred both inside and outside protected areas (*ibid*). This situation perhaps explains why community conservation has come to the fore in efforts to stem the loss of biodiversity in Tanzania and elsewhere in Africa. Snelson (1995), however, points out that community conservation, as an approach, is not an easy concept to design and implement; nor is it as easy as people think to evaluate its impacts over a short period of time.

Tanzania was insightful in designating the Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA) and experimenting with the possibility of the integration of wildlife, livestock, and humans (Kijazi, 1995). Maybe a proper follow up would have provided some answers to the predicament of biodiversity loss elsewhere in Tanzania before the global movement of community conservation began in the late 1980s. The experiment in NCA indicates some successes but also some failures. For instance, though the resident Maasai people and wildlife have continued to coexist in the NCA, the authority faces increasing difficulties in reconciling conservation and development, particularly as human populations continue to grow and demand more development inputs (Bensted-Smith and Leaver, 1996; Lane, 1996; Taylor and Johannson, 1996). Resident pastoralists in the NCA are assured of rights to habitation, grazing, and access to water and salt. However, the actual accrual of benefits resulting from tourism has been less clear, and has caused an increasing amount of conflict between the resident peoples and the NCAA. Similar confrontational situations have been recorded in Mkomazi Game Reserve where issues of water, land, and grazing stalled conservation efforts and development of pastoralists for a long time (Homewood, Kiwasila *et al.*, 1997). These sorts of difficulties may help explain why there has been no addition of such conservation areas in Tanzania to date (personal observations).

3.3 Community conservation initiatives

Partnerships between conservation authorities and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in most cases provide the right mix of conservation, flexibility, and community experiences (Barrow *et al.*, 2000). Almost all community conservation initiatives in Tanzania have been established and managed with technical assistance from donors or international non-governmental organizations. As community conservation projects and programmes started to achieve successes in the 1990s, larger bilateral and multilateral donors, particularly the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD) began funding activities. Further support to community conservation was seen as one of the main hopes for the better integration of conservation with rural livelihood objectives (*ibid*).

In 1995, the European Union (EU) funded the Serengeti Conservation and Development Project (SCDP) that had a component of community conservation, through a sub-project known as the Serengeti Tourism, Extension, and Education Project (STEEP) (IUCN, 1996). The EU also funded the Tarangire Conservation Project to study community land uses around Tarangire National Park from 1996 to 2000 (TANAPA/Oikos, 1996). In 1998, the German Bank for Reconstruction and Development (KfW) and 'Deutsche Gesellschaft fur Technische Zusammenarbeit' (GTZ) started supporting the Katavi-Rukwa Development Project (KRDP) that involved development of Katavi National Park and Rukwa Game Reserve at ecosystem level, and had a strong component of community conservation in close collaboration with Mpanda district. The Frankfurt Zoological Society (FZS) is also involved in supporting community – based conservation activities in the Serengeti National Park, Grumeti/Ikorongo and Maswa Game Reserves; and, in Ikona, Makao and Loliondo local and indigenous communities.

The World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) has been supporting the Udzungwa Mountains National Park since 1991 and the use of mixed arrangements of community conservation (outreach and collaborative management) seems to be more advanced than in other parks. For example, resource use by the local communities is allowed twice per week by permit inside the park in accordance with a signed agreement between TANAPA and the Kilombero district authority (personal experience). The community conservation in Udzungwa has programmes like agro-forestry, woodlots, income generation and alternative sources of energy that are so critical to local and indigenous communities residing in adjacent forest related parks (personal experience).

The Royal Netherlands Embassy has focused on district-based rural development programmes and has projects in Mbulu and Monduli districts in Tanzania. NORAD has been supporting the Natural Resources Management Programme in the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism in 12 different projects where the majority touch base with the local and indigenous communities in their functions since 1997 (MNRT, 1998c). NORAD supported the sector wide approach in the Forestry Division (Salmi et al., 2002). The UK Overseas Development Agency (now Department for

International Development DFID) supported the Ruaha Ecosystem Wildlife Management Project from 1994, which had a strong and focused community conservation programme (Hartley, 1997). The project is now operated by DFID as a local level project that facilitates the wise use of resources between Pawaga and Idodi divisions on the lines of WMAs and is known in Swahili as "Matumizi Bora ya Maliasili Idodi na Pawaga" (MBOMIPA) based in Iringa district offices.

3.3.1 Wildlife sector

Tanzania has a range of institutions that are responsible for wildlife conservation in the country. The Wildlife Division of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism is the central body responsible for the country's overall wildlife policy (MNRT, 2003). The division is directly responsible for the Tanzania Wildlife Clubs, Tanzania Wildlife Protection Fund (TWPF) and Pasiansi Wildlife Training College, as well as management of game reserves, controlled areas, and open areas (*ibid*). The Wildlife Division of the MNRT centrally manages and executes certain aspects of the protected areas. This includes planning, policy and legislation formulation, training, licensing, law enforcement and coordination with other authorities responsible for wildlife management. In addition, the division also manages a number of Game Reserves as 'national projects', including those at Selous, Rungwa, Moyovozi, Kizigo, Burigi, Maswa, Mkomazi and Ibanda (MNRT, 2003). At the regional level, other game reserves and all game controlled areas are managed by the local government authorities, but are responsible to the parent Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism through the Wildlife Division.

The colonial British Game Department divided Tanzania's wildlife estate into national parks where no hunting or settlement was allowed, and game reserves where hunting was allowed at the discretion of the governor (Severre, 2000). Though little acknowledgement or recognition of their rights and roles was afforded to local and indigenous peoples, this process did lay the foundations for the extent and quality of Tanzania's conservation estate today. Tanzania, unlike many countries in Africa, has a broad range of categories of protected estate with different management prominences (Table 3.1). Severre (2000) observes that since time immemorial Tanzania has enjoyed possession of expansive wildlife habitats. For instance,

Tanzania's oldest and most popular national park, the Serengeti is famed for its annual migration across the open plains. More than 200,000 zebra and 300,000 Thomson's gazelle join the wildebeest's trek for fresh grazing. Serengeti National Park was declared a Seventh Wonder of the Current World on November 17th 2006 (Jungle Adventure Tanzania Safaris Ltd, 2008; TTB, 2008). However, the migration routes, which are normally used for only short periods during these movements, are being closed off by settlement and cultivation, hence, threatening the well-being of these spectacular populations and the ecosystems themselves (*ibid*).

Most wildlife habitats have started to decline in quality and size as shown in Table 3.2 below. According to Kideghesho *et al.*, (2000), major forms of wildlife habitat loss are habitat degradation and fragmentation.

Table 3.2: Habitat losses in Tanzania

SN	Description of Habitat	Original Total Area (Km^2)	% of Natural Vegetation Left	% Under Protected Area
1.	Coastal Savannah Mosaic	110,400	23	15
2.	Coastal Forest Patches	600	50	0
3.	Montane Forest Types	57,900	85	2
4.	Miombo Woodland	420,700	55	15
5.	Itigi Thicket	6,800	50	0
6.	Thick Bushland	223,100	48	16
7.	Evergreen Acacia Bush Mosaic	18,700	36	0
8.	Edaphic Ash Short Grassland	17,700	60	22
9.	Grassland-Swamp Mosaic	9,800	36	0
10.	Afro-Montane/Alpine Shrub	1,200	100	33
11.	Halophytic Vegetation	12,200	80	16
12.	Mangrove Swamp Forest	66,100	37	0

Source: Severre, 2000

Habitat degradation deprives native species of food, shelter, dispersal areas, and breeding sites while fragmentation squeezes the animals onto small patches thus making them vulnerable to outside predators and human impacts. It is clear, therefore, that habitats without any protection or management status such as the wetlands, Itigi

thickets and the coastal forests are prone to abuse and may be lost unless Tanzania designates them to a formal management regime with local and indigenous communities in the forefront (personal experience). While these observations are noted at policy level, the government's decentralization policies have reduced the number of wildlife officers that were recruited under the Wildlife Division in regions and districts, and only natural resources advisors in respective secretariats are recruited (personal experience). District councils employ these officers where it is deemed necessary. Absence of adequate and skilled field officers has left controlled and open areas unprotected and ostensibly converted to unplanned cultivation, charcoal burning and illegal hunting, as towns and cities are providing ready markets for the natural resource products (*ibid*). This has been one of the major reasons behind the zeal of the government to transfer powers and management of wildlife resources to the local and indigenous communities.

However, it is important that any policy decisions must be strategic and results-oriented otherwise it is even worse to initiate an unworkable and unsustainable people-oriented project in the first place (Severre, 2000; Kideghesho *et al.*, 2000). It is the views of the researcher that Tanzania has every opportunity to establish viable wildlife community areas that will enhance the living conditions of the local communities around protected areas. Additionally, the researcher believes that the Wildlife Division ought to be restructured to form an economically viable national game reserves organization (similar to TANAPA) to effectively manage a selected number of reserves and leave the rest to local communities.

Community conservation initiatives in Tanzania reflect the institutional diversity of the country's wildlife sector. For example, the Serengeti Regional Conservation Strategy (now a local project) (SRCS/P) was initiated in 1989 with technical support from IUCN to promote an integrated approach to conservation management and development between the Serengeti National Park, Ngorongoro Conservation Area and the game reserves and districts, which surround them. The SRCS model indicated that it would not create a new institution or duplicate the roles of the existing institutions, but rather coordinate and support these institutions to achieve biodiversity conservation in the entire region. In the late 1980s, the Wildlife Division, with assistance from Deutsche Gesellschaft fur Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), also initiated the Selous Conservation programme (Baldus, 1991; Krische, Lyamuya *et al.*, 1995). This project combined the assistance for the management of the core area of the Selous Game Reserve with support for community-based conservation in villages

around the reserve following a model similar to that which is applied in Zimbabwe and Zambia (Mwenya, 1990; Murphree, 1996). Far ahead of similar efforts, the Ngorongoro Conservation Area was created in order to promote and balance both conservation and the needs of the Maasai pastoral community living in Ngorongoro (Lucas, 1992; Kijazi, 1995; Thompson, 1997; Ndasikoi, 2001).

Although Tanzania's wildlife legislation has not been formally amended since 1974, a number of planned amendments are already being implemented on a pilot basis. The Wildlife Policy 1998 is a step forward for conservation in Tanzania as it has significantly changed the scenario for the local and indigenous communities, who were previously totally excluded in the planning and management of natural resources in the country (MNRT, 1998a). In support of community conservation, about two-thirds of the Wildlife Policy in Tanzania and its strategies relate to community-based conservation arrangements in the management and utilisation of wildlife resources (*ibid*). The objectives of the Wildlife Policy on community participation are presented in Box 3.2 and the strategies in Box 3.3. There is great optimism within the government that the establishment of WMAs will secure wildlife outside core wildlife-protected areas, and that wildlife conservation will greatly contribute to the strategies for alleviation of poverty in Tanzania. The strong commitment of the Wildlife Policy of 1998 of Tanzania in advocating community-based conservation through the establishment of WMAs has a significant justification in sustainable conservation (*ibid*).

Investigations carried out by Mabugu and Mugoya, (2001), have shown that the central government in one form or another (including revenue transferred to the Tanzania Wildlife Protected Fund (TWPF) of the Wildlife Division), gets 88% of the total revenue from hunting wildlife while the respective local authorities are allocated a mere 12%.

Box 3.2: Objectives of the Wildlife Policy on community conservation in Tanzania

1. To maintain and develop a protected area network in order to enhance biological diversity
2. To promote the conservation of wildlife and its habitats outside core areas (National Parks, Game Reserves and Ngorongoro Conservation Area) by establishing Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs).
3. To enhance the conservation of biological diversity by administering wetlands
4. To transfer the management of WMAs to local communities thus taking care of corridors, migration routes and buffer zones and ensure that the local communities obtain substantial tangible benefits from wildlife conservation.
5. To prevent the illegal use of wildlife throughout the country by taking the appropriate surveillance, policing and law enforcement actions

Source: MNRT, 1998a

Each district council with hunting blocks is supposed to use the funds allocated to it to finance wildlife management, clinics, schools and other forms of social infrastructure (Mabugu and Mugoya, 2001). The money is also meant to provide compensation for district councils for loss of alternative use of the land reserved for wildlife. Under this situation, it is obvious that the benefits are not accessed directly by the villagers who are directly affected by wildlife (personal experience).

Box 3.3: Strategies for community conservation in the Wildlife Policy 1998

1. Establishing a new category of protected area to be known as Wildlife Management Areas for the purpose of effecting community-based conservation (CBC);
2. Administering wildlife by conserving core wildlife species habitats including wetlands through wildlife authorities and devolving management responsibility of settled and areas outside unsettled protected areas to rural people and the private sector;
3. Encouraging rural communities to establish WMAs in such areas of critical wildlife habitat, with the aim of ensuring that wildlife can compete with other forms of land use that may jeopardise wildlife populations and movements;
4. Conferring user rights of wildlife to the landholders to allow rural communities and private landholders to manage wildlife;
5. Facilitating the establishment of CBC programmes in WMAs by helping the rural communities to have secure ownership/long term use rights of their land and enabling them to use the wildlife and natural resources on that land;
6. Continuing to manage game reserves and game controlled areas through the Wildlife Conservation Act, and reviewing the status and functions of GCAs in order to effect CBC;
7. Retaining overall responsibility of ensuring the coordination of all national priorities for wildlife conservation outside unsettled protected areas and NCA; and
8. Reviewing the existing wildlife conservation legislations in order to accommodate proposed conservation strategies in the WPT, which includes management and development of important wetlands, community participation in

It has been suggested that a gradual reform to revenue sharing, which gives priority to villagers by reducing taxation of local communities, should be adopted to encourage the development of local people. National and international hunting companies operate in Tanzania, and carry out their operations in Wildlife Division managed game reserves, controlled, and open areas. Few benefits accrue back to the rural communities who live in such areas.

The Selous conservation and the Cullman wildlife projects are some of the earlier efforts to foster an improved conservation ethic through sharing hunting benefits (Baldus et al., 2003; Krishke, Lyamuya *et al.*, 1995; and Robin Hurt Safaris, 1995). The Wildlife Policy of 1998 has a strong community conservation focus in its vision. It aims to involve all stakeholders in wildlife conservation and sustainable use, as well as in fair and equitable sharing of benefits. It also aims to promote sustainable use of wildlife resources, contribute to poverty alleviation and improve quality of life of the people of Tanzania (MNRT, 1998a). The previous concept of 'game controlled areas' in which the central government claimed to manage wildlife populations on community or open lands, is being replaced by a new system of WMAs (section 3.2.3). The Wildlife Division will endeavour to promote the conservation of wildlife and its habitats outside conservation areas. Additionally, it will transfer the management of WMAs to local and indigenous communities for the planning and management of corridors, migration routes and buffer zones, and ensure that the communities obtain tangible benefits from wildlife conservation (*ibid*). The recently formed community-based conservation section of the Wildlife Division will track and support the establishment of WMAs based on lessons learned in Selous and other pilot areas (Leader-Williams, Kayera *et al.*, 1995; Gillingham, 1998; Baldus et al., 2003). WMAs are anticipated to operate around certain national parks and game reserves as well as in game controlled areas.

Out of 38 potential WMAs that were identified, 16 were selected as pilot areas, and

are in the process of being established (MNRT, 2003). While the policy is innovative and shows strong support for community conservation, it still requires changes in the substantive wildlife legislation, and there is a major gap between policy and practice (*ibid*). For example, there are inadequate linkages between the Ministry of Lands and Human Settlement, Ministry of Mining and Energy, Ministry of Regional and Local Governments and the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (personal observations). Today, the mushrooming of economic activities outside or around protected areas are critical land use issues that are outside the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism. Collaborative efforts are required for the Ministry of Natural Resources and the Ministry of Lands and Human Settlement as far as land tenure for wildlife related investments are concerned. Otherwise, private opportunists will continue to grab land from unsuspecting local and indigenous communities (*ibid*). Case studies for this situation can be observed around protected areas such as Mkomazi, Moyovozi, Tarangire, Serengeti, and the Usangu swamps (Homewood, Kiwasila *et al.*, 1997).

Based on previous experience in community-based conservation policies, the government intends to implement the adoption of WMAs cautiously, taking into account lessons learnt that would facilitate a move from the existing situation of conservation *with* people to conservation *by* the people in most of our landscapes in Tanzania (Severre, 2000). However, as the concept is still new questions remain about how the regulations will be used to establish these areas (Yanda et al; 2001). It is imperative that capacity building and awareness creation should start earlier to prepare the local communities and other stakeholders for better understanding and use of the regulations. The regulations are aimed at facilitating easy implementation the wildlife management areas concept (Dembe and Kawasange, 1997; MNRT, 1998a; MNRT, 2003). As it stands now, some initiatives by the private sector and NGOs tied down some local communities on legal aspects of land matters during the absence of the regulations; problems of stalled progress are reported mainly due to misinformation (Dembe and Kawasange, 1997). The Wildlife Division has been wise to tread carefully into this area, as it is politically and mostly private-business backed. The existing law does not provide adequate access and user-rights to wildlife resources to the local and indigenous peoples, especially those living around protected areas (Bergin, 1998; Barrow, 1996; Dembe and Bergin, 1997).

It is also argued that community-based conservation programmes are not a panacea to sustainable conservation and development, as they are mostly characterized as a myth that has not been tried and tested in reality (Murphree, 2000). Therefore, success stories need to be created and demonstrated (personal observations).

3.3.2   Fisheries sector

The Fisheries Division, working with WWF, has established Tanzania's first marine park at Mafia Island, under the new Marine Parks Act, which has a strong community focus (URT, 1994). The passing of the Marine Parks and Reserves Act in 1994 has allowed marine parks to be gazetted in the country in a manner that actively involves and integrates customary users into the park management and enables sustainable use of resources. Using this as a basis, a General Management Plan for Mafia Island Marine Park was developed from 1995 to 1997 to attempt to integrate the needs of the rural people with those of conservation (Andrews, 1997). However, despite strong policy support for full community participation, the responsible institutions are still reluctant to change (*ibid*). Community members are directly involved in the planning and management of the park and in protecting the livelihoods of all fishermen in the area.

The government formed a task force in 1998 to study and assess mechanisms of merging the Mafia Island Marine Park with TANAPA. The task force presented the report to the government and the government decided that the two institutions should not be merged but allowed to operate independently (MNRT, 1999). It was argued that merging marine parks with TANAPA would require some major policy changes and may cause more problems to island people because national parks in Tanzania have no policy of allowing people to live within the parks. This sector, however, was removed in 2008 from the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism to the Ministry of Livestock and Development (personal experience).

3.3.3 Forestry sector

The country's 570 forest reserves, ranging in size from three hectares (ha) to 872,000 ha, cover 13 million ha. Productive forests cover 11 million ha and the balance comprises of protected forestlands. National parks and the Ngorongoro Conservation Area constitute another 2 million ha of forest reserves. Most of the 29 million ha of forestlands outside forest reserves are non-gazetted forests, commonly known as public lands (MNRT, 1996). Table 3.6 shows the distribution and legal status of the forestry estate in Tanzania.

Fuel wood is the dominant source of energy for the rural population and the urban poor, accounting for about 90% of the national energy use (MNRT, 1989). The Tanzania Forestry Action Plan (TFAP) was formulated during 1988 and 1989 to address the problem of deforestation and the opportunity of forest-based sustainable development (ibid). The implementation started early in the 1990s. Tanzania's Forestry Policy of 1998, was codified to a new statute (Barrow et al, 2000). The changes in this policy were in the context of the changing focus from one of more centralised government management and control to a more integrated approach, which recognises the rights and responsibilities of local and indigenous communities. Perhaps more than either Kenya or Uganda, in the context of policy, Tanzania has gone further with respect to collaborative and joint management of forests (Barrow et al; 2000).

Table 3.6: Forestry estate in Tanzania - distribution and legal status

Forest type	1 000 ha
Forests (other than mangrove forests)	1 141
Mangrove forests	115
Woodlands	32 299
Total	**33 555**
Use of forest land	
Production forest area	23 810
Protection forest area (mostly Catchment areas)	9 745
Total	**33 555**
Legal status	

Forest reserves	12 517
Forests/Woodlands within National Parks, etc.	2 000
Non- reserve forest land	19 038
Total	**33 555**

This unmistakable support for community forestry conservation is already starting to show benefits (Skutsch, 2006; Odera, 2004; Wily, 1995; Wily, 1997; Wily and Haule, 1995; Nurse and Kabamba, 1998). The Forestry Division and Beekeeping is also developing a sector-wide approach that would attract a donor's basket funding in formulating and implementing an executive agency that would manage most of the catchment forests in the country while at the same time, work with the private sector to revive the forest plantations (Salmi *et al.*, 2001). Ecologically, Tanzania has the highest degree of plant endemism in East Africa (Barrow *et al.*, 2000).

The miombo ecoregion represents one of the most important forest resources in Africa (Figure 3.3). It is a vast mix of mainly tropical woodland and wetland, about the same size as Europe, ranging across parts of Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. In total, the Miombo covers around 3.6 million km^2 and is home to 65 million people (WWF, 2008). Tanzania shares the Zambezi region with Southern Africa and has about 217 threatened species (WWF, 2003). The Zambezian regional centre of endemism has probably the richest and most diverse flora in Africa and covers a significant area of the country *(ibid)*.

Figure 3.3: Miombo ecoregion
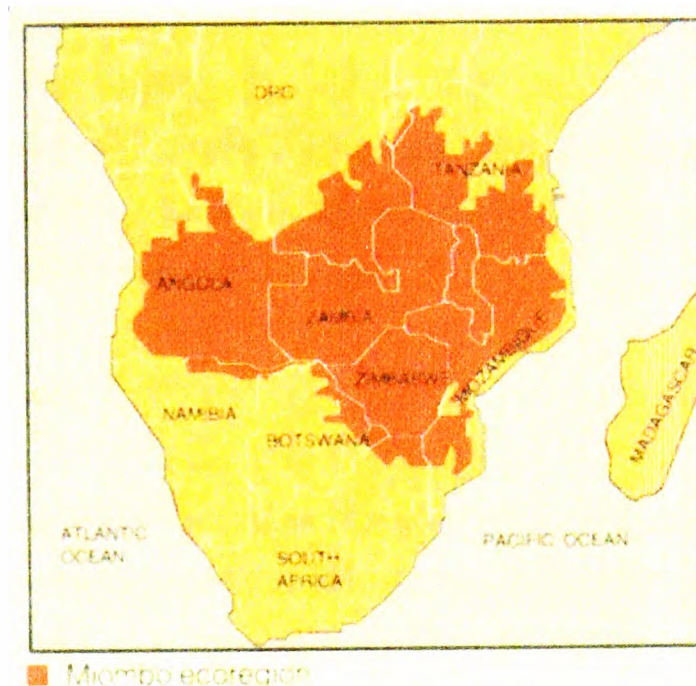
The Miombo Eco-region is a system driven by soil fungi, termites, mega-herbivores and fire (WWF, 2008). Fungi are vital to the functioning and maintenance of Miombo where soils are poor and rainfall erratic. The termites consume vast quantities of leaf litter, dung and woody litter and help to recycle nutrients and also reduce the severity of fires in the dry season. Fire has a key influence on the vegetation of the eco-region by promoting unique forms of life that are tolerant to its flames; instead of destruction, the fires prompt the creation of new life (*ibid*). Miombo woodland covers about 11.7 million ha and represents over 90% of the total forest reserves in Tanzania (WWF, 2003). However, miombo woodland is being degraded at a rate of between 300,000-400,000 ha per year for agriculture, grazing and industrial wood harvesting. Miombo woodlands are also important wildlife habitats in the country, but there is significant land-use pressure to cater for increasing human populations, thereby decreasing their size and value of the wildlife habitats.

The afro-montane region of endemism covers the main mountain areas of East Africa above 2000m including Mt. Kilimanjaro, the Usambaras, Mt. Kenya, Mt. Elgon, the Ruwenzoris and parts of Bwindi Impenetratable Forest Reserve (Barrow *et al.*, 2000). The mangrove forests and coral reefs are spread along the wetland region of Zanzibar-Inhambane region and most of the coastal region of Kenya and Tanzania. Since the region is relatively rich, much of the coastal forestlands have been modified by

agricultural use (*ibid*). As human populations in high potential agricultural areas grow, the frontiers of cultivation have been pushed into forests, river valleys, and semi-arid areas. The researcher observes that the move towards reviewing conservation policies and incorporating local and indigenous communities in conservation is a step forward towards minimizing the environmental degradation that is being caused by the demographic changes.

3.3.4 Tourism sector

In Tanzania, tourism is earning foreign exchange that contributes significantly to the national and local economies (URT, 2006). The government has therefore prioritised tourism as one of the four key investment pillars for its economic growth recovery programme. The other key areas are agriculture, industries, and mining (*ibid*). Tanzania has a large photographic tourism industry similar to and increasingly competitive with that of Kenya and South Africa (Barrow *et al.*, 2000; MNRT, 2001; TTB, 2008). Tanzania also boasts of a large sport hunting industry. Likewise, the tourism industry has great potential to support conservation and rural development. The government has developed working mechanisms with various actors in the tourism industry, especially with the private sector (Meghji, 2001).

The Government has undertaken some major reforms aimed at promoting local communities' participation and involvement in eco-tourism related business undertakings/activities (AWF, 2003; MNRT, 2003). This has helped to forge links with local and indigenous communities in developing more products in relation to cultural tourism and community-private sector partnerships (*ibid*). The business persons involved in eco-tourism are now willing to collaborate in protecting their products, by helping to ensure a future for irreplaceable natural and cultural resources (TATO, 2008).

Adherence to the Government policies and guidelines including use of Environmental Impact Assessment studies (EIAs) has greatly reduced impacts and threats of tourism to the environment (Meghji, 2001). Tanzanians are now witnessing a more meaningful move by the private sector initiatives to investing in the development of visitor facilities in the village lands under mutually agreed terms between villagers

and investors. This has not only opened up rural areas with more facilities to more tourists, but has also opened up new income opportunities for the economically disadvantaged rural communities (MNRT, 2002). Some investors, however, are taking advantages of the ignorance of the local and indigenous communities by acquiring land before the establishment of Wildlife Management Areas in potential areas, especially around the protected areas (personal observations). This has resulted in unplanned land uses that exacerbate conflicts with the local communities and sometimes with the protected area managers.

Even though the tourism industry is one of the four important cornerstones of economic development in Tanzania, one example from AWF (2000) shows that little tourism revenue reaches local communities for improving their livelihoods (section 2.10). The distribution of revenue remains a difficult issue. For example, in Tanzania's renowned national parks and NCA, most lodge staff and tour guides are from cities or neighbouring agricultural districts, rather than from the local communities of the area. Likewise, revenue earned by safari hunting on community lands is not shared directly with the communities except for a few individuals working with these companies (Barrow *et al.*, 2000).

Correspondingly, it is also unfortunate that restrictive wildlife laws have created antagonism between wildlife conservation officers and local communities in rural areas. In the presence of this antagonism, protected areas have remained insecure, despite spending lots of money on protecting the resources using paramilitary approaches (Koch, 1995; personal experience).

The government adopted a Tourism Policy in 2000, which emphasises development of the industry in the currently underdeveloped southern and western circuits, as opposed to the already congested northern circuit (MNRT, 2002). The promotion of domestic tourism is another key area of tourism development in the country, where gradually a culture for travelling is being promoted among Tanzanians. Increasingly, however, it is recognized that effective local participation in conservation is an essential element of sustainable wildlife management, linking wildlife tourism to conservation and development.

3.4 Challenges to community conservation initiatives in Tanzania

Community conservation activities are always faced with critical issues that inhibit or delay achievement of the intended goals. Most of the issues are caused by conflicting policies and inadequate coordination between sectors.

3.4.1 Conflicting sector legislations and policies

Community conservation initiatives require inter-sectoral collaboration among relevant ministries. For instance, in order for community conservation approaches such as CBC and CBNRM to be adopted effectively several policies must be harmonized to allow easy implementation of the wildlife policy. For example, Tanzania has fragmented types of protected areas unlike Kenya, Uganda, and Zambia where all wildlife-protected areas are merged under single conservation agencies. The wildlife, forestry, antiquities, and tourism sectors are all under the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism. Fisheries have now joined the Ministry of Livestock Development (personal experience).

In this situation, as a parastatal organization TANAPA cannot adopt a community-based natural resources management approach because its legislation of 1959 does not allow. The legislation created during the colonial era did not include people as conservation allies and that remains the case even though park outreach initiatives have subsequently been established.

3.4.2 Land management issues

Currently, the Tanzania Land Act of 1998 builds upon a strategy of land change for growth that recognises customary land rights as equivalent to more formal "European' based tenure systems (URT, 1999). Knowing that customary lands can now be bought and sold, Tanzania has formally declared such lands as tradable (Wily, 1997). This represents a brave attempt to modernise traditional regimes, and enable communities and villages to make decisions about tenure and land use. However, substantive land policy changes should be gradual. For instance, in the natural resources sector, some

central government officials and Tanzanian bureaucracies are reluctant to give up their strong positions and privileges over land issues (Homewood, Kiwasila *et al.*, 1997). As elsewhere, the relationship between land law and tenure over other natural resources is not clear and there is an increase in reports of land conflicts.

Despite the presence of the Land Act (URT, 1999), which may take some time to implement, much Tanzanian land is still communally owned and managed. This is an appropriate structure for community-based conservation as it allows groups to manage wildlife on lands that they jointly control. Nevertheless, the governments' wide-ranging powers to control land leads to insecurity of tenure in general and customary title in particular (Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Land Matters, 1991). There are also contradictions in the laws that govern land use, allocation, and ownership (Barrow *et al.*, 2000). The extent to which national, regional and district regulations acknowledge the importance of customary regulations in the management and conservation of such valuable resources is open to debate. Many customary laws are informally recognised and Tanzania's land law is in a process of change. But important customary rules and 'laws' must be positively re-enforced if they are to be incorporated into village rules, laws and regulations which could then be ratified at district, regional and national levels, thereby reducing the risk of outsiders encroaching on the village lands and causing severe environmental degradation.

Barrow *et al.*, (2000) further argue that Tanzania is still struggling with the consequences of the disruption of tenure caused by the political campaign of 1975. Local communities were moved from scattered and isolated homesteads to village centres where social services were to be easily provided and accessed by all of the community (*ibid*). As the villagisation[1] policy (section 3.1) became less rigorously enforced, some former landholders returned to their previous lands to find them already occupied by other people, thereby creating unending land conflicts. In some

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[1] Villagisation policy was politically based and people were not asked for their opinion. The programme ended up with problems as people were forced to stay in Ujamaa (Socialism) villages where social services where meant to help every member of the community. The services were not delivered everywhere as promised due to inadequate resources (Barrow et al; 2000).

cases, old landholdings are being reclaimed after many years of absence and the courts have to come in to assist in resolving the disputes that take a long time to resolve. While these conflicts are going on, wildlife is being wantonly killed as 'problem animals' in cultivated lands (Chengullah, 1998). All land in Tanzania is classed as public land and remains vested in the President as a trustee for and on behalf of all the citizens of Tanzania. However, any delays in enforcing available laws, enables clever individuals to abuse the law, and the President is forced to revoke such land from private owners for public use by paying compensation. Failure to compensate in time may result in the land coming under private ownership that cannot, therefore, be available for local and indigenous communities or national projects however desperately needed.

3.4.3 Funding mechanisms

Inadequate funding is a significant source of failure in the development and continuity of community conservation initiatives. Normally community initiatives require a long-term funding programme and this is where NGOs and bilateral donors have been useful partners in Africa. Funding mechanisms must be addressed within countries to minimize dependency on donors if community conservation initiatives are to be sustainable. According to Kalemani et al., (2008), one area receiving increasing attention is the development of public-private partnerships. Protected areas are generally protected by public institutions and now providing space for interactions (*ibid*). Therefore, the current inadequacy of public funding makes a case for responsible commercialisation through public-private partnerships. Fortunately this interaction includes communities as well. There are already successful public-private partnerships in protected areas such as in ecotourism, cultural tourism, watershed services, and drinking water provision (Kalemani et al., 2008).

3.4.4 Issues related to capacity of local institutions

Indigenous knowledge needs to be re-introduced to the younger generation for the sake of the future. The local and indigenous communities must be empowered to facilitate the adoption of effective and efficient community conservation approaches in their own local settings. General lack of awareness of what powers the villagers and

village councils have over their land and resources has resulted in many investors taking advantage of their ignorance (Murombedzi, 2000). For this matter, the need for a specific programme of civic education is imperative.

3.4.5 Poverty

In rural areas of Tanzania, poverty is widespread and deeper than in urban centres (Naturescope, 2003; Mwamfupe, 1998). It is estimated that about 57% of the rural population lives in poverty while about 32% of the rural population experience shortage of food (Naturescope, 2003; URT, 1992). There is a clear cause-effect relationship between poverty and environmental degradation because these people depend heavily on natural resources for their livelihoods. Therefore, conflicts between indigenous communities and protected area managers have continued because, while the issues of contention were mostly environmental, they were also very much development-focused. Thus, community conservation approaches that are holistic are very important for sustainable development.

3.4.6 Population growth

Increasing rural population growth within Tanzania has led to a rising demand for resources. This issue is better discussed with land matters as they are inextricably inter-related, but it is mentioned here as an important source of misery and poverty caused by the scarcity of natural resources (Naturescope, 2003). According to Mwamfupe (1998), population growth has increased the demand for resources such as land for cultivation and grazing, fuel-wood and other forest products, consequently leading to deforestation and encroachment into the protected areas. The rapid clearance of forest cover has affected the ecological balance and environmental services, such as soil retention and regulation of water flows, and resulted in a loss of biological diversity (*ibid*).

3.5 Principal observations

Tanzania is recognised globally for its natural heritage and is classified as a one of the 'mega-diversity' nations in Africa. This, however, must be reflected in the

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implementation of its policies. Tanzania is also globally marketed and promoted as the land of Kilimanjaro, spicy islands of Zanzibar, and the Serengeti and is one of the most famous nature-based tourist destinations in the world (TTB, 2008). In terms of the national parks network, the success story is the progression from one park in 1951 to 15 parks in 2005 (personal experience). More than 40% of the surface land in the country has been devoted to protected areas and ensures a favourable condition for the future of biodiversity to contribute to national economic growth.

However, these impressive achievements are under threat (section 3.2.1). Tanzania therefore needs to review its wildlife legislation and ensure enforcement of good practice for the prosperity of its people (section 3.1). The government ought to restructure the Wildlife Division and establish an agency or parastatal institution in order to manage the game reserves and contribute to economic growth and community development on the lines of TANAPA and NCAA (personal observations).

It is the opinion of the researcher that the continued impoverishment of local and indigenous communities, poor government financing of protected areas and increasing populations around protected areas are issues that need clear strategies to address them (personal observations). Therefore, the government has the role of providing favourable conservation policies, provision of an environment conducive to local and foreign investment, and promotion of institutional changes conducive to the development of the private sector (German Development Service, 2008; Kalemani et al., 2008). The public-private sector partnerships (PPP) may provide fruitful opportunities for cooperation. The private sector is capable of creating jobs for communities, has sources of income, can train local personnel and can transfer know-how and appropriate technology (*ibid*).

It is encouraging that in Tanzania, the local communities are now being recognized as conservation allies and partners rather than enemies but more efforts are required to demonstrate the fact. The realisation that conservation and development are inseparable provides a good balance for the use and preservation of natural resources for the present and future generations in the country. Thus, there is an urgent need to balance powers over revenue sharing policies that will improve conservation of

national parks and community livelihoods and not vice versa. The researcher observes that the current taxation policies relating to community social benefits are counter productive and need to be reduced or abolished completely.

The role of community conservation in Tanzania has been clearly articulated in the Wildlife Policy of 1998. Enforcement of this policy ought to be given priority since the local and indigenous communities, having been promised a better deal, should not have to wait much longer in case they change their attitudes towards the government. While implementing the policy, it is worth noting that most community-related initiatives are prone to political hijacking; regulations and modalities must be in place to offset this weakness (section 2.9.1). Therefore, taking CCS as a case study, there needs to be a review of the aims and objectives discussed in section 1.6.1 to address current issues, to ensure that the programme is understood by the all the actors, and has set guidelines and modalities clearly explaining the roles of all the actors including the local governments, politicians and local and indigenous communities. Issues of land tenure need answers from all responsible ministries and holistic approaches need to be used to sort out conflicting policies.

Having discussed the Tanzanian context in relation to the community conservation debate, Chapter Four describes the TANAPA outreach programme as practised in Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks.

CHAPTER FOUR: COMMUNITY CONSERVATION SERVICE IN TANZANIA NATIONAL PARKS

4.1.Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to bring in my personal experience about the community conservation initiatives in Tanzania National Parks. The chapter provides a discussion on the vision and mission of CCS outreach programme and the structure to achieve the mission. The chapter describes the main functions of CCS with examples from Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks. The Community Conservation Service (CCS) is a TANAPA outreach programme that is extended to surrounding or adjacent communities with a focus on local people and government up to the district level (TANAPA CCS, 2007). The overall TANAPA outreach programme and its functions based on the CCS structure are represented in Figure 4.1.

4.2.Vision and mission of CCS

The establishment history and objectives of CCS are briefly mentioned in section 1.6.1. The vision of CCS is: "To reduce threats to national parks and support livelihood whilst maintaining good relationships with adjacent local communities for sustainable conservation of the parks" (TANAPA CCS, 2007:3). The mission of CCS Outreach programme seeks to improve and maintain good relationships with adjacent communities and key stakeholders in order to protect the integrity of national parks (TANAPA CCS, 2007).

4.3.Functional structure of CCS

TANAPA is a parastatal organization with semi-autonomous powers under the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (personal experience). Both the Chairman of the Board of Trustees and the Director General are appointed by the President. The trustees are appointed by the Minister of Natural Resources and Tourism. Therefore, the Board of Trustees is the policy making board of the organization (TANAPA CSP, 2007). Administratively. The Director General (DG) implements the Board directives

together with the management team comprising of Directors and Managers. The DG uses the Community Conservation Coordinating Committee (C_4) as an important forum for discussions and analysis of CCS activities both at zonal and national levels.

Figure 4.1: TANAPA's CCS Existing Structure
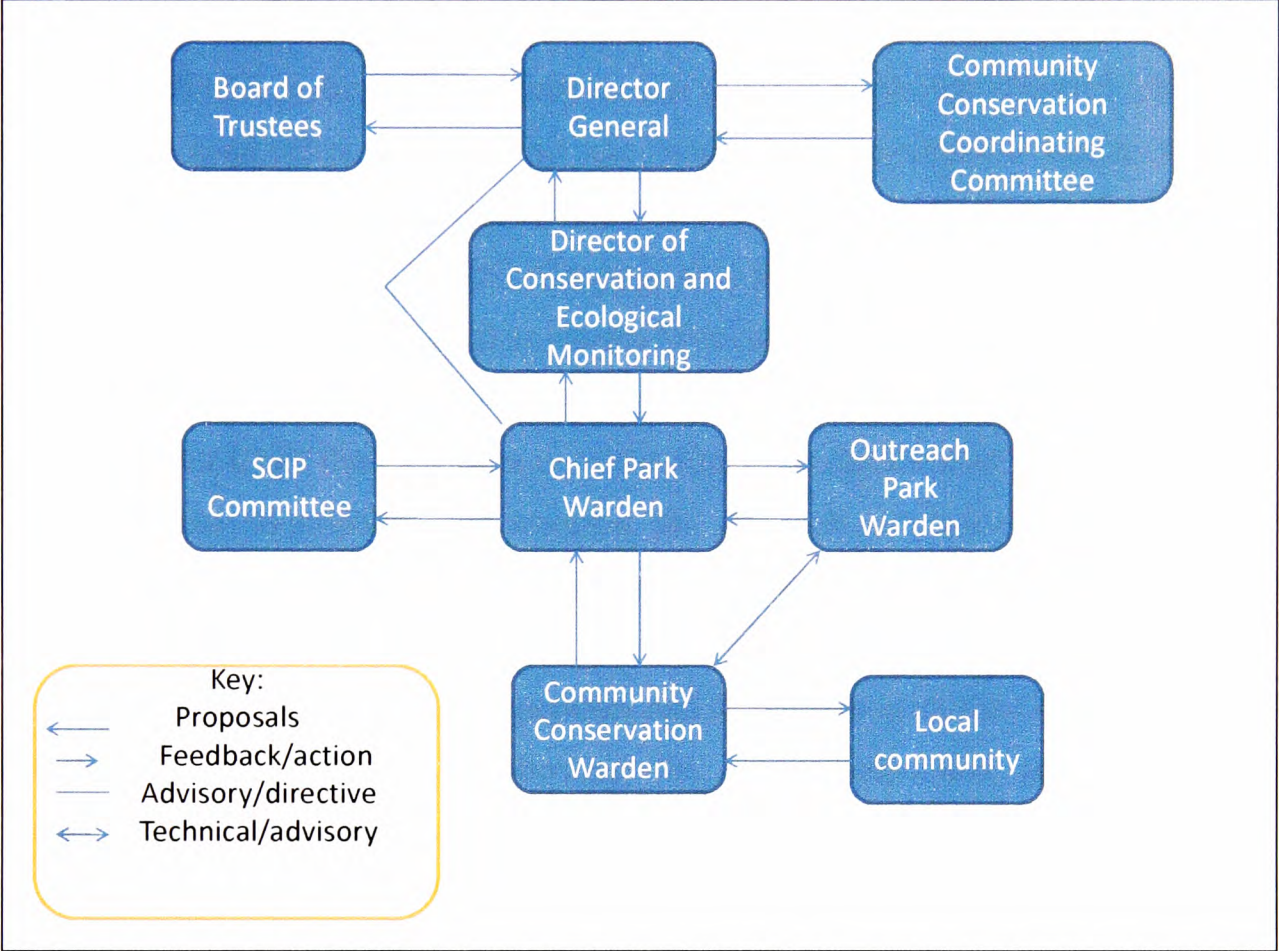
The forum offers an opportunity for exchange of experiences and innovations among stakeholders. However, according to TANAPA/AWF (2000), this forum has not been effectively used, and no apparent reasons have been given (*ibid*). It is the opinion of the researcher that this forum ought to be revived to improve partnerships among stakeholders.

The Director of Resource Conservation and Ecological Monitoring guides activities of the CCS department at the head office through the Outreach Programme Manager (OPM). However, under the TANAPA main structure, the Chief Park Wardens (CPW) report directly to the Director General for administrative purposes while technically they deal with the OPM. The CCS departments at the park level also

report directly to the Chief Park Wardens for operational issues but technically consult with the OPM. Functionally, the Outreach Programme Manager also works through the Chief Park Wardens when working with Community Conservation Wardens (CCW) in the parks and vice versa but may provide technical advise directly to the CCW. It should be noted that the norm is for one CCW per park, and that the CCW has no other employees below him. Under these circumstances, it is obvious that the TANAPA main structure needs review in order to provide effective linkages between the head office and the parks and clearly show the technical aspects which are often omitted (personal observations). At the moment, all the 15 Chief Park Wardens report directly to the DG. Function wise they skip the Directors and a top down approach is sometimes used to ask the Directors to implement what has already been decided with the DG. It is the view of the research that it would have been appropriate for Chief Park Wardens to report directly to the Director of Conservation and Ecological Monitoring. For instance, the outreach programme is under this Directorate and not the Director General (personal experience).

Based on the researcher's direct experience and discussions with the CCS staff, CCS functions are sometimes not following the clearly stipulated guidelines and modalities. In essence, the projects are normally identified by the local communities and are communicated to the CCW of a respective park who then provides guidance on how to apply for project funding (TANAPA CCS, 2007). The district councils are consulted for approval and provision of bills of quantities for projects to be funded by the park (*ibid*). These district councils, however, do not directly involve themselves during the implementation of the projects (personal experience). The CCW communicates with the CPW and convenes a Support for Community Initiated Projects Committee that is chaired by the CPW himself/herself and the CCW sits as the secretary of the committee. Other members of the committee include the heads of departments (personal experience). At this meeting, the district council and the community members are not represented which is an anomaly as far as transparency is concerned (*ibid*). The CPWs then ensure that the projects are budgeted at the park level and forward the proposals to the head office for consideration and possible funding.

This arrangement does not always work from the bottom because projects are

sometimes brought to the park from the head office as a response to unexpected political pressures (TANAPA/AWF, 2000). When this happens, all CPWs are given permission to consult the head office for directives before taking action. The budget then is discussed in the Master's Workers Council and is approved by the Board of Trustees for implementation at the park level (personal experience).

When the budgets are approved information is then channelled back to the responsible directorates where funds are released to the parks (TANAPA CCS 2007). Budgets for CCS projects are placed in a basket at the head office under the facilitation of the OPM. Funds for CCS operations like day-to-day supervision in the target villages are sent to the parks. During the implementation, a procurement plan for the whole year is advertised in the media and indicates whether the contracts are park-based or head office-based, depending on the amount of expenditure required. Different tendering methods are used including open, restricted and force account tenders. Force account tenders can be carried out by the works departments at the park level. Other tenders, usually with bigger budgets, are managed through the head office. Each park is given the awarded contractors to implement the park development and community projects (personal experience). In many situations, most of the community members work for the contractors as casual labourers. Furthermore, the budgets provide 70% of the total project costs and communities pay the remaining 30%, cash or in kind. It is a requirement that the project can only be funded if the community has contributed in the form of either funds or labour and materials (TANAPA CCS, 2007).

The researcher has observed directly that many community projects are not initiated by the general assembly but rather by individuals, mostly the village leader or group leaders. This situation has led, on occasion, to refusal by the local communities to contribute the required 30% of the total project costs because they were not directly involved during the design of the community projects and sometimes are not wealthy enough to contribute (personal observations). As a result of such situations, completion of projects can be delayed (*ibid*).

Most of the CCS personnel are wardens trained at the College of African Wildlife Management, Mweka in Moshi, northern Tanzania. Some personnel are from the Tengeru based Institute of Community Development where a mixture is significant in

promoting conservation and development efforts in the villages (personal experience).

The CCS outreach programme is evaluated in two ways: First, internal evaluation is carried out annually through the board of surveys that examines the status of all park and community projects. On a monthly basis, internal auditors also check the progress and financial expenditures by comparing the physical projects, and quality and amount of funds spent; Second, external evaluators are also used once per year. However, the fact that the last external evaluation was conducted in 2000 suggests that there has not been a strong commitment to concepts of monitoring and evaluation (personal experience). This thesis had to use the quarterly and annual reports to show how the programme has been performing and provides the recent status of the CCS outreach programme and encourage changes where deemed necessary.

4.4. Main activities of Outreach Programme

The CCS outreach programme has six main activities that implement the aims and objectives. The main activities include building relations with local communities, conservation education, provision of knowledge, resources and services, and planned sharing of benefits. Others are collaborative professional links and capacity building. Each activity is discussed in turn in the following sections.

4.4.1 Building relations

The CCS outreach programme uses dialogue to build relations with local communities through the village leaders that was once not so good (section 2.8). The CCW in a respective park visits villages and endeavours to conduct informal and formal meetings and, where necessary, attends village, ward, division and district meetings (TANAPA CCS, 2007). The purpose of these meetings is to promote the CCS concept of living in harmony and sharing benefits from the parks with neighbours. Furthermore, these meetings are aimed at solving existing problems for mutual benefits.

4.4.2   Conservation/environmental education

This activity is aimed at raising community awareness of conservation and environmental issues as well as the obligations of TANAPA towards benefit sharing (TANAPA CCS, 2000; TANAPA CCS, 2007). The awareness raising is aimed at preparing the community to be able to understand the benefits they are likely to see from involvement in conservation. Conservation education is carried out in the form of extension services, park visits for community groups, pupils and students (TANAPA CCS, 2007). CCS further provides training for communities on project management and accounting, the use of fuel efficient stoves, establishment of wildlife clubs in schools (*ibid*). CCS also trains teachers to speak on environmental issues and shows conservation films to communities. The CCS has also contributed to primary schools syllabuses. Most conservationists believe that conservation and environmental education can sustain the national parks for the present and future generations (Barrow and Fabricius, 2002). However, inadequate awareness creation to TANAPA non-CCS staff has encouraged them to look at CCS as against the concept of exclusionary principle. They feel CCS is donor-driven and not good for conservation of wildlife as most local communities are poachers.

4.4.3   Provision of knowledge, resources and services

The local communities are assisted with knowledge on conservation and environmental issues, through the provision of posters, calendars and leaflets; resources (funds and materials) and services (water, film shows, transport and extension services to agriculturalists and pastoralists). CCS encourages the sharing of conventional and indigenous knowledge to help the conservation of natural resources. These items are also given to wildlife clubs in schools and colleges. These things though small have strengthened relations and trust among the local communities and parks personnel.

4.4.4   Planned sharing of benefits

TANAPA support for community initiated project funds was established in 1992 as part of the head office and parks strategic action planning process (TANAPA/AWF,

2000; TANAPA CCS, 2007). Table 4.1 provides a comparative analysis of CCS funding allocations for the two study parks from 1994 to 2007. The details of budgets and supported projects in Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks are given in Appendix IIA and IIB.

Table 4.1: Comparative analysis of CCS funds allocation per park (1994 – 2007)

Year	Lake Manyara National Park Expenditure in Tshs	Tarangire National Park Expenditure in Tshs
1994	1,870,224	1,506,386
1995	66,617,023	25,641,239
1996	14,428,930	13,531,418
1997	32,915,796	15,185,142
1998	1,487,500	33,877,094
1999	0	3,500,000
2000	1,686,000	46,039,587
2001	93,576,622	54,220,865
2002	0	15,542,614
2003	135,740,875	81,906,286
2004	2,620,209	55,129,924
2005	38,761,720	156,838,050
2006	47,920,000	118,740,416
2007	114, 356,808	155,217,030
Total	437,981,821	776,876,052

Source: TANAPA CCS, 2007

TANAPA spent a total of Tshs 1,214,857,873 for community projects in the two parks from 1994 to 2007.

Table 4.2: A comparative analysis of CCS funds for all study villages

Year	Lake Manyara Adjacent Villages	Tshs	Funded projects	Tarangire Adjacent Villages	Tshs	Funded Projects
1994	K/Simba	1,870,224	Education	Sangaiwe	759,075	Education
1995	Nil	0		Sangaiwe	1,555,390	Education
1996	Mto/Mbu	2,500,000	Health	Mswakini	4,439,368	Education
	Esilalei	3,343,630	Education		0	
1997	M/Mbu	300,000	Bicycles	Nil	0	
	M/Mbu	1,700,000	Tree planting		0	
1998		0		V/Vitatu	3,300,000	Water
		0		Minjingu	9,577,094	Education
1999		0		Nil	0	
2000		0		Nil	0	
2001	K/Simba	8,944,006		Mswakini	12,279,450	Education
	Esilalei	13,519,566	Water with Majengo		0	
	M/Mbu	18,770,793	Education		0	
	Esilalei	15,390,765	Education		0	
2002		0		Nil	0	
2003		0		Minjingu	12,984,860	Education
2004		0		Nil	0	
2005		0		Nil	0	
2006	Esilalei	47,920,000	Education & Water	Minjingu	92,931,308	Health
2007	Esilalei	3,810,655	Education	Minjingu	30,193,208	Education
	Esilalei	7,182,850	Water	Minjingu	25,000,000	Health
	M/Mbu	28,642,700	Education			
Total		153,895,188			193,019,753	

About 64% of the total funds were spent by Tarangire National Park and 36% of the funds by Lake Manyara National Park. The study villages received funding for the implementation of various projects as shown in Table 4.2. From the 64% spent by Tarangire outreach programme, the study shows that a total of 25% of the released funds were used to support 6 education projects, one water project and one health project in the four study areas. This funding has enabled the villagers to have good schools, water and a dispensary that now they do not need to go far for these services. Due to poor farm yields, it would have taken them long enough to have these items. The funding has been effective in showing that the parks personnel are seriously participating in the development of their neighbours.

In some years, study villages did not have projects as the park budgeted for other

target villages. In comparison, Minjingu received more funds (Tshs 170,686,470; 83.8%) of the budget allocated to Tarangire National Park while Sangaiwe used the least (Tshs 2,314,465; 1.8%). The differences in supporting the villages were attributed to a number of reasons including poaching and poor response to calls for contributions towards project implementation (TANAPA/AWF, 2000). Tarangire received a dispensary project in 2006 and 2007 that was awarded to them by the Board of Trustees in exchange for land to construct the quarters for park rangers at the gate (personal observations). The dispensary project cost TANAPA Tshs 117,931,308, representing about 69% of all Tarangire funds (Table 4.2). It is the opinion of the researcher that irrational distribution of funds, sometimes denied CCS benefits to other villagers.

Similarly, from the total fund available budgeted for Lake Manyara National Park, 35% of funds were used to support 8 education projects, two water projects and one dispensary project. The funds were also used to purchase bicycles for village game scouts and a tree planting campaign. Other years were skipped as CCS was operating in other target villages. Esilalei village received more funds (Tshs 91,167,465.56; 70.1%) followed by Mto wa Mbu (20.4%) and Kambi ya Simba (9.5%). Records for Majengo village were not available but based on the researcher's experience, CCS assisted in the construction of a teacher's house and a classroom in 2001. In the case of Lake Manyara, Esilalei used Tshs 47,920,000 (53%) of all funds budgeted for Esilalei projects to implement the education and water projects that are very important in the Maasai community. Some water projects were shared with Majengo village because the pipes from the water source pass near the village.

Personal experience indicates that there are elements of bias involved in the allocation of CCS funds. The researcher proposes awarding of full contracts to the private sector or community based organizations to enable the CCW to do other things rather than continuously supervise projects. Additionally, it is the view of the researcher that CCS activities in the target communities are not properly documented something which can raise questions of dishonesty. A case example is the lack of data on community contributions (Appendix IIa and IIb).

4.4.5 Professional and collaborative links

Based on the researcher's direct experience, the CCS outreach programme cannot work on its own in the many villages surrounding the parks with varied issues and aspirations (personal observations). The aim was to assist CCS to cover large areas, in the face of an inadequate number of qualified personnel, by working with other stakeholders. During the initial stages, CCS worked with AWF, FZS, WWF, GTZ, and USAID but this trend has declined (section 3.3). CCS also worked with community-based organizations such as Inyuat e Maa, and Mazingira Karatu but all these initiatives ended when USAID funding stopped. The reasons could be the shift in priorities by most development partners or that TANAPA shied away from long term relations (personal observations). Efforts are needed in this area as community issues and pressures on parks are increasing. It is the view of the researcher that TANAPA, as a public institution, ought to embrace partnerships with communities and the private sector as it is happening in projects implementation.

4.4.6 Capacity building

The programme endeavours to build the capacities of local communities in areas of training, business entrepreneurships and income generating projects. In this aim, the CCS outreach programme targets youth and women's groups and attempts to enable them to carry out economic activities for the improvement of their households. TANAPA through CCS has introduced pilot income generating projects (IGPs) to support individual efforts aimed at poverty alleviation (TANAPA CCS, 2007). The main aim for the programme is to provide loans to small scale entrepreneurs and organized groups adjacent to the parks. Tarangire has been identified as one of the three pilot projects but the proposal has not yet taken off (personal observations).

4.5. Principal observations

It is the general views of the researcher that CCS has attempted to achieve the set aims and objectives. The contribution to social development was significant and the image of TANAPA has improved drastically in the country. However, the outreach programme did not do well in the area of conservation education, which is very

important in the whole process of working with park neighbours. Conservation education is important in protecting resources that are destroyed using fires, illegal harvesting and clearing of forests for agriculture. Another weak area is that of failing to establish and strengthen professional and collaborative links with other players within the districts that CCS outreach programme is operating. This has caused CCS to be prone to political hijackings and targeted villages have received fewer benefits compared to the time CCS has been in operation. Where benefits have been significant, relations have improved drastically. However, problem animals and boundary conflicts in some areas have remained as major problems that CCS outreach programme is still trying to resolve.

Chapter Five presents a comparative description of the study parks and villages for both Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks.

CHAPTER FIVE: BACKGROUND INFORMATION TO STUDY AREAS

5.1   Introduction

Both Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks are very important tourism areas and lie in the rift valley system in northern Tanzania. TANAPA depends on Kilimanjaro, Serengeti, Arusha, Lake Manyara and Tarangire National Parks for generating income and shares the surplus with the other parks. A comparative description of the two parks and the eight study villages is given in the following sections.

5.2   Description of Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks

Tarangire National Park that was established in 1970 covers more than 2,600 km^2 in Babati district, Manyara region (Figure 7.1). Tarangire National Park is famous for baobabs, elephants and tree climbing pythons (Snelson, 1986a; Martin, 2003b; TANAPA, 2004). According to Snelson 1986b and Martin 2003c, Lake Manyara National Park was established in 1960 and covers about 330 km^2 of which 220 km^2 are lake (Figure 7.2). Lake Manyara National Park is famous for under ground forests, tree climbing lions and the rift valley lake with diversity of bird species especially the flamingos. The two parks are connected by Tarangire-Lake Manyara corridor that extends south wards to the Maasai steppes (Meing'ataki and Foley, 1996; Martin, 2003b; Kangwana and Mako, 1998).

Lake Manyara National Park is internationally recognized as biosphere reserve under the UNESCO's Man and the Biosphere Programme (MAB) and that was nominated in 1981 (World Heritage Site, 2006; Martin, 2003b). The biosphere reserves are designated to benefit the local communities, government decision makers, agencies and the world community (*ibid*). Tarangire does not have any international recognition other than a famous visitation park.

Figure 5.1: Map of Tarangire National Park and case study villages
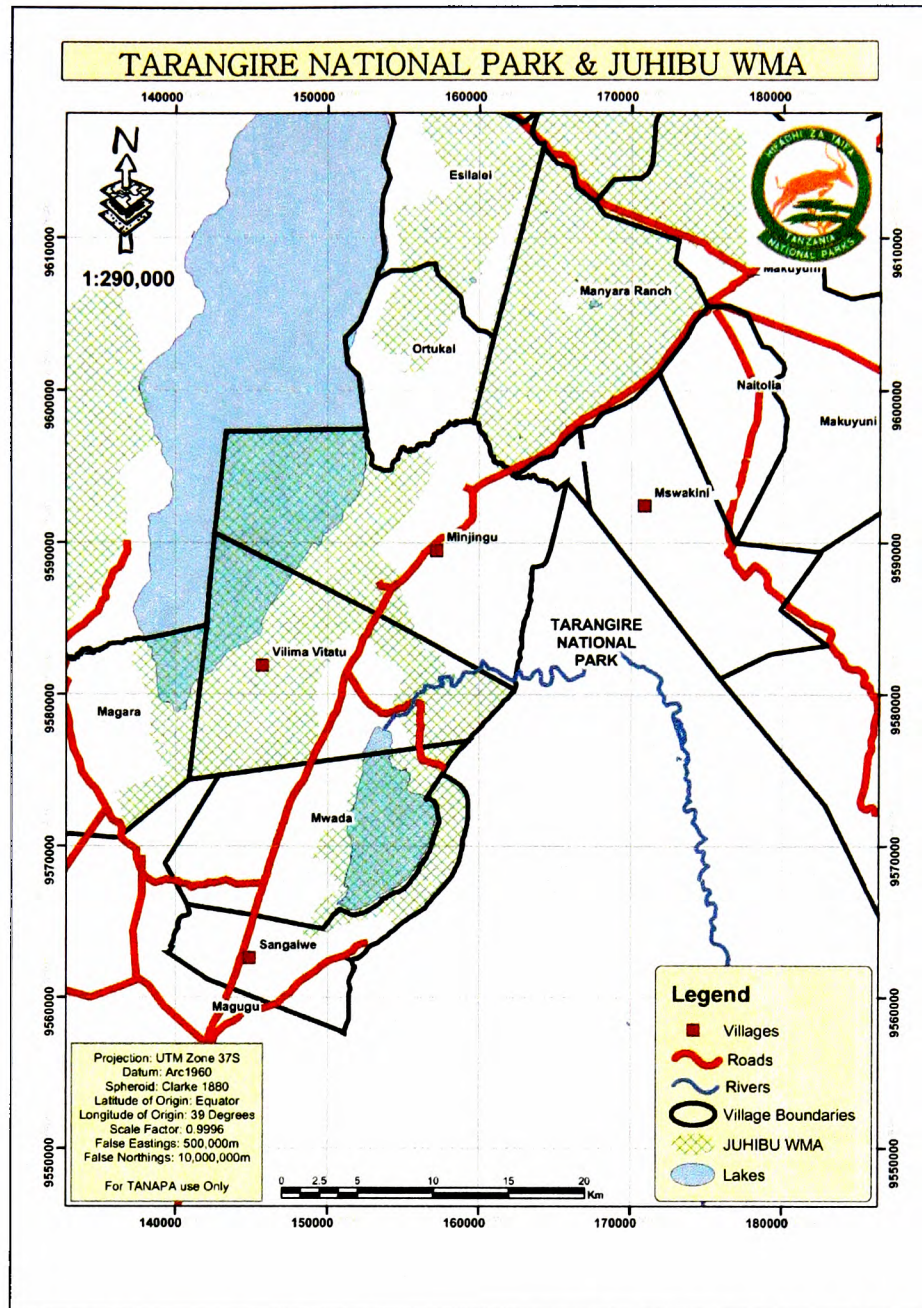
The Tarangire National Park derives its name from the Tarangire River that flows from the south to the north through the park and empties into Lake Burunge. During heavy rains, Lake Burunge occasionally overflows into Lake Manyara. Within the park, the river directly links to the Silale, Gurusi, Larmakau, and Nguselorobi swamps. These swamps and Tarangire River provides the park with water all year around, thus serving as a critical dry season refuge for many wildlife species (TANAPA, 2008; TATO, 2003).

Figure 5.2: Map of Lake Manyara National Park and the case study villages

Legend:
- ■ Town
- ✈ Air strip
- ◉ Camp site
- ⋏ Bandas
- ▼ Park Headquarter
- ● Hot spring
- ⊞ Hotel
- ⬡ Lodge
- ⬟ Lodge/Camp site Mto wa Mbu
- ⬥ Picnic site
- ⬟ Ranger Post
- ✿ Research camp
- ▲ Permanent Tented camp
- ◎ View point
- ∿∿ Existing Park boundary
- ∿∿ Intended park boundary
- ∿∿ River
- ∿∿ Major road
- ∿∿ Park roads
- ∿∿ Village roads
- □ Marang Forest
- □ Lake
- ■ Lake shores/sand and soda flats
- □ Periodic/permanent swamps
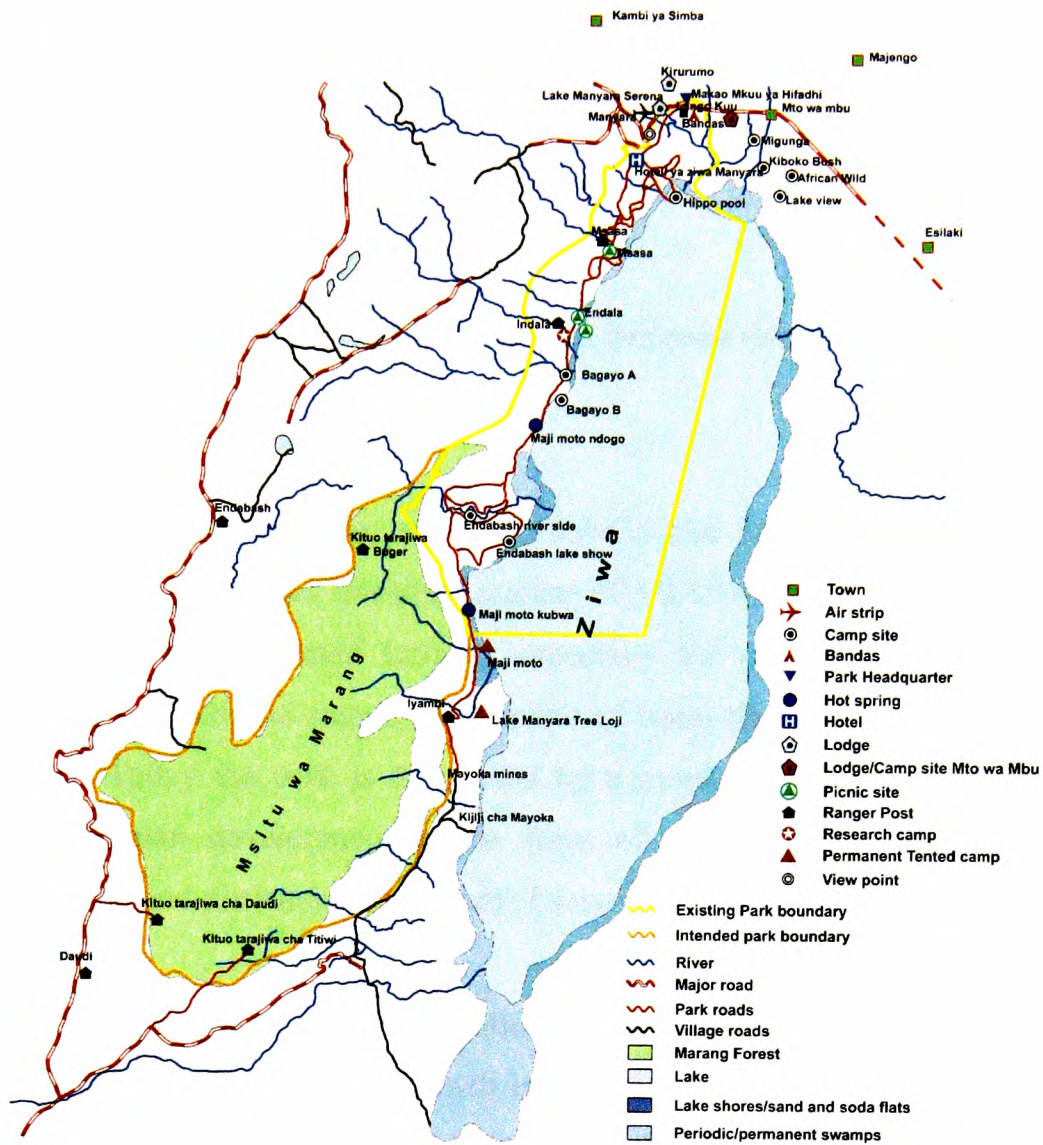
Source: TANAPA Publishing Unit, 2006

Tarangire supports one of the largest populations of elephants of any national park in Tanzania (TANAPA, 2008). It has been recorded that between 1,550 and 3,300 elephants, live in the park during the dry season. Nearly two thirds of these animals disperse into the adjacent areas during the wet season (*ibid*). Due to the variety of habitats, the Lake Manyara National Park is able to support a large number of species. Over 380 species of birds, some of which are migratory are found existing in the park. The park derives its name from the Maasai word 'Manyara', which is the name for the plant *Euphorbia tirucalli* (Martin, 2003c). The park management of Lake Manyara National Park has been over a long time concerned with three main influences of man on wildlife: fuel wood collection; poaching and tourism, and conversely with the

effects of wildlife activities on communities living close to the park, such as crop raiding and destruction of livestock by predators (*ibid*).

Both national parks have challenges that park management always encounter in their day to day activities as discussed in the following sections.

5.3 Threats to the Parks or conflicts/tensions between the parks and adjacent communities

Prior to 1950s, Tarangire area was sparsely inhabited and had prevalence of tsetse flies and hence was not used for livestock grazing (TANAPA, 2004). The opening of large and small-scale mechanised farming especially for maize and beans made people and cattle return to the area as the number of tsetse flies was greatly reduced from the 1970s. Today the park is threatened by poaching, blockage of migratory routes through human development in the form of large-scale farming, shifting cultivation, mining, and settlements (personal observations and experience).

On the other hand, the Lake Manyara National Park continues to face increasing human population and development growth in adjacent lands (Martin 2003c). This situation is posing threats to the park because of the increasing demands on natural resources. Some of the threats that are facing Lake Manyara National Park are poaching, blockage of traditional wildlife routes that were also used by pastoralists. The other threat particular to this park is the poor land use practices especially agriculture and livestock keeping from over the escarpment. Lake Manyara has been silted due to soil erosion from upper lands.

5.3.1 Poaching

Poaching has been a problem in Tarangire National Park especially because of its many and good trophy elephants and other animal species such as zebras, giraffes, buffaloes, and antelopes. The presence of 10 hunting blocks in the east and southeast of the park has also been linked to poaching incidences as well as in areas where there are artisanal miners from Karanga mines (personal experience). Furthermore, the park

is more accessible from many areas and is close to Arusha, Kondoa, Orkersumet, and Babati commercial towns. According to Tarangire Elephant Project (2005), large scale poaching throughout northern Tanzania occurred during the 1970's and mid 1980's. This caused elephant populations from neighbouring areas to migrate into the relatively safe areas in the park (*ibid*). The researchers found out that these elephant subpopulations settled and became resident in Tarangire, swelling the numbers to approximately 2000 individuals by 1991 (*ibid*). Due to efforts put in place to protect these elephants, poaching has decreased in the park and elephants as a flagship species seem to be increasing (TAWIRI, 2006). Poaching in Lake Manyara National Park has always been a problem where about 30 villages surround the small park. The access to the park is also easy. It is close to a number of sub urban towns like Mto wa Mbu, Karatu, Mbulu, Babati and Makuyuni.

In Tanzania, all wildlife belongs to the Director of Wildlife (MNRT, 1998a). Therefore wildlife is only killed when one has an authorized permit from the Director of Wildlife (*ibid*). The presented poaching trends indicate that poaching is still a problem in the parks even though it is less than that which is going on outside the park. A comparative analysis of poaching incidences in both parks from 2001/2002 to 2006/2007 is given in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: A comparative analysis of poaching inside and outside the park

Year	Tarangire Park		Lake Manyara Park	
	Poaching inside	Poaching outside	Poaching inside	Poaching outside
2001/02	50	20	31	59
2002/03	46	18	41	99
2003/04	37	45	109	106
2004/05	30	52	121	305
2005/06	28	55	146	356
Total	191	190	448	925

For the past five years, the study shows that almost the same numbers of poachers (190) were arrested inside and outside Tarangire National Park (Table 5.1). Additionally, the study further indicates that poaching is high outside the areas surrounding Lake Manyara National Park than inside the park (LMNP, 2006). According to park management in Lake Manyara National Park, poaching is being seriously contained

with improved collaboration with the surrounding villages (*ibid*). Park rangers in both parks collaborate with village game scouts and sometimes with anti-poaching unit from Arusha and jointly conducts patrols in areas outside the parks. Arrests of poachers from the adjacent communities have always led to tensions between the parks and the local communities (TANAPA/AWF, 2000). Additionally, CCS and law enforcement activities have not been complimenting each other (*ibid*).

5.3.2 Blockage of traditional wildlife corridors

The future of both Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks serious depends on the continued viability of the traditional corridors and dispersal areas. For Tarangire National Park the Maasai steppe is very important as wildlife breed in the Simanjiro plains (Meing'ataki and Foley, 2001). Northwards, the Kwa Kuchinja corridor that links Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks is also very important as well as the link to Ngorongoro Conservation Area and Selela forest to Lake Natron. Unfortunately, over the years, human settlements and large-scale bean seed farming, especially in the east and west of the Tarangire national Park, have physically closed these ecologically important areas (personal observations).

The eastern part of the Tarangire National Park has serious human-wildlife conflicts because wildlife usually migrates to areas outside the park during the wet season for breeding purposes and only returns in the park during the dry season (*ibid*). When outside the park, wildlife shares resources such as water with local people and livestock. Wildlife-livestock transmissions of diseases such as foot and mouth disease and anthrax outbreaks are common and cause endless conflicts in areas buffering the park (personal experience). The loss of wildlife habitat outside the Tarangire National Park has reached alarming situations. The Kwa Kuchinja corridor and dispersal area is no longer viable for wildlife as other uses such as farming; settlements and ranching are taking precedence (personal observations). The development of the highway from Arusha to Babati and Makuyuni to Ngorongoro gate through Mto wa Mbu posse increased road kills to wild animals attempting to cross the road while traversing to and from the two national parks and beyond in the rift valley (Tarangire, 2006; LMNP, 2006).

Scientists had foreseen this encroachment trend long ago, that Tarangire National Park would one day become an 'island' as the threats to traditional corridors had been intensifying from all directions (Borner, 1985; TANAPA, 2004; Christensen, 2004). The technical advice given by these experts was not taken seriously that now the situation seems irreversible. According to Tarangire (2006), the only viable corridor that is in the south of the park to Mkungunero Game Reserve is also under threat due to the proposed construction of a trunk road from Babati to Orkesmet in Manyara region.

The fast growing sub urban towns and large-scale been farming are blocking or closing all the wildlife routes supporting the existence of Lake Manyara and Tarangire National Parks. The poor farming practices in Lake Manyara Basin especially in the villages above the escarpment are silting Lake Manyara which is one of the important rift valley lakes. According to a report by LMNP (2006), crop raiding by problem animals is very common especially during the rain season. The park is experiencing hard edge effects because of encroachment. Most communities live and farm right to the park boundary (*ibid*). This has led to frequent conflicts caused by problem animals like elephants, primates, buffaloes, and zebra that invade people's crops. Predators also go after domesticated animals such as cattle, goats, sheep, chicken and dogs.

5.3.3   Community-based ecotourism

The environment of the parks and surrounding areas has drastically changed over the past 15 years (personal observations). Private concessions in adjacent areas are competing with villagers for community-based ecotourism (TANAPA/AWF, 2000; AWF, 2002; and Kipuri and Nanyoro, 1996). The mushrooming of campsites and lodges outside the parks, especially in the east, northwest and north of the Tarangire National Park; Mto wa Mbu village and the rim of the escarpment at Lake Manyara National Parks are of great concern to wildlife movements. According to Nelson (2004), more and more rural communities in northern Tanzania (both around Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks) are signing agreements with private companies to develop ecotourism businesses on village lands which most of is in wildlife routes. Many critics argue that the ability of local people to benefit from these initiatives is being compromised as conflicts are already being felt. The issue of

governance in these villages needs drastic improvements (*ibid*).

It is the view of the researcher that the settlements and cultivation along the corridor joining Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks are obviously strangling the park and wildlife will soon have no place to maintain their traditional home ranges and conflicts would escalate. Additionally, there has been development of ecotourism facilities in the corridors and are dependent Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks as their main attractions. While the number of tourists has been increasing both inside and outside these parks, there is fear that due to uncontrolled construction of these facilities, quality of tourism and the parks themselves may decline drastically (Tarangire, 2006). These development initiatives are good but proper planning and guidelines are required to properly guide where these facilities can be allocated with acceptable standards. Based on researcher's experience, both Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks are among the top five revenue earning parks in the TANAPA network, hence, these issues need to be properly addressed (section 5.1; TANAPA, 2008).

5.4 Comparative description of the villages surrounding the Park

Four villages, namely Mswakini, Minjingu, Vilima Vitatu and Sangaiwe were selected for the study in Tarangire National Park. At the same time, four villages namely, Kambi ya Simba, Mto wa Mbu, Majengo and Esilalei were selected for the study in Lake Manyara National Parks. The study villages are shown in Figures 5.1 and 5.2 above. These adjacent villages are located from 0-20 km from the park's boundaries. A comparative analysis of the selected villages based on locations, ethnic groups and occupations is provided in Table 5.2 below.

Table 5.2: Comparison analysis of study villages

Park	Village (location)	Ethic Groups	Occupations
Tarangire	Minjingu	Mainly Maasai and Mbugwe, mixed with other tribes	Farming, livestock keeping, small businesses, employees
	Mswakini	Maasai with a few Arusha tribe	Livestock keeping, ecotourism

	Vilima Vitatu	Mbugwe mixed with other tribes	Farming, fishing, livestock keeping, weaving
	Sangaiwe	Mbugwe and Barbaig	Farming, livestock keeping, small businesses
Lake Manyara	Kambi ya Simba	Iraqw	Farming, livestock keeping, ecotourism
	Mto wa Mbu	Mixed tribes	Farming, irrigation, fishing, ecotourism, livestock keeping and small businesses
	Majengo	Mixed tribes	Farming, irrigation, fishing, ecotourism, livestock keeping
	Esilalei	Maasai	Small farms, livestock keepers, ecotourism and trust land

A comparative analysis of the location, population and average annual rainfall for all study villages is given in Table 5.3 below.

Table 5.3: Comparative analysis of location and population

Park	Village	Location	Population	Annual rainfall
Tarangire	Minjingu	Nkaiti ward, Babati district, in Manyara region. It has three localities known as Kibaoni, Mabatini, and Almasi.	786 males and 954 females (Total 1740)	450mm
	Mswakini	Makuyuni ward, Monduli district in Arusha region.	439 males and 512 females. (Total 951)	500mm
	Vilima Vitatu	Nkaiti ward, Babati district in Manyara region	504 males and 618 females. (Total 1122)	600mm
	Sangaiwe	Mwada ward, Babati district, in Manyara region.	975 males while females are 1,205 (Total 2180)	700mm
Lake Manyara	Kambi ya Simba	Mbulu Mbulu Ward, Karatu district, in Manyara region.	2803 males and 2568 females	750mm

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			(Total 5371)	
	Mto wa Mbu	Mto wa Mbu ward, Monduli district, Arusha region.	9,002 people (data available was not divided into males and females)	642mm
	Majengo	Mto wa Mbu ward, Monduli district, Arusha region.	749 males and 822 females (Total 1571)	600mm
	Esilalei	Losirwa ward, Monduli district, in Arusha region.	1,090 males and 1,113 women. (Total 2203)	250mm

The population analysis for all study villages indicates that Mto wa Mbu and Kambi ya Simba villages bordering Lake Manyara National Park have more people than other study villages (Figure 5.3). Sangaiwe and Minjingu villages have more people in the case of Tarangire National Park (*ibid*). Both Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Park are experiencing pressures on the boundaries due to increasing human activities (farming and settlements) as a result of population growth (personal observations).

Figure 5.3: Population analysis for all study areas
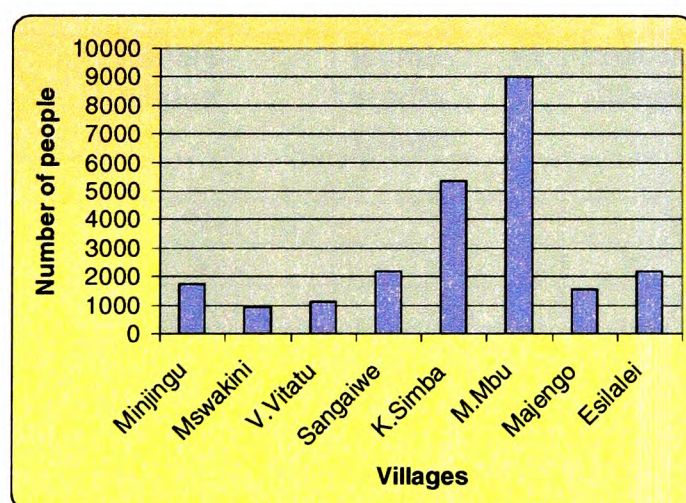
Table 5.4a and 5.4b below indicates the existing social and economic services available in all the study villages for Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks, respectively.

Table 5.4a: Existing social and economic services in Tarangire study villages

Items	Mswakini Village	Minjingu Village	Vilima Vitatu Village	Sangaiwe Village
a. Social Services				
Primary schools	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Secondary schools	No	No	No	No
Dispensaries	No	Yes	Yes	No
Piped/borehole water	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Public roads	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Electricity	No	No	No	No
Cattle dip	No	No	Yes	Yes
b. Economic Services				
Open market	No	Yes	No	No
Shops/curios	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Guesthouses	No	Yes	Yes	No
Employing companies	No	Yes	No	Yes
Lodge/campsites	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Fishing	No	No	Yes	Yes
Hunting	No	No	Yes	Yes
Women groups	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Farmers	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Pastoralists	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 5.4b: A summary of existing socio and economic services in the Lake Manyara study villages

Items	Esilalei village	Kambi ya Simba village	Mto-wa-Mbu village	Majengo village
a. Social services				
Primary schools	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Secondary schools	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Dispensaries	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Piped/borehole water	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Public roads	Yes	No	Yes	No
Electricity	No	No	Yes	Yes
Cattle dip	Yes	No	Yes	No
b. Economic services				
Open market	No	Yes	Yes	No
Shops/curios	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Guesthouses	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Employing companies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Lodge/campsites	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

Fishing	No	No	Yes	Yes
Hunting	Yes	No	Yes	No
Women groups	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Farmers	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Pastoralists	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Generally, the researcher observed that most villagers are living in abject poverty (Kaswamila 2006; personal observations). The relations with the two parks have improved as a result of the projects that have been implemented in their respective villages (Table 4.1 and 4.2). Park personnel are more relaxed in their relations with the local communities, something which was not obvious before the enhancement of relations through dialogue and benefit sharing. However, it is the opinion of the researcher that the closing of wildlife corridors through human activities and people's poverty may further endanger the future of Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks if the CCS outreach programme will be undermined.

In Chapter Six, major findings of the study are presented.

CHAPTER SIX: STUDY FINDINGS FOR NATIONAL PARKS AND ADJACENT VILLAGES

6.1   Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study. It analyses the responses for both parks in relation to the differences in management capacity, geographical location of the parks and villages, ethnic groups and occupations in the study areas (sections 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4).

6.2   Findings from the Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks

Park rangers, SCIP committee focus groups and community focus groups were selected for qualitative studies of Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks respectively. Table 6.1 provides a summary of the key findings from both parks.

Table 6.1: Parks focus group responses

Focus groups	Responses/indicators
	Code: Learning from experience
Tarangire park rangers	Park management believed that it was wrong to employ staff from neighbouring villages as they would interfere with daily patrol arrangements
Lake Manyara park rangers	It was not easy to recognize communities as allies in conservation as they were regarded as poachers. However, we noticed significant changes in relations with the community after CCS started in 1994
Tarangire SCIP committee	History of how parks were established made it difficult for the park to begin a dialogue with local communities
Lake Manyara SCIP committee	The parks had no choice when global conservation policies necessitated recognition of the importance of involving local communities in conservation
	Code: Awareness
Tarangire park rangers	Villagers are good neighbours as they help to protect the resources. However, some are still poaching
Lake Manyara park rangers	Villagers are good neighbours but some people are still poaching in and outside the park
Tarangire SCIP committee	Community awareness of conservation matters is still low
Lake Manyara SCIP committee	Communities are friendly to park staff but awareness is low on conservation matters

	Code: Communication strategy
Tarangire park rangers	CCS deserves credit for taking the message about good neighbourliness to the communities when relations were not very good.
Lake Manyara park rangers	The communication is much easier now and this situation has resulted into improved security in the park
Tarangire SCIP committee	We are happy to work with the adjacent communities but relations differ from community to community
Lake Manyara SCIP committee	Due to improved communication, the communities are supportive than before
	Code: Collaboration links
Tarangire park rangers	We work with village game scouts and are trustworthy
Lake Manyara park rangers	The whole community works with CCS especially during projects implementation
Tarangire SCIP committee	The village government, school and natural resources committees are the main collaborators of CCS in the community
Lake Manyara SCIP committee	We directly work with schools and natural resources committees after getting permission from the village leaders
	Code: Benefit sharing
Tarangire park rangers	We participated in the problem animal control and in cattle rustling incidences
Lake Manyara park rangers	We assisted with problem animal control while the veterinary officers provided services to pastoralists
Tarangire SCIP committee	The relationships changed because of the direct support to community projects, services, problem animal control and conservation education after the initiation of the CCS programme
Lake Manyara SCIP committee	The communities have benefited from CCS benefits programme to a great extent
	Code: Grievances
Tarangire park rangers	It is sad that despite the benefits provided, poachers among the communities continue decimating wildlife inside and outside the park. Pastoralists are also using the park illegally for grazing and water. CCS has not achieved some of the stipulated aims and objectives
Lake Manyara park rangers	Despite the good relations and benefits provided, we are surprised that there are people who are still poaching both inside and outside the park
Tarangire SCIP committee	The Community Conservation Warden (CCW) is working alone with minimal support from other heads of departments and CCS is facing pressures from politicians. CCWs are also frequently transferred to other departments hence affecting CCS activities
Lake Manyara SCIP committee	Pressures from politicians and TANAPA administration have caused deviation in CCS programme. Most implemented projects had directives from the top to the parks. This has

	caused complaints from the targeted villages.
	Code: Capacity building
Tarangire park rangers	The park management should recruit skilled CCS staff and ensure they stay long enough to gain experience as well
Lake Manyara park rangers	CCS did not conduct training to park rangers and communities that would have resulted into improved relationships
Tarangire SCIP committee	How can one CCS staff work with village governments in 43 villages to strengthen capacity of these local institutions that surround the park?
Lake Manyara SCIP committee	CCS endeavours to build capacity to local communities through meetings, awareness raising and projects implementation. It is a tough task for one CCW to work in 30 adjacent villages.

Table 6.2 below presents a summary of the findings from eight villages that are adjacent to Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks (see section 5.4). Five focus groups were selected for each of the villages.

Table 6.2: Responses from village focus groups

Village: Sangaiwe	Responses/indicators
Focus groups	**Code: Learning from experience**
Village government	We had relations before but due to illegal activities conducted in the park, we rarely met. However, the community started getting benefits from the park, as soon as CCS started working in the villages.
Natural resources committee	The community was seen as enemies of the park. We started getting involved in conservation matters when CCS started working in the villages but we never benefited from the park before
Farmers	We used to kill animals that came into our farms but we always got in trouble. When CCS started rangers assisted us with problem animal control.
Pastoralists	We did not get in trouble with the parks except during the drought. Veterinary services were not provided until when CCS started working in the villages.
Women group	We did not have any women groups before. When CCS started we were assisted in establishing them in our village. However, we still do not have capital to do good business.
	Code: Awareness
Village government	The park is good and we like the presence of the park near our village
Natural resources committee	The park is good and we like the presence of the park near our village
Farmers	The park is good and we like the presence of the park near

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	our village
Pastoralists	The park is good and we like the presence of the park near our village
Women group	The park is not good, their animals eat our crops
Code: Communication strategy	
Village government	We communicate with the CCS staff directly through meetings or official duties
Natural resources committee	We always communicate with the CCS staff directly through meetings or implementation of projects
Farmers	We interact indirectly, meaning we do so through the village government machinery
Pastoralists	We have no direct interactions or trouble with the park because we graze in our village lands
Women group	We interact indirectly, meaning we do so through the village government machinery
Code: Collaboration links	
Village government	We are the main collaborators of CCS in the community
Natural resources committee	We are the main collaborators of CCS in the community
Farmers	We only collaborate with CCS when there is a purpose to do so.
Pastoralists	We only collaborate with CCS when there is a purpose to do so.
Women group	We only collaborate with CCS when there is a purpose to do so.
Code: Benefit sharing	
Village government	CCS provided resources such as corrugated iron sheets and timber for the teacher's house and all the materials for the classroom before problems started
Natural resources committee	CCS provided resources such as corrugated iron sheets and timber for the teacher's house and all the materials for the classroom before problems started
Farmers	The rangers assisted us to protect our crops from elephants
Pastoralists	The rangers were extra efficient in tracking down cattle stolen from our village even during the impasse
Women group	The support for construction of one classroom and the completion of a teacher's house
Code: Grievances	
Village government	Since the first two projects (a classroom and a teacher's house) ended, no additional projects have ever been provided by the CCS. We are not very happy about it
Natural resources committee	After the first CCW left, the rest were not very active and involving
Farmers	The park has problems because some animals like elephants, which often invade our farms and homes in such of food and water, are notorious
Pastoralists	Cattle rustlers gave us sleepless nights, thanks to the park rangers

Women group	We are wondering why wildlife video shows or cinemas that used to be shown by parks in the schools and the public are no more.
Code: Capacity building	
Village government	We must protect the environment to avoid environmental troubles such as desertification
Natural resources committee	It is important to change our attitudes towards wildlife and the park
Farmers	We have been trained on various ways through our village leaders and we are using the knowledge, but CCS has not trained us directly
Pastoralists	We must protect the environment and pastureland
Women group	We must protect the environment to avoid environmental disasters such as floods and drought

Village: Mswakini	**Responses**
Code: Learning from experience	
Village government	We used to see wildlife in our land and mixed with our livestock. We never benefited.
Natural resources committee	CCS provided conservation education when CCS started especially to village leaders
Farmers	Before CCS, rangers were not helping the community much. When CCS started in 1994, rangers used to spent nights scaring problem animals away.
Pastoralists	Relations were good from 1996 to 2001, after that the relationship became unfocused
Women group	Before CCS, most women used to fear rangers and never got close to them. Things have now changed for the better.
Code: Awareness	
Village government	The park and its wildlife is the best thing we have close to our village
Natural resources committee	The park and its wildlife are good for tourism business
Farmers	The functions of the park include the protection of animals in our farms
Pastoralists	The park recognized the community especially the pastoralists as conservation allies and not enemies
Women group	The park and its wildlife bring tourists and conduct business with them.
Code: Communication strategy	
Village government	We have direct contact with CCS
Natural resources committee	We have direct interaction with CCS
Farmers	We have indirect interaction with CCS
Pastoralists	We have indirect contact with CCS
Women group	We have indirect interaction with CCS
Code: Collaboration links	
Village government	We use traditional leaders to discipline Maasai warriors as they are responsible for the security in the village

	including wildlife and they are chief advisors of the village government
Natural resources committee	CCS works with the village government, natural resources committee and traditional leaders in the process of establishing collaborative linkages with the community and/or conservation stakeholders
Farmers	We need to recruit and train VGS to assist with crop protection
Pastoralists	We need veterinary services to enhance livestock development that will improve community livelihoods
Women group	CCS always reports to the village office to discuss issues of benefit, education or provision of resources and services
Code: Benefit sharing	
Village government	We were helped with one classroom and a teacher's house; transport and water; problem animal control and veterinary services (tsetse traps and vaccinations against rabies)
Natural resources committee	We received benefits, resources and services from CCS
Farmers	Rangers should try to come as soon as we ask them because animals do not wait for them
Pastoralists	Information from the veterinary officer on wildlife-livestock diseases was useful to us
Women group	We received benefits, resources and services from CCS
Code: Grievances	
Village government	Frequent transfers of CCS staff have a big implication on the built relationship as park employees differ in skills and character. There is no consistency in CCS activities
Natural resources committee	Similarly change of the village government especially the chairperson also affects built relations
Farmers	We see Park rangers coming with plastic bombs to scare away animals and leave immediately after scaring them while they know that animals once chased away they leave but soon return. They do not stay over night as they used to do.
Pastoralists	Hyenas are notorious as they dig our mud houses that house the goats and kill as many as they can. One hundred and eight goats were eaten in year 2004 alone.
Women group	CCS has not helped us to initiate women projects
Code: Capacity building	
Village government	The village leaders learnt how the park will collaborate with surrounding villages and how the communities will benefit from the park if we will protect it
Natural resources committee	The education provided by CCS helps the community in the protection of the environment
Farmers	As farmers we need education about wildlife that raid our crops, what we should do while still living with wildlife
Pastoralists	We need education on livestock development and control

	of diseases from wildlife
Women group	We need CCS to assist us to strengthen our young women groups and educate them on business management. We need a loan scheme to fund income generating projects.

Village: Minjingu	Responses
	Code: Learning from experience
Village government	We used to get assistance from the park. When CCS started in our village in 1995, we started receiving benefits from the park.
Natural resources committee	The park was not involving us in the protection of the park. But CCS brought us together very easily.
Farmers	The relationship was good in protecting our farms from problem animals.
Pastoralists	Park rangers were usually very bad when they arrested our cattle in the park.
Women group	Park rangers were almost inhumane; we feared them but have now changed their attitudes and are more approachable
	Code: Awareness
Village government	The park is a blessing and we are proud to be the village were the headquarters is located
Natural resources committee	The park is a blessing as we benefit greatly from it
Farmers	The park has problems because of marauding animals
Pastoralists	The park has problems to us because of predators that kill our livestock
Women group	The park is a blessing as we do business with tourists
	Code: Communication strategy
Village government	We interact directly with CCS
Natural resources committee	We interact directly with CCS
Farmers	We interact with CCS through the village leaders especially when seeking assistance for services
Pastoralists	We interact directly with CCS
Women group	We interact with CCS through the village leaders or when we have a project.
	Code: Collaboration links
Village government	The main collaborators of CCS in Minjingu village are the village government, natural resources and school committees and sometimes with pastoralists
Natural resources committee	Park rangers collaborate with VGS to control illegal activities to natural resources
Farmers	CCS provides support in protecting crops in community farms using park rangers
Pastoralists	Park rangers and veterinary officers are collaborating with VGS and pastoralists to solve problems related to wildlife.
Women group	The water supply is a critical issue in our village. Village

	leaders are still looking for assistance from the park.
	Code: Benefit sharing
Village government	We have been supported with 2 classrooms and teacher's offices at Minjingu primary School, 2 classrooms at Tarangire Primary School and a nursery school, a dispensary and a 2 in 1 teacher's house
Natural resources committee	The village earns revenues from four tourist enterprises developed in our village land including a hunting company. We have signed agreements with the investors.
Farmers	We have established by laws and are enforced at sub village level especially on cutting trees and use of fire when clearing farms
Pastoralists	When lions invade our enclosures, all Maasai warriors surround it and try to kill it. Only brave warriors are required as the lions are very aggressive and can easily kill people. Even so, lions are still causing many losses by killing livestock especially cattle
Women group	We need relations to be enhanced especially when people are sick. Building of the dispensary outside the park should not be the end of relations.
	Code: Grievances
Village government	We do not know why we are not involved in the tendering process for contractors working in our projects! We know the tendering process happens in Arusha where even the park says does not participate directly. We are curious with the way tendering process is done by TANAPA HQ for community projects.
Natural resources committee	The major problem we face is caused by wildlife eating our food and livestock
Farmers	The major issue facing the community is the problem animals that do not spare our food and livestock. We know we cannot do anything, but the cost is huge and there is no compensation from the park or government
Pastoralists	The issue of water for livestock during the drought is a critical issue. Why can't we be allowed to use the Tarangire River as an emergency measure? Talking of good neighbours, we are better than the park because we allow wildlife in our village land during the rain season
Women group	Women are not yet empowered by CCS to undertake relevant projects for improving their livelihoods
	Code: Capacity building
Village government	We now know that there is nothing we can do to prevent animals coming into our community. We will cooperate with CCS to find a solution to the problem.
Natural resources committee	We have found out that wildlife has value through tourism where many tourists come even in their land, so despite the losses we get, we will continue protecting the park
Farmers	As farmers we need education about wildlife that raid our crops, and good farming practices

Pastoralists	The information on wildlife-livestock diseases is vital as it will help the pastoral community to know the diseases before hand
Women group	Women groups need training and facilitated to start our own businesses and contribute to household incomes

Village: Vilima Vitatu	Responses
Code: Learning from experience	
Village government	From 2000, after the CCS training (the only one) we realised that the antagonism that has been there for years with the park was useless. We used to kill animals in our farms and in the park and many got in trouble with the park
Natural resources committee	We acknowledge that the relationship with the park has changed from worse to better
Farmers	We have benefited as farmers especially in problem animal control.
Pastoralists	We always had problems with the park when grazing near the park.
Women group	We were not trained before. CCS trained village leaders in 2000 and that was the only one since
Code: Awareness	
Village government	We believe the park is a good thing
Natural resources committee	We all perceive that the park is good
Farmers	The park has no value to us as the animals have made it difficult for us to grow anything.
Pastoralists	The park told us to de-stock our livestock while the park does not cull or crop their wildlife
Women group	The park has problems to us because as problem animals invade our farms
Code: Communication strategy	
Village government	CCS directly collaborates with village leadership
Natural resources committee	CCS should be transparent in its activities because when dealing with village leaders only, the community gets suspicious. The village had many poachers, but today we have controlled that situation
Farmers	We do not directly interact with CCS, but does so through the village government
Pastoralists	We sometimes directly interact with CCS
Women group	We occasionally interact with CCS
Code: Collaboration links	
Village government	CCS collaborates directly with village government and the natural resources committee but also very rare
Natural resources committee	CCS collaborates directly with village government and the natural resources committee whenever the need arises
Farmers	We work in partnership with CCS when there is crop raiding

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Pastoralists	We collaborate with park rangers when there is cattle rustling or veterinary services
Women group	We usually collaborate with CCS in developing our groups
Code: Benefit sharing	
Village government	In 2001, the park supported with the rehabilitation of a shallow well. The TANAPA Board of Trustees inaugurated the well, that was the first, and last time we saw the board in our village for that purpose. Adding to it all, the community was not involved in the project
Natural resources committee	We know we would benefit more if we agree to establish the WMA in our land but we will not do so by force. We are supporting Minjingu village in this matter
Farmers	Crop raiding is getting serious especially during the rain season. We need more assistance from the park.
Pastoralists	The water supply was good for people and livestock
Women group	The park has an opportunity to support villages they like such as Minjingu and villages in Simanjiro and Kondoa districts without questions
Code: Grievances	
Village government	Park personnel do not attend village government and ward meetings even if they are invited
Natural resources committee	Our village does not receive support from CCS for development projects like other villages
Farmers	Park rangers always hesitate to come quickly when elephants invade crops, break houses and water tanks
Pastoralists	During the rain season, many animals go to the village, drink water and feed on our grass but during the drought our cattle are arrested if found close to the park boundary
Women group	We have not seen wildlife videos from the park for a long time
Code: Capacity building	
Village government	The park and tourism enterprises based inside and outside the park should provide employment opportunities in a transparent way to some of our youths so that they should not engage in illegal activities including poaching
Natural resources committee	More conservation education is required in the community
Farmers	Training will help us to know the dangers of destroying the environment through illegal human activities
Pastoralists	We need conservation education as we have questions as regards to the partnership
Women group	The park should know that by supporting women groups (for instance there are 4 groups in the village with a total of 120 women,) in developing income generating projects; they would be directly supporting the families of this community

Village: Majengo	Responses
Code: Learning from experience	
Village government	Changes of park leaders were the cause of bad relations with the park. Some of them are good and support CCS but others seem to hate working with communities
Natural resources committee	Before CCS, the relations were good and we were able to see cinemas in the village and tourism officers were responsible at that time
Farmers	We have not benefited at all from a weak relationship
Pastoralists	We cannot benefit at all from a weak relationship like this
Women group	They could not benefit at all from a weak relationship like this
Code: Awareness	
Village government	We have learnt that the park is ours and therefore we must protect it as well as the village lands
Natural resources committee	Park is our source of improved livelihoods and tourists pay a lot of money in the village
Farmers	We face threats towards food security due to problem animals that invade our farms every year
Pastoralists	We are facing water problems for our livestock near the park
Women group	We are not yet empowered by CCS to benefit more from tourism
Code: Communication strategy	
Village government	The village government and natural resources committee interacts directly with the CCS personnel
Natural resources committee	The village government and natural resources committee interacts directly with the CCS personnel
Farmers	The community respondents interact indirectly with CCS by following the protocol of going through the village government
Pastoralists	The community respondents interact indirectly with CCS by following the protocol of going through the village government
Women group	The community respondents interact indirectly with CCS by following the protocol of going through the village government
Code: Collaboration links	
Village government	The main collaborators of CCS in the community are the village government and to a small extent the natural resources committee
Natural resources committee	CCS works with the natural resources committee which is responsible for protecting the entire village reserved land and works with the park rangers to scare away problem animals.
Farmers	CCS works with the natural resources committee which is responsible for protecting the entire village reserved land and works with the park rangers to scare away problem animals.

Pastoralists	CCS works with the natural resources committee which is responsible for protecting the entire village reserved land and works with the park rangers to scare away problem animals.
Women group	The main collaborators of CCS in the community are the village government officials
Code: Benefit sharing	
Village government	CCS started sharing benefits, resources and services with us in 1997 when CCS supported a teacher's house at Majengo Primary School. We then got water pipes from CCS in 2001
Natural resources committee	The members of the community get opportunities to work in the park
Farmers	We were helped with rabies vaccinations, transport and problem animal control
Pastoralists	We were helped with rabies vaccinations and problem animal control
Women group	We are pleased with the help to our school
Code: Grievances	
Village government	Problem animals are causing sleepless nights to local people of Majengo village
Natural resources committee	CCS has abandoned our village, and has not come to work with our community for some years. In 2007, there were 200 elephants in our village for two weeks and caused a lot of damage
Farmers	CCS has abandoned our village, and has not come to work with our community for some years.
Pastoralists	Other villages (Barabarani and Migombani villages) have invaded the Miwaleni swamp, which is an important water source in the Lake Manyara Basin
Women group	When someone is sick and we ask for transport, we are asked to pay for fuel
Code: Capacity building	
Village government	CCS helps in facilitating the process of capacity building of the village leaders and natural resource committee through meetings, seminars, and workshops
Natural resources committee	CCS helps in facilitating the process of capacity building natural resource committee through meetings, seminars, and workshops
Farmers	Farmers need CCS to educate and work with them more on how to better protect their food crops from wild animals
Pastoralists	We want CCS to train us as well not only village leaders
Women group	We want CCS to train us on entrepreneurial skills

Village: Mto wa Mbu	**Responses**
Code: Learning from experience	
Village government	We used to have good relations with the park even before CCS.

Natural resources committee	The relationships were much better before CCS even though there was no direct support to community projects
Farmers	We know some park employees had personal problems with the village leaders and vice versa. The relationship was worse from 1999-2002 and virtually broke down for sometime and came to the attention of the politicians
Natural resources committee	The environment of the park is good and brings rain and fresh air
Farmers	The park wanted to take the Jangwani corridor and because they failed, they decided to revenge by arresting us in the corridor on false counts
Pastoralists	Besides, many rangers seem not to know the correct boundaries of the park. We know the park boundary but new rangers have been wrongly arresting our cattle outside the park area
Women group	We know it is wrong to collect fuel wood into the park. However, we are forced to enter the park illegally out of necessity. Other alternatives for energy like electricity, solar energy, and gas are expensive, and are not readily available
Code: Communication strategy	
Village government	Poor communication between village leaders and park officials has reduced or slowed the development of the village by CCS not implementing many projects as expected
Natural resources committee	Leaders from the park and the community should be ready to speak to each other, and there should be consistency in their working relations
Farmers	The changes in relationship between the park and the community have not been positive to the community and the park as well
Pastoralists	Unless the new management does something quickly, there may be no communication at all in the future
Women group	The contact has declined as park employees visit the village offices only
Code: Collaboration links	
Village government	CCS works with all stakeholder groups such as farmers, pastoralists, women groups and village leaders, so long as it is for the interest of the village
Natural resources committee	CCS works directly with the village government and sometimes with the village natural resources committee
Farmers	The village government works with CCS personnel whenever they visit the office with the purpose of solving serious problems caused by wildlife
Pastoralists	We requested that water be directed away from the park boundary, we were permitted and they assisted to have water for livestock
Women group	Provision of transport by the park requires us to purchase fuel

	Code: Benefit sharing
Village government	The issue of compensation because of crop raiding incidences by wildlife needs a national debate. The government does not have a policy to compensate
Natural resources committee	CCS assisted the community with classrooms at Mto wa Mbu and Kigongoni Primary Schools, renovated a dispensary at Kigongoni, water, tree planting, and constructed a teacher's house at Magadini Primary School. In terms of resources, CCS provided five bicycles, construction materials, and water pipes
Farmers	Crop raiding is a major source of conflicts between the park and our community.
Pastoralists	More awareness and support is required at the Jangwani sub village where we are tasked to manage the corridor and face full costs from wildlife
Women group	We think lack of transparency on these projects does not help us to own them
	Code: Grievances
Village government	Frequent changes of park leaders, the ranger harassments, and the elephants that cause losses to farmers always affect the built relations
Natural resources committee	Village game scouts have no uniforms, training, and equipment like the park rangers. The rangers are also highly motivated but the village game scouts are not. They should be assisted by the park
Farmers	When rangers have to help with problem animals, they take their time to come. But when asked to rescue an animal from snares, they respond very quickly because they are rewarded (financially) for collecting snares
Pastoralists	Derailment of water channel for livestock was not communicated to us, and now we are having problems with the park again
Women group	We request transparency during the provision of employment opportunities in the park and tourism enterprises
	Code: Capacity building
Village government	CCS works with the village government (though occasionally) and the natural resources committee and assists with capacity building through implementation of projects and sensitizing communities on environmental issues
Natural resources committee	The training offered help us to protect the environment
Farmers	We are highly dependent on irrigation farming whose water eventually drains into Lake Manyara
Pastoralists	We use the knowledge to change our attitudes towards the wildlife and the park
Women group	We need short loans through the village community banks to initiate income generating projects. Training in use of

	fuel efficient stoves is required by most women in our community

Village: Esilalei	Responses
Code: Learning from experience	
Village government	The relations with the park changed after 2001 when CCS came to the village and supported the village with two classrooms and office at Esilalei Primary School
Natural resources committee	The relations with the park changed after 2001 when CCS came to the village and supported the village with two classrooms and office at Esilalei Primary School
Farmers	Before CCS, the relationship with the park deteriorated
Pastoralists	We feel CCS operations are more political or rather theoretical because CCS is not practical, they do not believe it themselves. It is not realistic at all. Why should it be dependent on park employees?
Women group	Benefits started when CCS came to the village in 2001 in our village
Code: Awareness	
Village government	The park is good and is world famous and is protected for enjoyment
Natural resources committee	The park is good and is world famous and is protected for present and future generations
Farmers	The park does not have a value if the problem animals that eat all our crops are not stopped
Pastoralists	The park does not have a value if the problem animals continue eating our livestock
Women group	We cannot encourage anyone to abolish the park because we also benefit from tourists who stop in our village en-route to and from the park
Code: Communication strategy	
Village government	The village government and the women group have direct contact with CCS
Natural resources committee	The natural resources committee does not have direct interaction with CCS
Farmers	Have indirect communication through the village government
Pastoralists	Have indirect interaction through the village government
Women group	The village government and the women group have direct contact with CCS
Code: Collaboration links	
Village government	The main collaborators of CCS in the community are the village government, school committee and the women group managing the tourist cultural bomas
Natural resources committee	Collaboration with the natural resources committee is minimal or not there completely because we work more with Manyara ranch
Farmers	Park rangers participated in a number of times together with our village game scouts to scare animals away

Pastoralists	CCS should collaborate with village government to find a long-term solution to water supply problems in our community
Women group	CCS officers collaborated with us in some projects especially marketing of the cultural boma
Code: Benefit sharing	
Village government	We think that we received adequate benefits compared to other villages
Natural resources committee	We acknowledge the resources and services provided to us, because the projects were completed with no big cost on our part and we had water which is a scarce resource in the village
Farmers	Sometimes rangers participated in problem animal control
Pastoralists	CCS has never done much to us despite being important allies in conservation
Women group	CCS support was useful to our children and the community at large appreciates the service provided especially water and school improvement
Code: Grievances	
Village government	CCS seems to be busy with the supervision of politically-driven projects rather than educate us on conservation matters
Natural resources committee	We think it is not good at all to let an NGO to manage all alone an important corridor between the two parks. It seems CCS is not willing to work with other players like NGOs and CBOs working in our village
Farmers	We are surprised that CCS is no where near the village and when we request for assistance, sometimes they do not even respond to our requests
Pastoralists	We expected to have good relations with the park because we live with wildlife, but it was not so and it is disappointing us
Women group	Unfortunately, when we need help for water in the community from the park, we are asked to pay while we are poor
Code: Capacity building	
Village government	We are now aware of the costs involved in living with wildlife, but at the same time the benefits that can be accrued from wildlife
Natural resources committee	CCS invited our village leaders to several meetings, seminars, and workshops in Mto wa Mbu village in 1994
Farmers	CCS has a great role to improve the capacity of the village in the middle of the corridor so important for the survival of the park
Pastoralists	CCS should provide the necessary education and support our livelihoods and we will work with the park without conditions

Women group	CCS should assist our women group in training and marketing the site

Village: Kambi ya Simba	Responses
	Code: Learning from experience
Village government	Before inception of CCS, relations were not so good, but have changed for the better
Natural resources committee	The changes improved from 1994 when CCS conducted the first seminar with our village leaders
Farmers	CCS motivated our community to improve the environment, protect water sources and has supported us in community projects while we contributed less
Pastoralists	Before inception of CCS, relations were not so good, but have changed for the better
Women group	As a community we have never benefited like this before and we appreciate very much for all the support
	Code: Awareness
Village government	The parks are good to us because we get rain, fresh air, and fodder for livestock from Ngorongoro forests
Natural resources committee	We are happy to be located between two famous protected areas in the world and benefit from all of them
Farmers	Government should allow a debate on compensation for loss of our food crops
Pastoralists	Problem animals make us tremble with fear everyday because they come in large herds especially from Ngorongoro forests
Women group	TANAPA is a rich organization hence should provide loans to start businesses using our community banks initiated by the government
	Code: Communication strategy
Village government	Village leaders communicate directly with CCS through meetings, seminars, and workshop
Natural resources committee	If the community have a problem, which relates to the park, then communication with CCS is through the village government and communicates with the CCS by phone, writing, or visiting the park office
Farmers	We interact with CCS indirectly (village government)
Pastoralists	We interact with CCS indirectly (village government)
Women group	We interact with CCS indirectly (village government)
	Code: Collaboration links
Village government	The collaborators of CCS in the community are the village government, farmers, school, and natural resources committees
Natural resources committee	The natural resources committee works with CCS, NCA and other interested partners (the village has number of partners than any other village) that are interested in environmental issues. CCS pays allowance to the village scouts who manage the buffer zone

Farmers	We need to adopt agro-forestry as our farms are open and wind erosion is severe
Pastoralists	Since we do not have adequate grazing area, we need to resort to zero grazing and development of biogas for lighting
Women group	CCS works with the village government only
Code: Benefit sharing	
Village government	CCS delivered benefits and resources such as the support for the construction of 2 classrooms and a girl's dormitory at Awet Secondary School, and 2 classrooms and an office at Kambi ya Simba Primary School
Natural resources committee	CCS provided services such as tree planting, control of problem animals, transport, and advices on control of soil erosion
Farmers	We are trying to protect the catchment area and control soil erosion from the farms located in steep slopes that goes into Lake Manyara.
Pastoralists	Rangers assisted with problem animal control
Women group	We are happy because the facilities provided and income generating projects have solved some of our problems
Code: Grievances	
Village government	Conservation education is now at lowest level in our village
Natural resources committee	How can siltation of Lake Manyara stop? The use of village bylaws is still inadequate especially because development within the 15 metres from the river is still being done by some of us.
Farmers	We expected the park to help us with information on terracing that would add to our indigenous knowledge and save our top soil as well as the Lake Manyara below
Pastoralists	We have less and less land for grazing as more people expand their farms
Women group	CCS has not done anything to the women groups in the community and we feel disregarded
Code: Capacity building	
Village government	We need more seminars organized at the village involving all the community and that will be more useful
Natural resources committee	CCS provided training to village leaders but because they change all the time, training has to be continuous as well
Farmers	We use the training on enhancing environmental protection in our farms
Pastoralists	We need to be educated about zero grazing as pastureland is decreasing.
Women group	We need capacity building on business enterprises and fuel-efficient stoves, as fuel wood is scarce and NCA do not allow us anymore to collect from the forest

The following sections draw out the key trends or themes that emerge from the mass

of information just presented.

6.2.1 Learning from experience

It was not easy for park personnel to recognize communities as allies in conservation as they regarded them as poachers (personal experience). The Lake Manyara SCIP committee focus group pointed out that: "The parks had no choice but to implement the global conservation policies that required the recognition of the importance of local communities in conservation of biodiversity". According to Sangaiwe natural resources committee focus group, the community was seen as an enemy of the parks. "We started getting involved in conservation matters, when CCS started working in the villages", they explained. Before CCS operations, park management believed that it was wrong to employ people from the adjacent villages as they could interfere with day- to-day anti-poaching patrols. However, after CCS and the spirit of sharing benefits, the situation has changed. It is the belief of the researcher that the provision of employment opportunities by the parks improved the capacity of local people to support their families in the poor villages.

According to the Mswakini farmers and women's group focus groups, before CCS, rangers were not friendly and were feared a lot by the communities (Table 6.3).

Table 6.3: Community responses on experiences with park rangers

Farmers	"Before CCS, rangers were not helping the community much. When CCS started in 1994, rangers used to spent nights scaring problem animals away".
Women group	"Before CCS, most women used to fear rangers and never got close to them. Things have now changed for the better".

But when CCS started in 1994, according to the community "Rangers used to spent nights scaring animals and were more humane to people". The community saw a change of attitude to some park rangers and a true commitment to a relationship with all park staff (personal experience). However, Esilalei pastoralists had this to say: "We feel CCS operations are more political or rather theoretical because CCS is not

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practical and they do not believe in it themselves. Why should CCS be dependent on the discretion of park employees?" they revealed.

It is the opinion of the researcher that the initiation of the CCS programme was not easily accepted by the local communities.

6.2.2 Awareness

The response of park staff on this theme is that the local communities are good neighbours, but some people are still poaching wildlife, maybe because their awareness of conservation matters seems to remain low (Table 6.4).

On the other hand, despite the problems they face from the wild animals, the communities like the presence of the park near their villages as they also benefit from it. "We cannot tell anyone to abolish the park because we also benefit from tourists who stop in our village en-route to and from the park", narrated respondents from the Esilalei and Minjingu women's groups in Lake Manyara and Tarangire, respectively. However, almost all focus groups indicated that they face difficulties with problem animals from the parks.

Table 6.4: Park responses on community awareness

Tarangire park rangers	"Villagers are good neighbours as they help to protect the resources. However, some are still poaching".
Lake Manyara park rangers	"Villagers are good neighbours but some people are still poaching in and outside the park".
Tarangire SCIP committee	"Community awareness on conservation matters is still low".
Lake Manyara SCIP committee	"Communities are friendly to park staff but awareness is low on conservation matters".

It is the view of the researcher that conservation education combined with community development may save wildlife within and outside the parks. For wildlife that roams outside the parks to be safe from traditional hunters, more awareness through conservation education is required. Conservation education, if conducted properly, would help the communities to understand the whole concept of CCS and actively

participate in conservation and development activities.

Kambi ya Simba women group respondents wrongly view TANAPA as a wealthy organization (personal experience). A typical statement is that: "TANAPA is a rich organization and should provide loans to start businesses using our village community banks that are initiated by the government". This reveals their limited understanding of TANAPA (Table 6.5).

Table 6.5: Community awareness response to TANAPA status

Women group	"TANAPA is a rich organization hence should provide loans to start businesses using our community banks initiated by the government".

It is the opinion of the researcher that CCS has not fully succeeded in advancing education in communities. It is TANAPA's obligation to develop relations with its neighbours. Instead, CCS promoted support for development projects through handouts without facilitating community support for conservation in the parks.

6.2.3 Communication strategy

Lake Manyara National Park rangers pointed out that the enhanced working relations have improved security inside the park, especially in reducing incidents of banditry (Table 6.6).

Table 6.6: Park responses to effective communication

Tarangire park rangers	"CCS deserves credit for taking the message about good neighbourliness to the communities when relations were not very good".
Lake Manyara park rangers	"The communication is much easier now and this situation has resulted into improved security in the park".

Nowadays most bad behaviour by humans can be easily reported and culprits reprimanded before causing damage to natural resources and people's properties (personal observations). Tarangire rangers acknowledged what CCS has so far

achieved in some areas. Firstly, they believe that CCS deserves credit for taking the message about good neighbourliness to the communities when relations were not so good (Table 6.6). The local communities were also willing to listen through their local government institutions.

Secondly, they also believe that it was the combination of CCS and the community, through their village leaders, who were the agents of change in building good relationships. For park rangers in all parks, it is obvious that they have been working with the Village Game Scouts (VGS) in areas outside the park as an extra duty in addition to their normal patrols in the parks. The Wildlife Division game officers are responsible for areas outside the park but have left this task to TANAPA (personal experience).

Veterinary services in Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks (not part of CCS objectives) recently added value to the relationship especially with pastoralists (both nomadic and sedentary) that never enjoyed such support from the park before (personal observations). This partnership is effective and useful to the park and the communities because transmission of wildlife diseases to livestock and vice versa is a serious problem in all the study villages (*ibid*).

It is the opinion of the researcher that veterinary services must be enhanced to improve livestock in the communities and increase revenues. The relationship has been positive to the extent that park personnel and local communities have improved communication at individual levels. However, the study also found out that the relationship is not uniform in all villages (Table 6.7).

Table 6.7: Responses to community relations

Tarangire SCIP committee	"We are happy to work with the adjacent communities but relations differ from community to community".

A typical response was supplied by a Tarangire SCIP respondent who indicated that: "We are happy to work with the adjacent communities but relations differ from community to community and are dependent on the level of participation during the implementation of community social projects". Lake Manyara SCIP committee

respondents pointed out that where the community contributed and participated effectively in implementing projects, the relationship was good. Seemingly, there are various reasons that contribute to this situation (section 4.3).

The park rangers further blamed CCS staff for communicating only with the village leaders. While the village leaders happened to know most of the projects, other members in the community were not well informed. This situation might have been attributed to the fact that education was not advanced before the execution of the projects and the local communities were not involved during planning and decision making processes (personal observations). In addition, the communities do not receive relevant information from the park through CCS. It is the view of the researcher that the previous production of a CCS newsletter in Swahili was ideal, and ought to be revived. Use of media, especially television and radios, ought to be strengthened to sensitize the general public to conservation and development issues (personal observations).

Community respondents pointed out that the park information is not adequately available and, even if given, is not useful. CCS needs to seriously address the issue of reviving this important activity for the communities. It is the view of the researcher that CCS needs to identify what information would assist the local communities. For instance, information on wildlife-livestock diseases is vital as it will help the pastoral community to recognize and understand the diseases beforehand and, therefore, contribute to livestock protection and development. The farmers of Kambi ya Simba village were in need of techniques to develop terraces in order to protect the topsoil from being lost (personal observations). Again, while CCS provided Sangaiwe and Vilima Vitatu villages with schools and water, the communities of Sangaiwe and Vilima Vitatu were in great need of support in face of issues of cattle rustling and other problem animals (*ibid*).

Under normal circumstances, however, village leaders communicate directly with CCS through meetings, seminars, and workshops. If the community including the other focus groups have a problem, which relates to the park, then dialogue with CCS is through the village government, which communicates with the CCS by phone, writing, or by visiting the park office. However, the Vilima Vitatu natural resources

committee respondents that have indirect contact with CCS are not happy with this arrangement (Table 6.8). They argued that this arrangement causes unnecessary suspicions including that of corruption.

Table 6.8: Responses on interaction with CCS

Village government	"CCS directly interacts with village leadership".
Natural resources committee	"CCS should be transparent in its activities because when dealing with village leaders only, the community gets suspicious. The village had many poachers, but today we have controlled that situation".

For various reasons, including individual behaviour and attitudes, poor communication between the park and village leaders of Mto wa Mbu, Majengo, Esilalei and Vilima Vitatu has escalated for many years (personal experience). The Mto wa Mbu village government focus group revealed that poor communication between village leaders and park officials has reduced or slowed the development of the village as a result of CCS not implementing as many projects as expected. A member of the natural resources committee focus group of Mto wa Mbu suggested that: "The leaders from the park and the community ought to be ready to speak to each other, and there ought to be consistency in their working relations for mutual benefits", he suggested. It is the observation and experience of the researcher that when CCS personnel are involved in the feud it becomes difficult to resolve such a conflict. Conflict resolution mechanisms need to be developed to deal with such conflicts as soon as they occur. It is the opinion of the researcher that communication between parties must be continually improved to build and enhance relations.

6.2.4 Collaboration links

The present study has found that members of CCS staff collaborate mostly with the village governments, school and natural resources committees in undertaking projects in the respective villages (Figure 6.2). This was confirmed by both parks and community focus groups. It is hence obvious that if something went wrong with these groups of people; the community is likely to suffer. Furthermore, these examples indicate elements of inappropriate bureaucracy in some villages, something which

needs to be rectified for effective community participation (personal observations).

CCS collaborates with other interest groups depending on whether there is a project or programme related to these groups. CCS collaboration with farmers and pastoralists is more often indirectly through the village government machinery (Figure 6.2). It is a fact that CCS is required to recognize the local governing institutions such as the village government and its committees. If CCS were to operate through other machinery then it would be in trouble with the village government. Hence, the collaboration needs a review to take on board the interests of CCS, government and the local communities (personal observations).

Figure 6.2: Main CCS collaborators
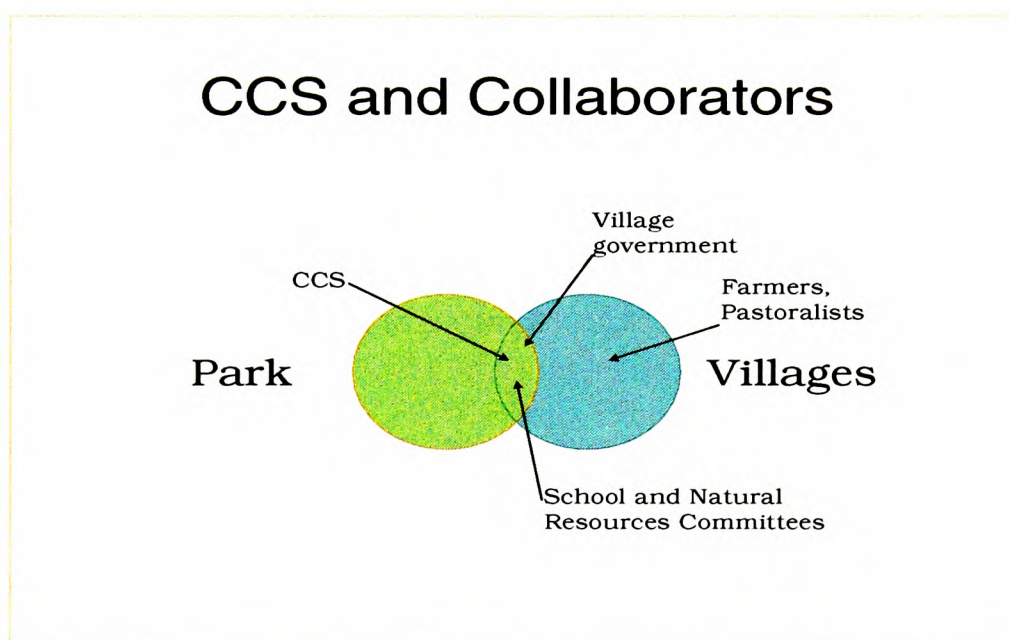
6.2.5 Benefit sharing

The study found that both the Tarangire and Lake Manyara SCIP committees acknowledge the significant contribution made by CCS to community development in terms of social projects, resources, and services (Table 6.9; section 4.4.4).

Table 6.9: Park responses to support communities via CCS benefits programme

Tarangire SCIP committee	"The relationships changed because of the direct support to community projects, services, problem animal control and conservation education after the initiation of the CCS

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	programme".
Lake Manyara SCIP committee	"The communities have benefited from CCS benefits programme to a great extent".

The benefits also include provision of employment opportunities; problem animal control, veterinary services, transport and conservation education. Relationships improved and communities benefited through a benefit sharing programme (SCIP) managed by CCS. A comparative analysis of this significant contribution is given in Tables 4.1 and 4.2. The support to community development strengthened the relationships between the local communities in both parks.

Almost all village focus groups verified and appreciated that the community started deriving some benefits from the park after CCS started working in their villages (Table 6.10).

Table 6.10: Responses on benefits to Kambi ya Simba village

Village government	"CCS delivered benefits and resources such as the support for the construction of 2 classrooms and a girl's dormitory at Awet Secondary School, and 2 classrooms and an office at Kambi ya Simba Primary School".
Natural resources committee	"CCS provided services such as tree planting, control of problem animals, transport, and advices on control of soil erosion".

The communities acknowledge that they had never benefited that way before. "CCS supported our local communities with schools, dispensaries, water, tourism projects, tree planting, bicycles and services", explained the Mto wa Mbu village chairman in a jovial mood. Other projects include houses for teachers, roads, and construction materials, to mention just a few.

In the course of CCS initiatives, the local communities were assisted with problem animal control and veterinary services (tsetse traps and vaccinations against rabies). These exercises were carried out by park rangers and veterinary officers who collaborated with VGS and pastoralists to solve problems related to wildlife (personal observations). Park rangers normally conduct joint patrols with VGS and sensitise the community about wildlife protection. It is the opinion of the researcher that this

change of attitude, especially by the rangers, and other benefits also strengthened working relations with the local communities.

Seemingly, the SCIP has an impact on local communities, politicians and the TANAPA Board of Trustees who are policy makers of the organization (personal observations). The Board of Trustees ensures that the budget towards SCIP implementation is gradually increased every financial year (Table 4.1). The researcher observed that some villages (Minjingu, Sangaiwe, Esilalei, Mto wa Mbu and Kambi ya Simba) had signed agreements with investors in tourism ventures and are now earning substantial revenues from photographic and tourism enterprises (Table 6.11).

Table 6.11: Responses on wildlife value

Natural resources committee	"The village earns revenues from four tourist enterprises developed in our village land including a hunting company. We have signed agreements with the investors".

These respondents indicated that wildlife had value in attracting tourism to their villages. It the opinion of the researcher that the park and tourism enterprises based within and outside the park ought to provide employment opportunities in a transparent way to youths so that they would be less likely to engage in illegal activities including poaching. Based on experience, however, the researcher believes that despite the provision of significant benefits by CCS since its inception, poverty reduction initiatives have not been adequately addressed. This situation has the potential to damage relations because poverty leads to increased resource demands at the household level (personal experience). It is the view of the researcher that this state of affairs is an outcome of the failure of the aims and objectives of the CCS to explicitly target poverty reduction, focusing instead on improving relations to protect the parks.

The community respondents questioned the sustainability of CCS support to projects. For instance, CCS provided the first and only project in 2001 in Vilima Vitatu, Majengo and Mswakini villages (Table 4.2). The case of Vilima Vitatu village is unique because in 2001, the park supported the rehabilitation of a shallow well. The TANAPA Board of Trustees inaugurated the well in a colourful ceremony (personal

experience). But that was the first, and last time the community saw the board in this village for that purpose (Table 6.12). "The rehabilitation of the shallow well spent a lot of money, but the project itself was of substandard and did not last long", said the village chairman (personal communication).

Table 6.12: Responses on sustainability of CCS projects

Village government	"In 2001, the park supported with the rehabilitation of a shallow well. The TANAPA Board of Trustees inaugurated the well, that was the first, and last time we saw the board in our village for that purpose. Adding to it all, the community was not involved in the project".
Natural resources committee	"We know we would benefit more if we agree to establish the WMA in our land but we will not do so by force. We are supporting Minjingu village in this matter".

In many instances, schools and dispensaries were constructed but could not be used because they either had no desks or no teachers, medicines or clinical officers (personal observations). It was and still is the responsibility of district councils to provide these resources (*ibid*). Clearly, without them, such valuable projects are not viable.

It is the view of the researcher that some villages received too few benefits compared to others. The cases of Vilima Vitatu, Majengo, Mswakini and Sangaiwe demonstrate the bias of the CCS programme as regards project distribution (Table 4.2; section 4.4.4). This bias was reported as prevalent in Kondoa, Simanjiro (Tarangire) and Karatu (Lake Manyara) districts, apparently due to political pressures (personal experience). "CCS has never done much to pastoralists as important allies who live with wildlife and have opportunities of seeing and reporting illegal intruders than most focus groups", an Esilalei pastoralist further reported about their unhappiness.

For historical reasons, the Minjingu and Vilima Vitatu villages did not readily accept the AWF-initiated move to establish a WMA on their community land. It is the belief of the researcher that the education on the WMA concept was not well advanced and the Tarangire CCS was not directly involved (Table 6.12). More so, a private hunting company was already in the area with a number of photographic activities, as allocated by the Wildlife Division (personal observations). This situation confused the

communities who were suspicious of the move that threatened the status of their traditional grazing land (*ibid*). WMAs are meant to be managed by and for the communities themselves (personal experience).

6.2.6 Grievances

The external evaluation that was conducted in 2000, revealed that some park staff not directly involved with CCS indicated that they feel CCS is a programme 'grafted' onto the organization by donors, as it is against the exclusionary approach of the national parks concept (TANAPA/AWF, 2000). These park personnel further said: "Money used in the communities is wasted, and should have been better used to develop the parks by providing adequate staff houses, equipment, road infrastructure, vehicles and increase staff salaries and incentives". This allegation is attributed by the fact that community development is a responsibility of local governments. Additionally, the existing under-development of some of the parks (living in randovels or in sub standard houses), poor vehicles and low salaries are some of the issues mentioned (personal observations).

Rangers and SCIP committee focus groups from both parks see the relationship with local communities as having some drawbacks. The main setback observed is the fact that poachers from the same communities that benefit from the parks continue decimating wildlife (Table 6.13) both inside and outside the park (Table 5.1). Based on researcher's experience, local communities residing in Jangwani corridor in Mto wa Mbu village, for instance, do not have good relations with the park staff because many villagers have been arrested and jailed for illegal activities in the park. One village official said: "Some village leaders were involved in illegal activities and the park stopped working in the community until good relations were re-established".

Table 6.13: Responses on poaching of wildlife

Tarangire park rangers	"It is sad that despite the benefits provided, poachers among the communities continue decimating wildlife inside and outside the park. Pastoralists are also using the park illegally for grazing and water. CCS has not achieved most of the stipulated aims and objectives".
Lake Manyara park rangers	"Despite the good relations and benefits provided, we are surprised that there are people who are still poaching both inside and outside the park".

It was normal for local communities to kill animals that raided their farms and to sometimes illegally hunt in the park, but many of them got into trouble with the government (personal experience). On the other hand, Tarangire rangers showed the negative side of CCS by admitting failure of CCS to achieve most of its planned objectives (Table 6.13).

The researcher suggests that CCS has been concentrating on the implementation of social projects with less attention given to extension services and enhancing relations (section 4.4.2). "CCS seems to be busy with the supervision of politically-driven projects rather than building positive relations with the communities", a Tarangire ranger explained. It is imperative that CCS should strengthen extension services including conservation education in schools and colleges. Critically, conservation education coupled with community development will enable the local communities to link CCS benefits to sustainable conservation of natural resources in the parks (section 4.4.2).

CCS used to show video shows to the communities as an entertainment but more so as a means of educating them (section 4.4.3). This important function is not given its due attention in these villages except in youth hostels located in the parks. A Sangaiwe woman said: "We are wondering why video shows or cinemas that used to be shown in the schools are no longer shown nowadays. We would love to see cinemas in the villages again", she explained. Another criticism from Tarangire SCIP committee respondent is that: "The Community Conservation Warden (CCW) works alone with minimal support from other heads of departments" (Table 6.14).

Table 6.14: Responses on CCWs

Tarangire SCIP committee	"The Community Conservation Warden (CCW) is working alone with minimal support from other heads of departments and CCS is facing pressures from politicians. CCWs are also frequently transferred to other departments hence affecting CCS activities".

Overall, in both the parks, CCS is facing pressures from politicians who in many

situations do not channel their wishes through the village governments (as required by CCS guidelines) and they are responsible for most of the top-down projects that come from the Head Office (Table 6.15; section 4.3).

Table 6.15: Responses on political pressures

Lake Manyara SCIP committee	"Pressures from politicians and TANAPA administration have caused deviation in CCS programme. Most implemented projects had directives from the top to the parks. This has caused complaints from the targeted villages".

This trend has resulted in the unequal distribution of community projects in targeted villages and sometimes in non-targeted communities (personal observations). Based on the researcher's experience, politicians benefit by being interested in CCS affairs within their constituencies. But interventions for personal gain by some politicians cause grievances to local communities who lose out, and give park personnel a hard time in explaining to the stakeholders these ambiguities. For example, on occasions, CCS has had to move important projects from the target communities to distant villages and districts as a result of these political pressures (personal observations). A member with the Mswakini village government focus group member pointed out that the frequent transfers of CCS staff has huge implications for relationship-building as park employees differ in skills and character (Table 6.16).

Table 6.16: Responses on CCS staff transfers

Village government	"Frequent transfers of CCS staff have a big implication on the built relationship as park employees differ in skills and character. There is no consistency in CCS activities".
Natural resources committee	"Similarly change of the village government especially the chairperson also affects built relations".

Similarly, any change to the village government, especially the chairperson, also affects these relations (*ibid*). It is the experience of the researcher that while TANAPA has the right to effect transfers of CCS staff, based on an administrative perspective, to improve the performance in other areas, it must be done carefully so as not to weaken the CCS programme. Usually transfers are made on disciplinary

grounds or because a member of staff has been in one park for many years. Sometimes it is to improve performance in a weak area (personal experience). But transfers that are not within the department may not be effective in the long run (*ibid*). Village leadership is based on local politics and changes there may be effected for a particular purpose as well. Hence, this may also be a grey area in the relationship because when changes are made reasons are not always given to those concerned (personal experience).

It remains a fact that when TANAPA frequently changes CCS staff to other departments, then the activities developed by the CCS over a long period of time are easily lost (personal experience) and it impacts on community relations. Park respondents pointed out that: "TANAPA HQ in Arusha has stripped the CCS department of staff trained in the programme and transferred them to tourism and protection departments". TANAPA though has the right to effect changes for various reasons. It is the view of the researcher that CCS might not be able to successfully sustain its programme under these circumstances. This situation may directly affect the credibility of CCS and TANAPA as a whole in the long-run (*ibid*).

Largely, the level of community participation in CCS initiatives is passive and communities effectively depend on handouts (Table 2.2). CCS has been able to reach out to local communities but not the other way round. The local communities are not yet empowered to actively participate in conservation issues (personal observations). There may be a number of reasons as to why the community is still passive. The communities recognize this – they indicated that while they are theoretically involved in conservation, they are not involved in the planning and management of the park itself (personal observations).

On the other hand, conservation efforts are being frustrated by the closure of wildlife routes through large-scale farming enterprises, mines and settlements around the two parks, especially Tarangire National Park (section 5.3.2). The park is being strangled by these developments and may become an 'island' of conservation, with degraded ecosystems. Discussions with park staff revealed that CCS is not working within the integrated development plans of the districts (TANAPA/AWF, 2000). This has resulted in a lack of any significant support from the district authorities, as effective

land use plans are either non-existent or are not enforced (personal observations).

Unfortunately, TANAPA as an organization is perceived to be an internal donor that is systematically trying to replace the role of district councils in community development (personal observations). Communities and the public in general view TANAPA as a wealthy organization and hence, politically, an easy source of funding for a multitude of all sorts of activities (personal observation). Based on the researcher's experience (since CCS started), the organization has been receiving applications for funding from all occupations (personal and corporate) because the organization has unnecessarily exposed itself beyond CCS aims and objectives (personal observations).

Water is a scarce resource for people, wildlife and livestock especially in Tarangire National Park and some villages along the wildlife corridor such as Esilalei, Mswakini and Minjingu. The parks are being squeezed by this demand for water and also for land for agriculture. It is the opinion of the researcher that a thorough hydrological study is needed on water availability in the villages and that it may be necessary to consider developing man-made dams to provide water, contrary to the park's "leave nature take its own course" philosophy. Pastoralists believe that as good neighbours to the park they ought to be allowed to water their cattle in the park because wildlife waters, breeds and feeds in their villages during the wet season (personal observations). However, the Tarangire park management's position on this issue is that livestock cannot water inside the park because there are many risks involved. They have an opinion that: "Herds of cattle can be managed but it is impossible to manage the wild animals under the circumstances". The availability of pastureland must dictate the numbers of livestock to be raised (personal observation). That is why considerations of de-stocking are essential for good livestock husbandry (*ibid*). It is the view of the researcher that the questions of water availability and access rights in the parks need a national debate, as policy currently do not allow such actions within their boundaries.

The pastoralists' focus groups indicated that they are aspiring to improve the management of their livestock through sustainable development without destroying the environment. This is because cultivation is difficult for various reasons including

poor rains and soils in the marginal lands and because of problem wildlife. In this situation, CCS needs to improve extension services based on human group requirements within the communities, something that demands a profound change in its approach (personal experience).

Based on indigenous traditional knowledge, Mswakini village uses traditional leaders to discipline their Maasai warriors as they are responsible for the security in the village, including that in relation to problem wildlife control. These leaders are chief advisors of the village government as well. "We use our traditional methods to chase animals from our lands rather than wait for rangers' assistance all the time, which sometimes comes late", they explained.

The Minjingu village government respondents asked: "Why are we not involved in the tendering process for contractors working on our projects? We know the tendering process happens in Arusha, where even the Tarangire National Park management tells us not to participate unless summoned to clarify something. We are curious with the way the tendering process is done by TANAPA HQ for community projects". According to the researcher's experience on the matter, TANAPA is guided by the government's Procurement Act of 2004 that has directed the organization to form tender boards at head office and the parks. However, park tender board committees are restricted to small projects in terms of funds (personal experience). Furthermore, tender documents for larger scale projects are complex to understand and this situation has not been favourable to village contractors competing with urban ones (section 4.3.1).

The community respondents especially in Mto wa Mbu village identified the elephant as the most notorious animal that gives them trouble in the village. The villagers of Tarangire have problems with some animals like elephants, which often invade their farms and homes in such of food and water (personal observations). Wild animals pass through the villages and eat crops, livestock and sometimes cause a lot of damage to people's property especially during the rain season. In Tarangire villages, hyenas are also notorious as they dig into mud structures that house the goats and kill as many as they can (Table 6.17).

Table 6.17: Responses on notorious animals in the community

Pastoralists	"Hyenas are notorious as they dig our mud houses that house the goats and kill as many as they can. One hundred and eight goats were eaten in year 2004 alone".

The Mswakini village government reported that one hundred and eight goats were eaten in 2004 alone. The Mswakini pastoralists further pointed out that when lions invade their livestock enclosures, all Maasai warriors surround it and try to kill it. "Only brave warriors are selected as the lions are very aggressive and can easily kill people", they disclosed. Even so, lions are still causing many losses by killing livestock especially cattle (personal experience). CCS discussed with the Lake Manyara and Tarangire communities methods to solve the invasion of animals into farms. The focus groups involved pointed out that: "different methods have been tried but all have failed as the wild animals are very clever and stubborn, especially the elephants". According to the Minjingu Village Chairperson, neither electric fences; biological fences nor trenches can stop elephants from invading farms (personal communication 2006).

Most community interviewees also recommended greater awareness on the issue of compensation for crops eaten by animals. The government does not have a policy to compensate villagers (personal experience). It is the opinion of the researcher that the government needs to initiate a public debate on compensation policy because communities are losing a lot. "The park would not have a value if the problem animals that eat all our crops and sometimes livestock, were used as an indicator", the farmers and pastoralists suggested.

The community interviewees in Majengo village pointed out that in September 2007 they had 200 elephants in their village for two weeks and they ate almost everything (Table 6.18). The community deserve support from CCS as they protect the wildlife in their village lands that move between Ngorongoro Conservation Area and Lake Manyara National Park, but this is not the case (personal observations).

Table 6.18: Responses on problem animals

Village government	"Problem animals are causing sleepless nights to the local people of Majengo village".
Natural resources committee	"CCS has abandoned our village, and has not come to work with our community for some years. In 2007, there were 200 elephants in our village for two weeks and caused a lot of damage".
Farmers	"CCS has abandoned our village, and has not come to work with our community for some years".

The Majengo natural resources committee and farmers focus group revealed that: "CCS has abandoned our village, and has not come to work with our community for some years".

It was specifically pointed out by the Majengo village government that: "Some of the park leaders are good and support CCS but there are others who do not like working with communities". These are people who believe that intransigence on the issue of fortress conservation has enabled parks to survive to date (personal experience). They further explained that when rangers are asked to help with problem animals, they take their time to come. But when asked to rescue an animal from snares, they respond very quickly because they are rewarded (financially) for collecting snares. It is the opinion of the researcher that these allegations need to be investigated and corrected as soon as possible.

The Esilalei community respondents indicated poor relations with CCS, especially the natural resources committee which receives support from Manyara ranch which is funded by AWF. "We now have AWF and other players who are supporting and offering training opportunities to the community. In fact the community conducted a ranking exercise for all the players' supporting the community and TANAPA (meaning Lake Manyara National Park) was bottom of the list and Manyara ranch (AWF) was number one", reported a member of the village government. However, the Esilalei community is surprised to see a non government organization (AWF) managing an important corridor between the two parks without the support of government institutions (Table 6.19).

Table 6.19: Responses on CCS and NGOs

Natural resources committee	"We think it is not good at all to let an NGO to manage all alone an important corridor between the two parks. It seems CCS is not willing to work with other players like NGOs and CBOs working in our village"
Farmers	"We are surprised that CCS is no where near the village and when we request for assistance, sometimes they do not even respond to our requests".

They attributed this situation to the CCS's reluctance to work with other players like NGOs and CBOs in their village. The corridor or Manyara ranch is under the custodianship of the Tarangire Lake Manyara Conservation Trust (TLCT) that comprises of Esilalei and Otuka villages. The TLCT comprises of AWF, TANAPA, Monduli district and the pastoral communities under a public-community-private sector partnership arrangement. AWF only funds activities in the area and does not legally own the ranch.

On the other hand, while rangers are motivated to help local communities to control problem animals and to recover stolen cattle with VGS, the community respondents are of the opinion that VGS needs to be motivated by CCS as well in order to perform better (Table 6.20).

Table 6.20: Responses on Park rangers and VGS

Natural resources committee	"Village game scouts have no uniforms, training, and equipment like the park rangers. The rangers are also highly motivated but the village game scouts are not. They should be assisted by the park".

They further indicated that the villagers have no money to pay their VGS. Ostensibly, CCS is already doing much in the villages but the respective district councils are not of much assistance even to pay for the VGS (personal experience). The researcher observed that CCS pays an allowance to the village game scouts in some areas (Kambi ya Simba, Mto wa Mbu and Minjingu) while they do not do so in other villages. It is the opinion of the natural resource committees that the performance of the village game scouts is low because they lack general working equipment and motivation as compared to park rangers.

6.2.7 Capacity building

The researcher believes that CCS overlooked the importance of raising awareness of all staff especially the park rangers (Table 6.21). Lack of training of park rangers on community conservation issues (even though these activities are sometimes carried out by rangers) is detrimental to CCS activity in target villages (section 5.3.1). It is also argued that rangers, especially those of Lake Manyara National Park, often mistreat local people whenever they arrest them in the parks (collecting fuel wood or fishing), in contrast to the CCS message of 'good neighbourliness'. However, park rangers can be good counsellors in the community (if trained as community rangers, for instance), especially to the members of the community involved in illegal activities inside and outside the park (personal experience).

Table 6.21: Responses on training of rangers and communities

Lake Manyara park rangers	"CCS did not conduct training to park rangers and communities that would have resulted into improved relationships".

It is encouraging to note that as a result of previous training by CCS, the communities now know that they are significant allies in safeguarding the integrity of the park (TANAPA/AWF, 2000). Building capacity of local institutions requires experienced, committed and skilled CCS personnel that are currently in want (personal observations). The researcher believes it is counter-productive to try to strengthen capacities of these local institutions that surround the park using unqualified and uncommitted staff. CCS has tried to build capacity of local communities through meetings, awareness raising, entrepreneurial skills and projects implementation (personal experience). Conversely, one CCS staff works with local communities in 43 and 30 villages in Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks respectively (Table 6.22).

Table 6.22: Responses on capacity building

Tarangire SCIP committee	"How can one CCS staff work with village governments in 43 villages to strengthen capacity of these local institutions that surround the park?"
Lake Manyara SCIP committee	"CCS endeavours to build capacity to local communities through meetings, awareness raising and projects implementation. It is a tough task for one CCW to work in 30 adjacent villages".

Clearly, there is no way one person can be effective in undertaking CCS activities with so many villages in different geographical settings and locations (personal experience).

In addition, the one CCW in SCIP Committee focus groups from both parks suggested that: "Staffing levels need review and I recommend that immediate recruitment of additional qualified staff be made to beef up the CCS department to eliminate these obvious weaknesses". This aspect of staffing levels is very important and TANAPA ought to implement it in order to revive the ailing outreach programme. Those that are present have stretched themselves to exhaustion (personal observations). The researcher further concurs with Tarangire park rangers that in order for the task of conducting capacity building of adjacent communities to be successful, the park management not only has to recruit committed and skilled CCS staff, but must also ensure that they stay long enough to gain experience and make a contribution in one park before moving to another (Table 6.23).

Table 6.23: Response on CCS staff

Tarangire park rangers	"The park management must recruit skilled CCS staff and ensure they stay long enough to gain experience as well".

CCS endeavours to sensitize the village leaders on conservation of biodiversity, planning and implementation of community projects, problem animal control and environmental protection. CCS ought to expand and focus on income generating projects with special attention to specific groups in the communities such as women and the youth (personal observations). As pilot area, Tarangire must engage in this task as soon as mechanisms are in place. In this case, it is important for TANAPA to partner with microfinance-related institutions in Babati district.

It is believed that the failure of CCS to effectively embrace conservation education within its activities has weakened its relationships with the communities - though there may now be signs of reviving this within the parks, for example CCS conducts organized park visits (mainly for school children when they visit the parks) to help the local people to change their attitudes towards the park and its wildlife (TANAPA/AWF, 2000; TANAPA CCS, 2000). Nonetheless, the researcher believes that the general decline in conservation education and support in projects may have contributed greatly to poor relations and the lack of capacity building of adjacent communities.

More often CCS works with the village governments and the natural resources committee to develop the capacity of the local institutions (TANAPA/AWF, 2000). CCS has a great role to improve the capacity of the villages especially Esilalei, Mswakini, Minjingu, Vilima Vitatu and Majengo that are sharing the Tarangire-Lake Manyara wildlife corridor that is so important for the survival of the two parks. If possible, TANAPA must find ways of partnering again with AWF or Tanzania Conservation Trust to manage the corridor more effectively. It is the observation of the researcher that women in all parks are not yet empowered by CCS.

It is a fact that by supporting women's groups in developing income generating projects CCS would be directly supporting the livelihoods of these communities (Table 6.24).

Table 6.24: Responses on empowering women

Women group	"The park must know that by supporting women groups (for instance there are 4 groups in the village with a total of 120 women,) in developing income generating projects; they would be directly supporting the families of this community".

All women's groups require entrepreneurial skills and funding to strengthen their community-based tourism businesses, as this will have a significant bearing to their household incomes (personal experience).

They need further support in identifying alternatives for energy like electricity, solar

energy and gas, even though they are all expensive and are not readily available, in order to do away with their dependence on fuel wood on the edges of the park (personal experience). As a result of the shortage of fuel wood, which the community collects from the park, training in the use of fuel efficient stoves is required by women in the community (personal observations). CCS may discuss with other players the provision of short loans through the microfinance community banks, and how income generating projects can best be achieved in order to increase financial earnings for communities at household level (personal observations).

The issue of community based ecotourism is a good one and may be beneficial to local communities. Nevertheless, when ecotourism activities are undertaken within a kilometre from the park boundary, then it becomes an issue with the park administration (personal experience). This issue was observed by the researcher in Tarangire National Park. The Wildlife Act of 1974 does not allow developments up to two kilometers from the park boundary (personal observations). However, this regulation is not adhered to and buffer zones are seriously encroached (*ibid*). It is the opinion of researcher that enforcement of the Wildlife Act is very important and should be undertaken seriously.

The farmers of Mto wa Mbu and Majengo pointed out that they are highly dependent on irrigation farming, the water from which eventually drains into Lake Manyara (personal experience). It is the opinion of the researcher that while the irrigation farming practice is good for the communities, a study is required to assess the levels of pollution it generates because of the use of herbicides and insects in the farms that eventually drain into the lake.

In the next chapter, a synthesis of major findings of the study is presented based on the research question and sub questions as drawn from the aims and objectives of the outreach programme.

CHAPTER SEVEN: SYNTHESIS OF FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

7.1   Introduction

In this chapter the major research findings are synthesized and discussed in the context of the dissertation research questions.

7.2.1   The impact of CCS on National Park Policies

The national parks policy in Tanzania states categorically that TANAPA will have a programme of outreach (also known as "Community Conservation", "Extension" and "Ujirani Mwema") into adjacent communities with a focus on local people and their local governments up to the district level (section 1.6.1). This outreach programme is accompanied by mechanisms to ensure that the benefits of conservation are, as much as possible, shared with local communities in appropriate ways. The CCS is responsible for implementing this national parks policy (*ibid*). The recognition of the need to involve local communities was a response to the change in global thinking from advocating 'exclusionary' models of strict protection of wildlife to more integrated and inclusive approaches to conservation and development. The organization has had to take on board this new philosophy and customize it to suit the needs of Tanzanian conservation.

TANAPA has succeeded in establishing a Community Outreach Department at the Head Office and in each of the parks. The Department is institutionalized within the national parks network to deal with the communities surrounding each of the parks in Tanzania. However, critics within TANAPA argue that the incorporation of the CCS Department into the organization was donor-driven (section 6.2.6). They argue that CCS is not yet internalized and mainstreamed in line with the concept of the national parks (TANAPA/AWF, 2000). By not creating awareness to staff, most park personnel not directly related with CCS see it as a 'grafted' department within the organization whose origin and purpose are not yet understood (section 6.2.6). They believe that funds spent in the communities are wasted and would have value-added if spent on improving staff houses that are currently in poor condition, provision of

adequate work equipment, vehicles, good salaries and so on (section 6.2.6). They strongly argued that charity starts at home and TANAPA needs to address this anomaly as it might de-motivate the staff in general.

Nevertheless, in order for the parks to operate within the communities and to 'share benefits' with them, the TANAPA Board allocates funds annually for that purpose (Table 4.1). As a result, the parks have generally managed to establish relationships with the adjacent communities through the implementation of social projects and provision of services for them (section 6.2.5).

The CCS outreach programme has undoubtedly had an impact on TANAPA policies. Communities, politicians, and the TANAPA Board of Trustees, as well as some park employees are supportive of this programme. Indicators of achievement comprise the physical infrastructure in use in the communities that have been developed with the support of CCS. The security in the parks has improved as the communities now support their activities (section 6.2.3).

However, despite the positive impact of CCS on TANAPA's policies, on the negative side the research shows that the programme has not been effective in changing attitudes within the communities. For example, poachers from within the communities continue to decimate wildlife both inside and outside the park (sections 4.3.1 and 6.2.6). Similarly, poachers from outside the communities have been able to carry out commercialized illegal activities with direct support of some neighboring communities.

All park respondents also indicated that CCS has deviated from its intended policy direction as a result of pressure from politicians and administrative weaknesses at policy level (section 6.2.6). For instance, 'top down' projects that come from TANAPA headquarters, usually originate from politicians (sections 4.3.1 and 6.2.6). Political projects have resulted in inequitable distribution of community projects and have disregarded the CCS operating guidelines (sections 6.2.6). In addition, political pressures forced CCS to move important projects from the adjacent communities to distant villages (sections 6.2.6). This has resulted in complaints from communities that had not been benefiting as others have done (section 6.2.6). This is not in line

with the organization's policy.

For several years, for example, one CCS member of staff has operated across a large park area, with little support from other departments of TANAPA (TANAPA/AWF, 2000; Kipuri and Nanyoro, 1996; section 6.2.6). Respondents have also suggested that frequent changes of staff are contributing to inconsistency in the activities of the CCS programme (section 6.2.6).

Respondents in Tarangire National Park indicated that CCS has not achieved most of the stipulated aims and objectives as they believe the impact has been mostly negative in all the parks (section 6.2.6). CCS objectives and operating guidelines require drastic changes, and to start addressing real issues rather than supporting only social projects (section 6.2.6). It is time CCS empowered the communities and discouraged the trend of local communities having to rely on handouts; instead encouraging the people to be active in community conservation and development (section 6.2.2). Otherwise, TANAPA's credibility and image will suffer, and the concept of 'good neighbourliness' will be damaged (section 6.2.6).

7.2.2 The relationship between communities and wildlife officers

While CCS has been able to establish relationships with communities through its support of social projects (sections 4.3.1, 6.2.1; 6.2.2 and 6.2.5), this support has also resulted in different kinds of relationships with the communities. The relationship appears to vary from community to community according to factors such as socio-economics, personal relations between the park employees and village leaders, and involvement of some community members in poaching (section 6.2.3).

The implementation of projects tends to be dependent on the ability of communities to contribute and relations between park officials and the community leaders. Where the community was able to contribute significantly to the project implementation (either in terms of direct cash payment or through an input of physical labour to the value of 30% of the total cost of project), the projects were finished on time (sections 4.3.1; 6.2.1 and 6.2.3). In contrast, where the community could not contribute, and relations were not so good, the projects took a long time to finish (*ibid*). There are cases where

projects have led to personal conflicts between park officials and village leaders, especially if the villages were involved in poaching or boundary conflict with the park and the support ceased without any warning (sections 4.3.1 and 6.2.3). Where village leaders were involved in poaching, CCS also stopped working in that village. One village had a poor relationship with the park because the park officials differed in their personal perceptions about the community contribution, and the park abandoned that village without completing the project (section 6.2.3 and 6.2.6). In all of these cases, however, resolution was achieved after clearing the issues and CCS resumed its activities with the communities in question. That said the lack of established conflict resolution mechanisms to deal with these kinds of circumstances seriously delayed progress (section 6.2.3).

Examples of villages that reported poor relations with CCS and the parks, for the reasons given above, are Esilalei, Majengo and Mto wa Mbu around Lake Manyara National Park (section 6.2.3). The other villages are Vilima Vitatu and Sangaiwe near Tarangire National Park (*ibid*). In contrast, two villages that are enjoying good relations with their respective parks are Kambi ya Simba around Lake Manyara National Park and Minjingu near Tarangire National Park. Mswakini village has a moderate relationship with its park. All that said, wildlife officers (park staff), as individuals, clearly do have good personal interactions with the local communities in all study areas, as the hostility between them has greatly reduced since the introduction of CCS (section 6.2.3). Without prejudice, CCS personnel deserve credit for taking the message to the communities during difficult times (section 6.2.3). In Tarangire alone, CCS works with village government and natural resources committees in 43 villages, which is a daunting task for one person. CCS in Lake Manyara works in 30 villages (section 6.2.7).

Examples of situations that have enhanced the relationship between the park and communities are those where there are stable village governments, such as Minjingu and Kambi ya Simba villages. The other ingredient that strengthened relationships was the absolute improvement of rangers' behavior towards the communities – even though some incidences of harassment are still evident (section 6.2.1). It would appear that park rangers were central to poor relationships with communities. The communities appreciate the park officials who listen to them and endeavor to improve

their relationship at a personal level (section 6.2.3).

In other instances, personal issues between park staff or village leaders weakened the relationship (section 6.2.6). The communities believe that there are some park officials, who are directly opposed to CCS activities and are highly bureaucratic in their interactions (section 6.2.6). They are not interested in strengthening the existing relationship. Respondents also indicated the presence of some village leaders who are self-centred and dishonest and who endanger relationships with the park (section 6.2.6). They have failed to sit down with park officials to revive the crumbling relationship due to personal interests (*ibid*).

Poor communication between the park and the communities weakens relationships. In some cases, the communication between the community and the park is deteriorating because the park and village leaders are not ready to resolve past conflicts. This was evident in Majengo, Esilalei, and Vilima Vitatu villages (section 6.2.6). It is reported that CCS made promises and failed to honour them in several communities. It appears that sometimes interactions with the CCS were unpredictable as they decided to act or disappear for a long time (section 6.2.6). These situations are clearly not good for building relationships.

Salient issues for improving relationships

As far as 'good neighbourliness' is concerned, there are salient issues that are endangering the future relationship between the parks and their communities. Notable issues concern land uses and the mandate of CCS to operate outside park boundaries. Some critics have been challenging the legitimacy of CCS to do this programme (TANAPA/AWF, 2000; Tarangire, 2006). This is most prevalent in areas where local communities have interests, which are incompatible with the CCS goal of community conservation. Some of the salient issues that are noted are:

a) The co-existence of wildlife and livestock that occurs outside the park during the rainy season is not allowed to continue within the park during the dry season when there is no water outside (sections 6.2.6); as a result livestock suffer. Respondents especially pastoralists - feel that this is not the way 'good neighbours' should behave. They believe good neighbours do good things to each other. Thus, local communities are perceived to be better

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neighbours than the parks because they allow wildlife in their lands to breed and increase their numbers (section 6.2.6). The rigidity of the parks in not allowing livestock to enter during periods of drought (based on law) is not considered good neighbourliness. The park respondents on the other hand, believe that since it is easy to manage livestock, a solution also lies with pastoralists *(ibid)*. The government supports the park's argument by encouraging pastoralists to settle rather than continue with a nomadic lifestyle in search of pasture, and to raise cattle for international markets. However, the pastoralists still have a point to debate, as they query why wildlife are not cropped and communities enabled to take the wildlife meat (section 6.2.6).

b) Conflict over ownership of the Jangwani corridor in Mto wa Mbu village is seriously endangering the relationship with the park. The corridor also provides for pastoralists from Mto wa Mbu and Esilalei who graze and water their livestock there. There is ongoing conflict with park rangers in this area (section 6.2.6). Mto wa Mbu village is turning the corridor into an ecotourism area by allocating some areas to private investors. This is an area outside park jurisdiction. The provision of benefits to places like Mto wa Mbu has facilitated a fast expansion and modernization of the village something that further threatens the future of the park.

c) The challenges facing the non-compensation policy for crop raiding by wild animals also warrants a debate (section 6.2.6). Community respondents complain of severe losses in terms of food crops, livestock, property, and lives (*ibid*). This issue causes significant conflicts that seriously endanger relationships between the park and the adjacent communities. This is also happening outside the parks where wildlife leaves the protected areas.

d) The expansion of agricultural activities by large-scale farmers and mining are potential threats to both the park and the communities (sections 5.3.2 and 6.2.6). The park is fast losing wildlife routes which are being enclosed for agriculture (*ibid*). These farmers are rich and CCS has no collaboration with them due to the conflicting interests. The communities are losing potential land for grazing and small-scale farming. Artisanal miners leave uncovered dug holes that are dangerous to wildlife and they poach these animals when in their areas. These threats have not been seen as major issues and it seems that the adjacent communities have been taking the blame alone.

e) The rapid growth of community-based ecotourism around the parks is good for the communities (sections 5.3.3; 6.2.5 and 6.2.7). However, lack of coordination with the park is likely to affect the quality of tourism offered in the area. Furthermore, communities may not adequately benefit due to their low capacity in tourism management and a lack of understanding of legal matters involved in signing contracts for the agreements (sections 5.3.3 and 6.2.5).

f) The park needs to study and decide whether to construct dams inside the park and in the community land against the philosophy of "let nature take its own course". This is critical in addressing the conflicts with pastoralists related to shortage of water for livestock during the dry season (section 6.2.6).

7.2.3 CCS collaborative links with the adjacent communities

The village government, school and natural resources committees are the main collaborators with CCS (Figure 6.2; section 6.2.4). CCS collaborates with the village leaders during the planning and the implementation of the community projects. The village government serves as the sole focal point for community mobilization, participatory planning and the implementation of rural projects. However, while the focus on village government alone may facilitate speedy institutional support between CCS and villages, it often misses the opportunity to reach out effectively to the targeted communities (section 6.2.6). This is what has happened where engagement has been limited to the village government, before going to the District level for approval of projects. With the wider community not involved at this important early stage (section 6.2.6), many projects have been perceived as having been imposed on them and go for many years without being completed. In fact, the communities did not agree to contribute in the first place, and therefore have not supported them.

From the respondents' perspective, most projects implemented were identified and/or suggested by the CCS personnel and were not based on baseline surveys of the community development needs and priorities (TANAPA/AWF, 2000). Ideally, of course, projects (for example regarding education, health, and domestic water) should address the perceived needs and priorities of the communities (*ibid*), but this does not happen. For example, in the pastoral communities like Esilalei, Mswakini and

Minjingu their top priorities were provision of water troughs for livestock and security against problem animals. The farmers of Kambi ya Simba village were in need of techniques to develop terraces in order to protect the topsoil from being lost (section 6.2.4). Again, while CCS provided Sangaiwe and Vilima Vitatu villages with schools and water, the communities of Sangaiwe and Vilima Vitatu were in great need of support in the issues of cattle rustling and problem animals (section 6.2.4).

Because the communities' involvement in the identification, planning and implementation is minimal (section 6.2.6), local communities view the projects as belonging to TANAPA. Therefore, the sense of ownership for the projects is lacking and inevitably their sustainability is brought into question. The collaborative links between the parks and the adjacent communities are restricted to just a few community members (section 6.2.4). Furthermore, these linkages are not functioning well because of personal clashes and individual interests. Community respondents pointed out that the collaboration between CCS personnel and community leaders alone raises many questions (section 6.2.4). In this regard, they expressed concerns about the transparency of CCS activities.

In other cases, communities indicated that CCS staff favored one village over others (sections 5.3.1 and 6.2.6). This bias was reported to be prevalent in villages in the Kondoa, Simanjiro and Karatu districts (section 6.2.5). Political pressures were cited as the cause of this bias. The unequal distribution of CCS projects that resulted should not have been allowed to happen. The linkage between CCS and the community collaborators is also weak in the sense that CCS has no final say on what is agreed with the village leaders (sections 5.3.1 and 6.2.6). This is due to the bureaucratic system within the park's administration.

There are situations which have led to the loss of links with important collaborators. For instance, CCS does not collaborate with the Natural Resources Committee of Esilalei village because the community is remote from CCS (section 6.2.6). This committee therefore works more closely with Manyara Ranch in respect of community conservation. Additionally, it was reported that CCS does not work closely with other actors in Esilalei village (section 6.2.6). This situation can be counter-productive to CCS efforts if communities have alternative partners and there

is poor collaboration with those partners. Again, Esilalei village demonstrated this fact by ranking the performance of all actors in the village under the supervision of the district council. TANAPA was identified as the poorest performer in Esilalei village while Manyara ranch was on the top of their list (section 6.2.6).

The Natural Resources Committees have a significant role to play in natural resources management at the village level. The village general assembly elects its members and it gives them full mandate to manage natural resources and protect the village environment from degradation. CCS should have understood this context, coupled with the fact that Esilalei village is managing wildlife in the Tarangire-Lake Manyara wildlife corridor (section 6.2.6). The respondents in this village wondered how a non-governmental organization (NGO) could manage this corridor alone without the support of responsible government institutions *(ibid)*. CCS does not seriously collaborate with other stakeholders *(ibid)*. It is argued that since CCS operates outside the legal mandates of TANAPA, it is imperative to maintain a healthy collaborative relationship with other stakeholders, including districts, NGOs, CBOs, and other local institutions (TANAPA/AWF, 2000). However, it seems CCS activities are not integrated into district development plans because there is less support from the districts (section 6.2.6).

Park rangers are also an important stakeholder group in respect of park /community relations. According to the report by TANAPA/AWF (2000), it is indicated that CCS and the 'protection' departments of the parks do not compliment each other's efforts (sections 5.3.1 and 6.2.7). CCS has failed to encourage either park rangers or the veterinary officers to work with the communities to safeguard their crops, livestock, and properties (sections 6.2.7). Indeed, contrary to the approach that CCS advocates, it was reported that park rangers use their paramilitary techniques to make excessive arrests of community members.

Lastly, and fundamentally, respondents pose the question as to why communities are theoretically involved in conservation but in practice, are not involved in the direct management of the parks themselves (section 6.2.6). Indeed, the purpose of CCS is for 'outreach' rather than for allowing the communities to 'reach in' to the parks with their indigenous environmental knowledge and skills. This needs to be corrected as

CCS's role through outreach is to educate and empower communities and enable them to participate actively in conservation of the natural resources.

7.3   Development of the communities

In the following sub-sections, a range of community development issues are discussed. In order, awareness of the work of the CCS among the communities is analysed, followed by a review of which stakeholders benefited most from CCS. Links between community development and conservation are discussed, followed by consideration of provision of information and services, levels of training and institutional capacity building for the purposes of sustainable conservation.

7.3.1   The level of awareness of the CCS amongst the adjacent communities

It is abundantly clear from the study that community respondents believe CCS is busy supervising community projects instead of dealing with all activities in a holistic manner, especially with regard to awareness creation (sections 6.2.6). It is not surprising, therefore, that park respondents commented that the level of conservation awareness is still low among the local communities (section 6.2.2). Likewise, it is evident that many of the issues about which the communities are complaining could be addressed through the conservation education that CCS is supposed to be providing. The research shows that, for various reasons, including political pressures to deliver social projects, CCS has neither built an adequate knowledge base nor influenced attitudes and practices for genuine community involvement in conservation (section 6.2.2 and 6.2.3). For instance, communities view the relations with CCS as more political or theoretical than practical, because only an individual park and village officials rather than the whole community guide its direction (section 6.2.1).

7.3.2   The beneficiaries of the CCS in the communities and groups (stakeholders) that received benefits

It is clear that the social projects provided by CCS were aimed at broadly benefiting all the communities, rather than addressing the needs of different stakeholder groups or those of individual households (sections 5.3.1 and 6.2.5). While CCS raised

community expectations, the realization of these expectations at the community level had not been easy (section 5.3.1).

While the research shows that, in some respects, the contribution of CCS to rural development is significant (sections 5.3.1; 6.2.5 and 6.2.6); there is a clear sense that community participation has been profoundly weak. Only village leaders were engaged in project planning and outside contractors (section 6.2.3) did the project implementation. Respondents suggested that the wider community is not actively involved and therefore lacks a sense of ownership of the projects (section 6.2.6). Thus while developments such as education, health, water, tree planting and road improvement projects undoubtedly bring social and economic benefits to the communities, their long-term sustainability is inevitably brought into doubt (sections 2.6 and 6.2.6). CCS's approach reflects what Arnstein (1971); Reid, (2000); Adams and Hulme, (2001); Hollaway, (2001); Namara (2006); and others would regard as 'passive participation' and is likely to be ineffective in the long term (ibid).

7.3.3 Linkages of the developments in the community to conservation

Another critical issue in the approach of CCS is its failure to impart to communities an understanding of the linkage between the benefits they receive (development projects) and conservation (section 6.2.6). The CCS projects are focusing on provision of social services   activities that are difficult to link with conservation. The reason is that CCS does not impart knowledge and skills to the local communities based on stakeholder groups (sections 6.2.6). For instance, the construction of classrooms and teacher's houses, dispensaries or dormitories does not add knowledge or skills to the recipient communities when technicians from the park or from towns undertake these activities (section 6.2.6). Community respondents, for example, questioned why the tendering process takes place in Arusha without involving the communities themselves (ibid).

The truth is that the design and implementation of CCS projects have not sought to enhance local knowledge, attitudes and practices or develop the local skills base. This is in essence counter-productive and in the long term is not sustainable. The parks could offer the contracts to village governments to undertake various activities

through stakeholder groups. These developments would link easily to conservation of the parks because they would directly influence local people's livelihoods.

7.3.4 CCS provision of information, resources, and services to the communities

The study shows that CCS provides inadequate and sometimes irrelevant information to communities (sections 6.2.3). Respondents reflected on having seen calendars and posters in village offices only. It also appears that some village leaders take these materials to their own homes. Therefore, communities do not see or use the information because it is not easily available. Material that has been seen by the communities tends to be written in English, a language that many of them do not speak. The information the communities say they need relates to subjects like wildlife-livestock diseases, more efficient farming practices and mechanisms to manage crop-raiding (section 6.2.4). As an example, the study revealed that where people have received veterinary advice or problem animal support, these are greatly appreciated (sections 6.2.3 and 6.2.5). The communities have also asked for video or cinema shows from the parks for educational and recreational purposes, but these are apparently infrequently shown, missing an opportunity to engage the people (section 6.2.6).

Another issue, and one that perhaps reflects a governance problem within the communities, is that while CCS provides community resources such as bicycles for game scouts, these are sometimes 'requisitioned' for other uses by individuals within the villages. An example of this situation was reported in Mto wa Mbu village and some villages in Kondoa district (section 6.2.5). Fundamentally, in terms of community empowerment and sustainability, CCS did not offer any meaningful services for agriculture, ecotourism development or other income generating projects (section 6.2.5).

7.3.5 Training of local communities concerning conservation issues

The research shows that TANAPA has not succeeded in educating the communities about its role and responsibilities in respect of nature conservation. It seems that communities and the public view TANAPA as a wealthy donor organization rather

than one which is there to support them as a mechanism for effective conservation (sections 6.2.2 and 6.2.6). The public view TANAPA merely as a source of funding – which is further reflected in the fact that it receives funding applications from the wider public that do not relate to 'people and parks' issues (section 6.2.6). Significantly then, CCS is perceived as a kind of substitute for the district councils in rural development *(ibid)*.

When CCS was first established in 1994 in both parks (section 1.4.), it offered training in conservation of natural resources, community involvement and protection of the environment to the communities (section 6.2.7). This was not continued beyond 2001 and since then its focus has instead been on the supervision of social projects (section 6.2.6). The research suggests that the programme does not provide conservation education and training – a weakness in the approach that has serious repercussions in terms of the awareness and attitudes of the communities towards the parks and therefore on the very future of the parks themselves (section 6.2.7).

Most communities recognised that training is essential especially in areas related to conservation education, protection of the environment, irrigation and terrace farming (section 6.2.7). They further emphasized that training should be given to all of the community rather than the village leaders alone *(ibid)*. Internally (within TANAPA), the training should also involve all park personnel involved with community issues (section 6.2.7). The respective departments include personnel in the departments of protection, veterinary services, ecology, planning, and finances.

7.3.6 Local institutional capacity to address conservation

In theory at least, an important role of CCS is to build capacity and empower communities to manage their development activities including wildlife conservation and management of natural resources. Apparently, in the early years of CCS operations, there was a clear intention to impart community conservation knowledge to villages adjacent to the national parks through a variety of project activities and education (section 6.2.7). It was anticipated that this knowledge would change people's attitudes towards the conservation of wildlife in areas adjacent the parks.

The research shows that CCS has clearly not been able to build the capacity of the communities to address conservation issues (section 6.2.7). CCS tried to build the capacity of village leaders but this has not been continued to any good effect. This can be exemplified by the CCS failure to assist Minjingu, Vilima Vitatu, Mwada and Sangaiwe to establish a Wildlife Management Area. Minjingu and Vilima Vitatu villages have turned down the proposal forwarded by AWF and the district authorities (section 6.2.5). A private hunting company that has signed an agreement with Minjingu village also manages the area under the proposal (*ibid*). CCS has legal rights in the guidelines to establish Wildlife Management Areas to facilitate the process (Wildlife Division, 2003). On the other hand, CCS did not take up the challenge and the communities do not adequately protect the area that is an important wildlife corridor. CCS has tried to build the capacity of the village game scouts by providing them with transport and paying them a token allowance during joint patrols with park rangers (section 6.2.6). The beneficiaries of this service are the village game scouts in Kambi ya Simba, Minjingu, and Sangaiwe villages, for protecting the buffer zone. The same is not the case in respect of other villages. This inequitable treatment of village game scouts could jeopardise the protection of wildlife resources, particularly in areas where CCS does not support the scouts (section 6.2.6).

Some villages like Mswakini make use of the influence of traditional leaders and Maasai warriors in protecting the Tarangire-Lake Manyara corridor, which is a good initiative (section 6.2.6). CCS would do well to increase their capacity to understand wildlife-people issues and encourage them to use their indigenous knowledge in managing wildlife in their areas. It is clear that CCS has not adequately worked with and empowered specific stakeholder groups in the communities – especially women's groups for example (sections 2.6 and 6.2.7). By empowering women, the park would directly support the families in the communities. Facilitating employment opportunities to communities would also capacitate the families economically (sections 6.2.5 and 6.2.7).

7.4 The conservation status of national parks and the livelihood conditions of the human communities living adjacent to these parks

This study has focused only on the community issues and not the status of the national parks (section 1.6.1). Based on the findings of the study, it is apparent that CCS has provided social infrastructure to the whole community but has not improved the livelihood of the human communities living adjacent to Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks at the household level (section 6.2.6). According to field observations, most local communities are still living in poverty (section 5.4).

It is apparent that CCS has neither empowered the communities nor has it promoted the links between the projects it has supported and the wildlife conservation that is its foundation. While the initiative has unquestionably delivered some benefit to communities in terms of infrastructure development, its achievements are limited and unsustainable. Indeed, the programme represents a lost opportunity for both the empowerment and capacity building of communities for their future development and for the long-term effectiveness of conservation. As long as the current mechanisms for delivery continue to be employed, the research suggests that CCS will not achieve its mandate to: "Improve the conservation status of national parks and the livelihood conditions of the human communities living adjacent to these Parks".

In the next chapter, a new model (Figure 8.1) is proposed that offers an alternative and more effective approach for CCS and one that it is suggested should become a new focus for TANAPA.

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE WAY FORWARD

8.1 Introduction

The conclusions reached as a result of the research and analyses are presented in this chapter; they are followed by recommendations for a more effective way forward for the CCS programme. In particular, a new model for CCS is proposed in terms of the structures and process for implementing community conservation in Tanzania. Finally, suggestions for further research are presented.

8.2 Conclusions of the study

Tanzania continues to pursue a 'fortress conservation' model in respect of the management of its national parks – as has been the case since the gazettement of its first park, the Serengeti, based on the Yellowstone model, back in 1951.

The community conservation approach to protected areas has become popular in many countries in sub-Saharan Africa as a form of devolution of Park management within the wildlife management sector (Namara, 2006). This approach, however, is effectively non-existent in the Tanzanian model, where strict exclusion of people from parks and park management is maintained. Yet it is clear that processes and practices beyond park boundaries increasingly threaten the future of the national parks in Tanzania. Large-scale farming enterprises, population growth and mining have severely impinged on important wildlife corridors. Denied connectivity, the parks are rapidly becoming 'islands' of conservation (Hughes, 2000; Christensen, 2004); threatened by ecological collapse, and lacking the mechanisms that are needed to help the ecosystems to recover. Increasingly impoverished communities around park boundaries are forced to rely on natural resources, legally or illegally, to meet their basic needs, thereby worsening the situation.

Today the CCS outreach programme, which for the last 15 years has represented TANAPA's approach to community conservation, is being criticised for providing benefits akin to handouts to the adjacent communities. However, these are failing to

address the real issues. This study has revealed that mistrust, resentment, and conflict between protected area managers and local communities are amplified by the increasing economic hardships that CCS is failing to address. The study has revealed that local communities acknowledge that they are often engaged in illegal activities in the parks, but they see themselves has having no alternatives and, thus, no option but to break the laws. Poaching has continued in adjacent communities where CCS has been operating (section 5.3.1).

That said; community conservation initiatives have only been in existence for between fifteen to twenty years – a relatively short period in the long history of antipathy and conflict between park administrations and local communities. It is, perhaps, too early to denounce any approach as an outright failure, but it is clear from the research that there are real challenges facing the CCS programme and that failure to address these challenges will be hugely damaging both to conservation in Tanzania and to the well-being of many of its rural communities.

The study has found that the Tanzania park outreach programme continues to operate at the lowest level of participation with the communities receiving benefits from the service. CCS has given significant support to social projects in an attempt to build relationships with the communities around the parks. The benefits, however, have been mainly limited to built infrastructure and have not extended to the empowerment of local people to assume responsibility for either conservation or for their own development.

This study has found that the CCS programme has not been integrated with the district development plans in any meaningful way even though the villages where it has been implemented are under the jurisdiction of the District councils or local governments. A strong institutional linkage with the district natural resource officers would be beneficial to CCS. It is crucial that CCS activities are known and supported at the district level and receives the required support from the district authorities. Furthermore, the study has found that CCS does not collaborate with other actors in the communities such as NGOs, CBOs and local institutions involved in community issues. These are key weaknesses that must be addressed. Park authorities and communities should work with the district authorities to ensure integration of CCS

plans with district development plans.

While the research suggests that CCS has managed to 'reach-out' to a limited degree, thereby reducing 'animosity' between the communities and the park authorities, this situation has not encouraged active participation (Reid, 2000). As a result, the communities have failed to make the critical linkage between the social projects developed by CCS and the conservation of the parks.

The study also found that local communities are not involved in planning or formulation of projects. At best, the people are involved in decision-making only through their village leaders. This opens the door for the kind of political interventions that derail many community-based conservation initiatives. It is imperative therefore, that CCS involves all members of the community in its activities. Active and interactive participation will build an empowered community that will eventually benefit much more and be able to make the link between local development and park conservation.

TANAPA also needs to review the Park's Ordinance (Cap 412) of 1959, which is silent on issues of adjacent communities. However, the National Policies for National Parks in Tanzania recognise the park outreach approach only as stated in sections 1.6.1 and 7.2.1. The current parks legislation has been on the statutes since 1959 and there must be a review of the existing policy on CCS to enable it to involve the communities and other stakeholders around the parks more actively. Capacity building is essential in respect of both the communities and park employees for improved conservation of parks and the development of the adjacent communities.

This research project confirms the view that national parks cannot continue to be viable while surrounded by hungry, poor, and resentful communities. So far, the Yellowstone model has served Tanzanian national parks well but it is time for a new approach – one that is inclusive and sufficiently flexible to take account of the needs and aspirations of the fast growing populations bordering the parks. At the same time, given the opportunity, local and indigenous communities must demonstrate that they are capable of collaborating effectively with park management and using resources allocated to them wisely and sustainably.

8.3 Recommendations

As discussed in chapter 2, various approaches lie along the continuum of community conservation. TANAPA's approach has for some years been one that is close to the least inclusive end of the spectrum. Local participation in park management has been minimal and achievements have been limited as a result. Seemingly, TANAPA is not able to adopt the community-based conservation (CBC) or community-based natural resources management approaches (CBNRM) as stated in section 3.3.1, because the legislation and policy does not allow it. The obvious solution is to change the old legislation and the policies. However, this would be radical and challenging and would likely take a long time to effect. Therefore, another possible solution, because existing policies permit it, is to devolve powers to communities to participate actively in protecting the national parks.

Under the circumstances, the logical approach for TANAPA is one of collaborative management, sometimes referred to as co-management. This approach, which is broadly, defined as "conservation with people" lies between protected areas outreach and community based conservation approaches. The local communities would gain access to certain resources in the national parks through formal agreements. The agreements would be made between the park authorities and resources users in adjacent communities. This would require a shift from the current park outreach (conservation for people) approach that has failed to provide benefits that link to conservation. The approach would promote active participation of the local communities in conservation through sustainable resource use rather than through the support of social development projects.

This study therefore recommends that TANAPA should adopt a new community conservation approach to improve upon the park outreach, in order to gain effective support from the local communities. It is suggested that pilot parks should be identified to establish and refine the approach for at least two years before expanding it to all the national parks in Tanzania.

8.3.1 Justification for a new model

The present research has found that there are benefits that are pertinent to both the conservation of the parks and the local communities living close to the parks, if the level of participation is active rather than passive (section 4.3.1). It is accepted that it is not TANAPA's role and mandate to be involved in the support of schools, dispensaries, water, and other social oriented projects. This was originally assumed as a goodwill gesture or a sense of obligation by TANAPA to adjacent communities given the poor relations between the park management and the adjacent communities. However, the direct benefit giving has led to the perception by the public that TANAPA is an internal donor. Consequently, this perception has resulted into the loss of focus on the planned aims and objectives of the outreach programme. The focus on support of social projects, has neglected the fact that the local communities have not been linking the development projects to conservation.

The present study has come up with a significant list of grievances from the park respondents indicating their dissatisfaction with CCS activities except for the social projects and the established relationships (section 6.2.5 and section 6.2.6). TANAPA is not a unique organization – and if other protected area agencies in Africa have changed their national policies – as they have done in Uganda and Malawi, for example, CCS ought to consider changing and subsequently adopting a collaborative management approach as a more effective conservation practice. Both in Malawi and Uganda, conservation agencies have opted for collaborative mechanisms that have given access and user rights to local communities through partnerships (personal experience). The collaborative approach will be suitable for forest parks that are surrounded by people whose basic needs such as dry fuel wood and grass are found in the park similar to Malawi and Uganda forest parks.

Based on the various models as described by Namara (2006) and outlined in section 2.5, it is suggested that CCS may adopt the third model of collaborative management where formal agreements with some form of stakeholder institution(s), but largely limited to immediate protected area boundary with communities with the aim of regulating access to protected area resources can be signed. This is an ideal model for TANAPA as the park authorities would be able to sign agreements with stakeholder

institutions. The agreement would largely be limited to regulating access for local communities to the national park resources to control incompatible activities until the point at which the partnership is well understood and practiced. TANAPA is already trying this model in Udzungwa Mountains National Park with support from WWF (section 3.3).

This model will require the active participation of the district councils to ensure that agreements are binding and implemented as per the roles and responsibilities agreed between the parties. Under recent local government reforms, which have increased decentralization in Tanzania (Chale, 1996; MRALG, 2003), the districts have greater autonomy over the development of their citizens and the protection of the environment. This includes development and implementation of land use plans that will also recognize community areas for conservation and development purposes. It is appropriate for the District Executive Directors (DEDs) to coordinate the signing of all agreements relating to communities through active community or stakeholder institutions. Therefore, a stakeholder institution would be developed for each park, comprised of all districts surrounding the respective park, representatives of local level institutions and resource users groups, NGOs and CBOs and other institutions interested in community conservation approaches. This multi-sectoral, multi-level approach is ideal to develop, monitor, and evaluate the partnership and its activities.

TANAPA would initially redesign the CCS outreach programme to create a CCS collaborative strategy that would involve working closely with the district councils, and stakeholders like local communities, NGOs, CBOs and government institutions through the stakeholders' institutions. TANAPA would work with the districts and stakeholders to develop memorandums of understanding and modalities of how the partnerships would function. A new model is presented as Figure 8.1 below.

Figure 8.1: CCS new model
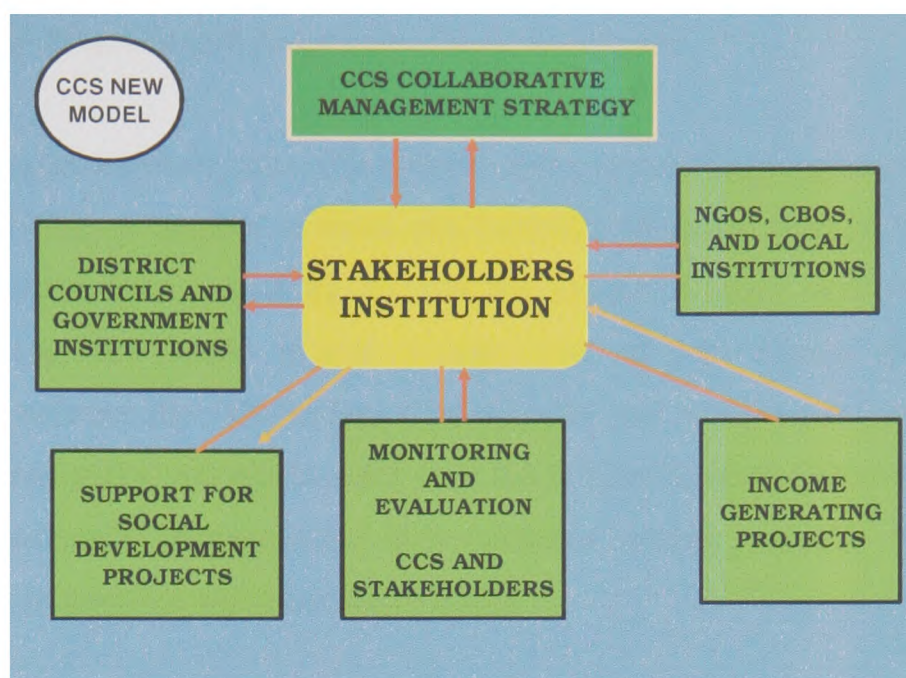
Use of independent facilitators would be mandatory at all stakeholder meetings. This partnership would encourage other institutions to work closely with CCS and allow cross-pollination of ideas. TANAPA would play the advisory role to the stakeholders function together with the districts and NGOs/CBOs where necessary. The district councils would provide technical support to stakeholders' institutions and ensure that contributions are paid in a timely manner to the stakeholders' institutions. The stakeholders' institutions would be responsible for the implementation of community projects and income generating projects. The monitoring and evaluation section would be involved in ensuring the implementation of the MoUs by all partners.

The involvement of communities in decision making, implementation and monitoring would initiate a process whereby the communities would gain ownership over the programme, where powers and responsibilities would be devolved. All stakeholder activities would be integrated into district development plans. This would include promotion of income generating projects that are conservation oriented. These could include beekeeping, woodlots, zero grazing, fishponds and campsites. TANAPA then would be in a position to focus on biodiversity conservation in the national parks with empowered communities as allies. The success of this arrangement would enable the communities to participate in the planning of the national parks in Tanzania as well as of areas outside the parks, much of which is currently under large-scale private

ownership. This process would bring investors in land on board as stakeholders and would contribute towards the protection of the environment, safeguarding wildlife corridors and promotion of meaningful community-based ecotourism.

It is important to recognise, however, that collaborative management is not a panacea (Borrini-Feyeraband, 1996). A number of costs and potential obstacles need to be identified and evaluated before embarking on specific processes (*ibid*) and the development of the approach would require a high level of commitment and responsible interaction between the stakeholders. Critically, the new model would aim to benefit both people and parks, and would make clear the linkage between improved livelihoods and conservation management, thus securing greater support for conservation by local communities and other stakeholders.

8.3.2   Areas for further research and study

There is a need for more research going beyond the scope of this doctoral study. In particular, there is need for further research into a collaborative management approach tailored to suit the Tanzanian context, taking into account the needs and perceptions of local government institutions and the limitations of the legislation governing national parks that would need to be addressed to enable this approach to be effectively implemented.

In terms of studies necessary before the practical implementation of a collaborative management approach, there is a need for a baseline study, which should be conducted in each of the selected pilot areas. The baseline study is essential in setting the scene for planning and monitoring purposes and integrating CCS activities with district development plans. Indicators need to be developed to provide feedback during the evaluation at the end of the pilot period. The baseline study would involve undertaking both a state of the environment (SoE) report and a stakeholder analysis. While the SoE would provide baseline data on biodiversity and other environmental characteristics, the stakeholder analysis would identify all stakeholders who would be affected by the programme whether resource users, government agencies, NGOs and so on, and their needs from the agreement. Following the pilot project, a strategic action plan would be developed to guide expansion of the collaborative management

approach to all the parks in Tanzania as well as to other protected areas. An early study to identify the roles and responsibilities of the judiciary as regards the signed agreements would also be helpful. A study on the modalities to share benefits would also be very important and must be incorporated in the agreement. CCS would need to develop and strengthen its own research capacity on the approach and to produce written papers to discuss progress. It would be appropriate for TANAPA to engage with higher learning institutions and researchers for this purpose.

The study therefore concludes that TANAPA ought to make profound changes to the CCS programme. The adoption of the new approach would promote active community involvement in the conservation of parks and improvement of livelihoods in adjacent communities through effective partnerships with stakeholders. TANAPA would use the new mechanism to enhance its 'benefit sharing' (rather than 'benefit giving' through handouts) approach with its neighbouring communities (section 2.9).

Lastly, the research methodology used in the study has been effective in getting relevant data that has answered the research question and the consequent recommendations to enable TANAPA to achieve the sustainable conservation of national parks and effectively contribute to improve the livelihoods of the surrounding communities.

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APPENDICIES

APPENDIX IA: A GUIDE FOR PARK FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Objective 1: Relation of Park and local communities
Ensure that interests of national parks with regard to natural resources

1.1 What are your perceptions about the adjacent communities? *(Je ni nini mtazamo/maoni yako juu ya jamii inayokuzunguka?)*

1.2 How do you perceive the relationship between the park and the communities? *(Je ni nini mtazamo/maoni yako juu ya uhusiano kati ya hifadhi na jamii?)*

1.3 Has the relationship changed? *(Je uhusiano umebadilika?)*

1.4 If so, how? (Give the time line and verifiable indicators). *(Kama ndio, kwa jinsi gani? Onyesha vielelezo)*

1.5 Why has it changed? *(Kwa nini umebadilika?)*

1.6 Who/what has changed it? *(Ni nani au nini kimebadilisha uhusiano huo?)*

1.7 Has the change been good for the Park? *(Je uhusiano huo umekuwa mzuri kwa hifadhi?)*

1.8 How? *(Kwa vipi?)*

1.9 Can you list outstanding issues that require CCS attention for the next 10 years? *(Je unaweza kuorodhesha mambo muhimu ambayo yatahitaji Mpango wa Ujirani Mwema kuyashughulikia katika miaka 10 ijayo?)*

Objective 2: Sharing benefits

2.1 Have communities benefited from the CCS? *(Je jamii imefaidika na Ujirani Mwema?)*

2.2 If so, how? *(Kama ndivyo, kwa vipi?)*

Objective 3: Access to information, resources, services

3.1 Has CCS provided information about the Park to communities? *(Je Mpango wa Ujirani Mwema umetoa taarifa juu ya hifadhi kwa jamii?)*

3.2 About what? Explain. *(Kuhusu nini? Eleza.)*

3.3 Was it useful? *(Ilikuwa na manufaa?)*

3.4 If so, why? *(Kwa nini ilikuwa ya manufaa?)*

3.5 Has the CCS given the community resources? *(Je Ujirani Mwema wametoa rasilmali kwa jamii?)*

3.6 What resources have they provided? *(Rasilmali zipi wametoa?)*

3.7 Were they useful? Explain. *(Zilisaidia? Eleza)*

3.8 Has the CCS helped the community with services? *(Je Ujirani Mwema umesaidia jamii na huduma zo zote?)*

3.9. Which services? *(Huduma zipi?)*

3.10 Do you think it was useful? Why? *(Unadhani zilisaidia? Kwa nini unafikiri hivyo?)*

Objective 4: Strengthen local institution capacity

4.1 Has the Park/CCS worked with the village governments in the village? (Name the village) *(Je Ujirani Mwema umefanyakazi na serikali za vijiji? (taja kijiji)*

4.2 What has it done? *(Umefanya nini?)*

4.3 Did it work out well? *(Je kulikuwa na mafanikio?)*

4.4 Has the CCS worked with natural resource committees? *(Je Ujirani Mwema umefanya kazi na Kamati za Maliasili?)*

4.5 What did they do? *(Walifanya nini?)*

Objective 5: Collaborative linkages with community/conservation stakeholders

5.1 Whom in the village does the CCS work with? *(Ujirani Mwema wanafanyakazi na nani kijijini?)*

Objective 6: Provides conservation education programmes

6.1 Has CCS provided training to the community? *(Je Ujirani Mwema umetoa mafunzo kwa jamii?)*

6.2 If so, what did they learn? *(Kama ndivyo, jamii walijifunza kuhusu nini?)*

6.3 Was it useful? *(Je ilikuwa na manufaa?)*

6.4 How does the training help the community? *(Je mafunzo yanaisaidiaje jamii?)*

APPENDIX 1B: A GUIDE FOR STAKEHOLDERS FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Objective 1: Relation of Park and surrounding local communities

Ensure that interests of national parks with regard to natural resources

1.1   What are your perceptions about the Park? *(Nini mtazamo au maoni yako juu ya Hifadhi?)*

     (a) What is it? *(Je Hifadhi ni nini?)*

     (b) What does it do? (Je *Hifadhi inafanya nini?)*

1.2 Do you interact with the park? *(Je unajihusisha na hifadhi?)*

1.3 If so, how? *(Kama ndio, kwa vipi?)*

1.4 How do you perceive your relationship with the park? *(Je ni nini mtazamo au maoni yako juu ya uhusiano wako na hifadhi?)*

I.5 Has the relationship between you and the park changed over the years? *(Je uhusiano wako na hifadhi ulibadilika kwa kipindi fulani cha miaka?)*

1.6 If so, how? (Timeline). *(Kama ndivyo, kwa vipi? Eleza lini ulianza kuona mabadiliko hayo)*

1.7 Why has it changed? *(Kwa nini uhusiano huo ulibadilika?)*

1.8 Who/what has changed it? (*Ni nani au nini kilibadilisha uhusiano huo?)*

1.9 Has the change been positive for you? (How?) *(Je uhusiano huo umekuwa mzuri kwako? (Kwa vipi?)*

1.10 Has the change been good for the Park? (How?) *(Je uhusiano huo umekuwa*

mzuri kwa hifadhi? (Kwa vipi?)

1.11 Do you know the CCS programme? *(Je unajua Mpango wa Ujirani Mwema?)*

1.12 What is it? *(Je Mpango was Ujirani Mwema ni nini?)*

1.13 What does it do? (*Je Mpango wa Ujirani Mwema unafanya nini?*)

1.14 Have you had personal interactions with the CCS? *(Je wewe binafsi umekuwa ukijihusisha na Ujirani Mwema?)*

Objective 2: Sharing benefits

2.1 Do you (your community) receive any benefits from the Park? *(Je wewe (jamii yako) unapokea manufaa yo vote toka Ujirani Mwema?)*

2.2 If so, which ones? (*Kama ndio, manufaa gani?*)

2.3 Have you (your community) always benefited that way? *(Je umekuwa (jamii yako) ukipata manuafaa wakati wote kwa jinsi hiyo?)*

2.4 If not, when did this start? *(Kama siyo, je manufaa hayo yalianza kutolewa lini?)*

2.5 How did it come about? *(Jinsi gani manufaa hayo yalianza?)*

Objective 3: Access to information, resources, services

3.1 Has CCS provided you with information about the Park? *(Je Ujirani Mwema imekupatia taarifa juu va hifadhi?)*

3.2 What about other things given other than park information? Explain. *(Je vipi kuhusu vitu vingine zaidi va taarifa? Eleza)*

3.3 Is it useful? *(Je vimesaidia?)*

3.4 If so, why? *(Kama ndivyo, kwa nini?)*

3.5 Has the CCS given you (your community) resources? *(Je Ujirani Mwema wamekupatia (jamii yako) raslimali zo zote?)*

3.6 What have they provided? *(Wametoa nini?)*

3.7 Was it useful? Explain. *(Raslimali hizo zilisaidia? Eleza)*

3.9 Has the CCS helped you (your community) with services? *(Je Mpango wa Ujirani Mwema umekusadia (jamii yako) na huduma?)*

- o Ecotourism *(Utalii wa kiikolojia)*
- o Agricultural extension *(Huduma za kilimo)*
- o Livestock development *(Maendeleo ya mifugo)*
- o Tree planting *(Upandaji miti)*
- o Social Projects *(Miradi ya Maendeleo ya jamii*
- o Income generating projects *(Miradi ya uzalishaji)*

3.10 How did they help you? *(Walikusaidiaje?)*

3.11 Was it useful? Why? *(Je ilikuwa ya msaada? Kwa nini?)*

Objective 4: Strengthen local institution capacity

4.1 Has the Park/CCS worked with the village government in your village? *(Je hifadhi/Ujirani Mwema wamefanya kazi na serikali ya kijiji chako?)*

4.2 What has it done? *(Je wamefanya nini?)*

4.3 Did it work out well? *(Je kulikuwa na mafanikio?)*

4.4 Do you have natural resource committees in your community? *(Je jamii yako ina kamati za maliasili?)*

4.5 What do they do? *(Kamati hizo zinafanya nini?)*

4.6 Do they work with the CCS/Park? *(Kamati hizi zinafanya kazi na Ujirani Mwema/Hifadhi?)*

4.7 What do they do together? *(Wanafanya nini kwa pamoja?)*

4.8 Is it beneficial? *(Ina manufaa?)*

Objective 5: Collaborative linkages with community/conservation stakeholders

5.1 Whom in the village does the CCS work with? *(Ujirani Mwema wanafanya kazi na akina nani katika kijiji?)*

Objective 6: Provides conservation education programmes

6.1 Has CCS provided training to you/your community? *(Je Ujirani Mwema wametoa mafunzo kwako/jamii yako?*

6.2 If so, what did you/your community learn? *(Kama ndivyo, ulijifunza/jamii yako ilijifunza juu ya nini?)*

6.3 Was it useful? *(Ilikuwa ya manufaa?)*

6.4 How does the training help you and your community? *(Je mafunzo yanakusaidiaje wewe na jamii yako?)*

APPENDIX IIA: A LIST OF COMMUNITY PROJECTS FOR TARANGIRE NATIONAL PARK

TARANGIRE NATIONAL PARK					
SUPPORT FOR COMMUNITY INITIATED PROJECTS FROM 1992/93 TO 2005/06					
TYPE OF PROJECT	YEAR	SECTOR	DISTRICT	VILLAGE	TANAPA INPUT
Rehabilitation of a water pipeline	1993/94	Water	Babati	Mamire	747,311.00
Construction of a classroom	1993/94	Education	Babati	Sangaiwe	759,075.00
Shallow well and renovation of teacher's house	1994/95	Water and Education	Simanjiro	Loiborsiret	3,000,000.00
Rehabilitation of a teacher's house	1994/95	Education	Simanjiro	Emboret	3,350,424.00
Construction of a dam	1994/95	Water	Monduli	Meserani	500,000.00
Construction of a teacher's house	1994/95	Education	Babati	Ngoley	3,255.125.45
Construction of a teacher's house	1994/95	Education	Babati	Sangaiwe	1,555,390.00
Construction of a dormitory	1994/95	Education	Simanjiro	Emboret	13,980,300.00
Construction of two classrooms	1995/96	Education	Monduli	Mswakini	4,439,368.00
Construction of one classroom	1995/96	Education	Kondoa	Chubi	1,951,700.00
Construction of a teacher's house	1995/96	Education	Simanjiro	Narakawo	2,040,350.00
Construction of two classrooms	1995/96	Education	Monduli	Naitolia	5.100,000.00
Construction of two	1996/97	Education	Babati	Mwinkantsi	

classrooms					5,202,000.00
Construction of two classrooms	1996/97	Education	Simanjiro	Loiborsoit	5,340,000.00
Construction of one classroom and teacher's office	1996/97	Education	Simanjiro	Loiborsiret	4,643,142.00
Construction of two dormitories	1997/98	Education	Simanjiro	Orkesumet	8,000,000.00
Construction of two classrooms	1997/98	Education	Kondoa	Itaswi	5,000,000.00
Rehabilitation of a shallow well	1997/98	Water	Babati	Vilima Vitatu	3,300,000.00
Construction of two classrooms, renovate one classroom and a teacher's office	1997/98	Education	Babati	Minjingu	9,577,094.00
Construction of a 2 in 1 teacher's house	1997/98	Education	Babati	Galapo	8,000,000.00
Construction of one classroom	1998/99	Education	Monduli	Meserani Bwawani	3,500,000
Construction of two teacher's house	1999-2000	Education	Babati	Mamire	22,274,594.00
Construction of a teacher's house	1999-2000	Education	Monduli	Naitolia	7,539,346.30
Construction of a teacher's house	1999-2000	Education	Kiteto	Likushibor	7,539,346.30
Construction of a dining hall	1999-2000	Education	Simanjiro	Emboret	8,686,300.00
Construction of a teacher's house	2000-2001	Education	Monduli	Mswakini Chini	12,279,450.00
Construction of a dormitory	2000-2001	Education	Simanjiro	Emboret	12,260,695.00

Construction of a matron's house	2000-2001	Education	Monduli	Maasai Girls Secondary	16,000,000.00
Dining hall construction	2000-2001	Education	Kondoa	Pahi	7,500,000.00
Rehabilitation of water tank and a cattle trough	2000-2001	Water and livestock development	Kondoa	Chubi	6,180,720.00
Construction of a female hospital ward	2000-2002	Health	Babati	Mwada	8,742,614.15
Construction of guard's house, cattle trough and renovation of water well	2001-2002	Water	Simanjiro	Loiborsoit	6,800,000.00
Construction of hostel Mamire	2002-2003	Education	Babati	Mamire	4,990,000.00
Construction of a dispensary	2002/03	Health	Simanjiro	Sukuro	16,748,420.00
Construction of one teacher's house and one classroom	2002/03	Education	Simanjiro	Kimotorok	16,832,716
Construction of one classroom	2002/03	Education	Simanjiro	Terrat	9,199,080
Construction of two classrooms	2002/03	Education	Babati	Minjingu	12,984,860.20
Construction of two classrooms	2002/03	Education	Babati	Sarame	12,651,210.20

Construction of a dormitory	2002/03	Education	Kiteto	Engusero	8,500,000.00
Rehabilitation of a dormitory	2003/04	Education	Monduli	Makuyuni	11,076,885.00
Construction of a dam	2003/04	Water	Monduli	Lolkisale	10,681,500
Renovation of administration block	2003/04	Education	Simanjiro	Emboret	15,437,880.00
Construction of a laboratory	2003/04	Health	Babati	Gallapo-Qash	6,670,809.00
Construction of a police station	2003/04	Security	Simanjiro	Orkesumet	9,984,850.00
Maintenance of a Toyota Land Cruiser	2003/04	District Natural Resources Officer	Simanjiro	Orkesumet	1,278,000.00
Construction of a girl's hostel	2004/05	Education	Kondoa	Pahi	87,178,550.00
Construction of a cattle dip	2004/05	Livestock development	Simanjiro	Endonyonen-gijape	8,812,000.00
Support Tumaini Group-energy	2004/05	Income generating projects	Kondoa	Mnenia	2,229,000.00
Support to kilimo mazingira-agroforestry	2004/05	Income generating projects	Kondoa	Mnenia	3,618,500.00
Renovation of Lemooti dam, Loiborsoit	2004/05	Livestock	Simanjiro	Lobosoit A	50,000,000.00

Renovation of a cattle dip, Emboret	2004/05	Livestock	Simanjiro	Emboret	5,000,000.00
Construction of a dispensary	2005/06	Health	Babati	Minjingu	69,622,200.00
Construction of a teacher's house	2005/06	Education	Babati	Minjingu	23,309,108.00
Construction of a teacher's house	2005/06	Education	Babati	Mwinkantsi	23,309,108.00
Furnishing of a dispensary	2005/06	Health	Simanjiro	Sukuro	2,500,000.00
TOTAL					**621,659,021.45**
					Source: CCS HQ, 2006

APPENDIX IIB: COMMUNITY PROJECTS IN LAKE MANYARA NATIONAL PARK

TANZANIA NATIONAL PARKS

Outreach Program

Support for Community Initiated Projects

Financial Performance Report for Ten Years (from 1996/97 to 2005/2006)

No	Name				Date Approved	Project costs 100%
	Applicant	Village	Ward	Project/Sector		
1	Kambi ya Simba Village	Kambi ya Simba	Mbulumbulu	Construct-ion of two classrooms at Awet Sec.	1994	1,870,224.05
2	Daudi Secondary School	Daudi Ward	Daudi	Construction of Laboratory and furniture/fittings	1995	63,334,832.75
3	Monduli	Engarenaibor	-	Health centre renovation.	1995	3,282,189.95.
4	Kigongoni Dispensary	Barabarani	Mto wa Mbu	Renovation of the Dispensary	1996	2,500,000
5	Manyara Secondary School	Manyara Secondary School	Esilalei	Repairing of admin Block in Manyara sec.	1996	3,343,630

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6	Getamock village	Getamock	Endamarariek	Construction of maternity	1996	8,585,300
7	Babati	Moya mayoka	Magara	Construction of one classroom, toilets [12 pits], renovation of six classrooms, veranda, and purchase of 100 desks	1997	12,228,517.20
8	Barabarani Village	Barabarani	Mto wa Mbu	Purchase of bicycles	1997	300,000
9	Selela/Migombani/Barabarani	Selela/Migombani/Barabarani	Selela/Mto wa Mbu	Afforestation project	1997	1,700,000
10	Karatu clinic	Karatu	Karatu	Karatu clinic	1997	6,348,687.50
11	Buger ward	Ayalalio	Buger	Construction of dispensary and water pump	1997	11,379,391.35
12	Monduli	Sinoni	Engutoto	Moringe Sokoine Secondary renovation	1997	959,200
13	Babati Secondary School		-	Purchase of Corrugated Iron sheets [teachers' house – two in one].	1998	270,000
14	Kansay Ward	Kansay	Kansay	Water project	1998	1,000,000.
15	Karatu	Karatu		DC' office renovation	1998	217,500
16	Titiwi Village	Titiwi	Gehandu	Purchase of 12 Beehives	2000	186,000
17	Moya mayoka	Moya	Magara	Purchasing of 50	2000	1,500,000

	Village	mayoka		Lts of super dip		
18	Chemchem Primary School	Chemchem Village	Rhotia	Two classrooms	2001	7,708,875.00
19	Kambi ya Simba Primary	Kambi ya Simba	Mbulumbulu	Two classrooms & office	2001	8,944,005.90
20	Lositeti Primary School	Lositeti	Mbulumbulu	Teachers' house (two in one)	2001	12,393,800
21	Getamock, Chemchem and Barabarani Village	Getamock/ Chemchem /Barabarani	Endamarariek/Rhotia/Mto wa Mbu	Fuel/energy efficient stoves and how to use them	2001	132,000
22	Getamock/Bugeri/Endala	Getamock/ Bugeri/Endala	Endamarariek/ Buger	Afforestation	2001	1,335,000
23	Kitumbeini	Kitumbeini [Nondoto]	Kitumbeini	Purchasing of school furniture [desks]	2001	1,414,000
24	Majengo - Losirwa – Esilalei Villages	Majengo , Losirwa, Esilalei	Mto wa Mbu and Esilalei	Water project in Majengo, Losirwa to Esilalei	2001	13,519,566
25	Karatu Mazingira Bora and Karatu Development Association [KDA]			Purchase of fence and poles for Karatu Town Park	2001	1,889,017.30
26	Endala Village	Endala	Endamarariek	Dispensary construction	2001	12,078,800
27	Migombani Village	Migombani	Mto wa Mbu	Construction of Teachers' houses (two in one).	2001	9,986,720
28	Baraka Losirwa	Losirwa	Esilalei	Construction of	2001	9,675,190

	Village			two classrooms & office		
29	Esilalei Village	Esilalei	Esilalei	Two classrooms & office	2001	5,715,575
30	Barabarani Village	Barabarani	Mto- wa-Mbu	Construction of two classrooms & office at Kigongoni P/S	2001	8,784,072.52
31	Awet Secondary School	Kambi ya Simba	Mbulumbulu	Girls' dormitory	2003	18,033,300
32	Karatu Secondary School	Bashay	Qurus	Construction of girls' dormitory	2003	30,010,264.00
33	DC' office	-	Karatu	Purchase of 1pc of computer set	2003	2,500,000
34	KDA Association		Karatu	Construction of training centre	2003	12,417,400
35	Engaruka Chini Village	Engaruka Chini	Engaruka	Construction of teachers' houses [two in one].	2003	16,551,810
36	Engaruka Juu Village	Engaruka Juu	Engaruk-a	Construction of two classrooms & office	2003	16,938,944
37	Engutoto Secondary School	Simongarsh	Engutoto	Construction of girls' dormitory	2003	39,289,157
38	Selela Village	Selela	Selela	Construction of 12 beacons	2004	620,209.39
39	Ilongero Secondary School	Ilengero	Ilongero	Roofing of girls' dormitory	2004	2,000,000
40	Engaruka Juu	Engaruka	Engaruk-a	Beds and	2005	3,100,000

		Village	Juu		mattresses		
41	Laghandamur Primary School	Antsi	Bargish Antsi	Construction of teacher's house and one classroom with office	2005	15,000,000
42	Kilimamoja Village	Kilimamoja	Rhotia	Construction of teachers' house (two in one)	2005	20,661,719.61
43	Baraka Primary School	Losirwa	Esilalei	Construction of Administration block	2006	36,710,000
44	Baraka Primary School	Losirwa	Esilalei	Pipe water project	2006	11,210,000
						437,624,898.52

Source: CCS HQ, 2006

APPENDIX III: AN EXAMPLE OF A VENN DIAGRAM USED DURING THE FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS